Exploring Love as a Professional Practice in Early Childhood Education

A Critical Hermeneutic Study

By

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Dedicated to the memory of

Kathy Carlisle

April 26, 1960 - December 8, 2012

&

Don Skow

April 11, 1953 - May 7, 2013

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I am first of all grateful to the people of Norway, who formed a social democracy that allows an American girl (once she's married to a Norwegian boy) to come to Norway and, while working, also study, practically free of charge, while raising two children who attend high quality, publicly funded kindergartens and schools. I am deeply grateful for the opportunity I have been given to pursue my interest in love as an aspect of early childhood education.

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ABSTRACT

This study addresses love as a professional practice in early childhood education. The practice of love is largely unspoken and takes place within a profession associated with the traditional work of women. The professional practice of love in early childhood education involves a tension between the feminist plight for equality and freedom from preconceived notions of a woman's 'natural' role as caretaker, and the ever present needs of children to be loved and cared for within the predominantly female driven field of early childhood education.

The study is informed by a critical hermeneutic perspective and addresses love in the context of early childhood education from three perspectives: the conceptual perspective, the socio-historic perspective and the individual meaning perspective. These perspectives are explored in light of historical and current concepts of love, Foucault's genealogical insights and additional key literature from the field of study.

In response to the conceptual perspective, three common meanings of love in the context of early childhood education were identified: *unifying*, *empathizing* and *active*. Additionally, multiple dimensions of love were identified: the ethical dimension, the practical dimension and the physical dimension. In response to the socio-historic perspective, I found that discourses of love from the kindergarten movement have been obscured by the authority of scientific rationalism and, in Norway, the political goal of gender equality. In response to the individual meaning perspective, I found that kindergarten teacher's individual experiences of love involved: the kindergarten teacher's use of her body as a pedagogic tool, the practice of child guided pedagogy, and the perceived opposition of pedagogy and love. Shared joy between kindergarten teacher and child was also found to be a key experience. When the three perspectives were considered in light of each other, it was found that scientific discourses of pedagogy that have gained authority since the kindergarten movement could explain a perceived opposition between love and pedagogy today. It was also found that love, as described in this thesis, was found to be implicit in pedagogic practices mandated in the Framework Plan for the Tasks and Content for Kindergartens (Ministry of Education and Research, 2011), which kindergarten teachers adhere to. Implications regarding the further development of the professional practice of love are discussed.

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PROLOGUE

Peter was new in kindergarten. He spoke primarily French and had only been in Norway a half year. I was on my way down the stairs to go outside when I saw Peter on his way inside with a teacher. Soon he was crying on the floor in the hallway, dressed in full winter gear. He had to use the bathroom. The assistant who had followed him inside to take him to the bathroom insisted that he use the common bathroom in the hallway. Peter wanted to go upstairs, to the bathroom in the classroom that he was more familiar with. Peter refused to listen and went up the stairs. I welcomed him on the stairwell and followed him into the classroom bathrooms. He was sucking his thumb and seemed tired. It was one o'clock in the afternoon and he had recently been transferred from the infant classroom, where he napped once a day, to the 3-5 class room, where they did not take naps. I asked him if he was tired and he said yes. I asked him if he wanted to rest and he said yes. I told the teachers inside that I thought he was tired and that I thought he should take a little rest inside. The teachers expressed concern that he was "getting his way". They told me that he had to learn that it is we who decide, not him. The teachers explained to me that he hides everyday around this time and doesn't want to go outside. I suggested that it may be because he was tired. A teacher finally agreed to let Peter rest. I gave him a blanket and pillow and he rested on the couch with a book for about 10 minutes.

After a while he got up to start playing around the classroom. I told him we weren't going to play now; now we can go out. He happily ran down to his cubby and found his clothes. He goofed around and I smiled but didn't join in because I wanted him to get dressed to go out. He fell into my arms and gave me a long hug, then said: "You're my mommy." I was taken aback. "Am I your mommy?" I replied, feeling uneasy, "My name is Teresa. What's your mommy's name?" Peter replied seriously, "My mommy's name is Pam and your name is Pam too. You're my mommy too."

1 INTRODUCTION

During the spring of my first year in the Master Studies in Early Childhood Education program at HiOA, three circumstances came together that helped shape this master's thesis. Two courses ran parallel to each other, *Critical and International Perspectives* and *Children, Childhood and Kindergartens*. The course in *Critical and International Perspectives* included feminist research that problematized discourses of maternalism and the concept of care as 'natural' for women, suggesting these conceptions undermined professionalism in early childhood education (Ailwood, 2008). The course in *Children, Childhood and Kindergartens* included literature expressing concern that the subject of care and love in early childhood education was underrepresented and undervalued (Tholin, 2011; Hansen, 2012b). The tension between these two perspectives perplexed me. Then, at some point that spring, a little boy in my classroom threw his arms around my neck and told me I was his mommy – and I felt shame. My shame, I believe, reflected the unspoken complexity of the professional practice of love.

1.1Description and Aim of Study

This is an exploratory study that addresses love as a professional practice in early childhood education. Because the theme of my thesis is understudied, my research has been exploratory. Exploratory research seeks to gain knowledge of an under - researched area and aims at attaining data that may help shape the direction of future research (Nagy Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). My exploration has been guided by two key terms, seen in relation to each other: *Love* and *Early Childhood Education*. Reflection on these terms, relating to the tensions described earlier, led me to three secondary terms which have appeared to me to be dialectically connected: *Care*, *Maternalism* and *Professionalism*. These five terms were explored in relation to each other from multiple perspectives.

The study is theoretically and methodologically guided and inspired by Hans Herbert Kögler's (1999) critical hermeneutics. Critical hermeneutics attempts to encompass post-modern insights about the shaping influence of socio-historic practices into a hermeneutic conceptual framework, preserving the validity of the individual subject. The goal of critical hermeneutics is to liberate and strengthen the disadvantaged

subject (Kögler, 1999). In this thesis, the disadvantaged subject is love in early childhood education.

Kögler's three-fold theory of understanding (Kögler, 1999) asserts that all understanding consists of three limiting and enabling elements: the conceptual perspective, the socio-historic perspective and the individual meaning perspective. This study looks at love as a professional practice in early childhood education from these three perspectives.

Though I consider love to be fundamental to early childhood education, I do not consider love to be simple. Love means many different things to many different people. The families involved in early childhood education in Norway are a diverse group with varied belief systems and cultural contexts. Still, we are gathered together under common values while in kindergarten. Critical hermeneutics is a normative perspective, concerned with our on-going search toward a common good. This aim is worked toward in a dialogic process of understanding through exposure to multiple perspectives. Because critical hermeneutics is inclusive, relying on multiple perspectives, I consider a critical hermeneutic approach to be a relevant framework for the study of the love in the dynamic context of early childhood education.

In order to gain knowledge from these varied perspectives, I have used bricolage as a research strategy, incorporating varied methods of collecting and analyzing data. The thesis is heavily theoretical, with complementary empiric material. Considering these perspectives in light of each other, I aim to shed light on love as a complex, critical and defining aspect of the work of the early childhood education professional, an aspect I argue is unique to early childhood education in relation to the greater teaching profession.

This study is an associated project of Searching for Qualities (Høgskolen i Oslo og Akershus, 2012), an international project funded by the Norwegian government that aims to assess and increase the quality of out-of-home care for children under 3-years in Norway. My contribution to this study is to shed light on love as an aspect of professional practice and its role in a child's well-being during their time in kindergarten.

1.2 Relevance of Study

In this section, I will explain why I believe this study is important and relevant to our field. I will describe the issues I wish to explore and describe the ways in which I hope this study can influence the field's approach to love as an aspect of pedagogic practice.

1.2.1 Infants of the Revolution

In UNICEF's (2008) report The Child Care Transition, the study's authors refer to Article 13 of the UN Convention of Children's Rights (1989, Art. 13) which states that in all actions concerning children "the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration". The authors link this demand to two 'revolutions' currently taking place. The current proliferation of out-of home care and education for young children in rich countries is one. The emerging findings from neuroscientific research that affirms the foundational role love plays in the physical and emotional development of children, is another (UNICEF, 2008). The message of the report is *concern* regarding the amount of time young children are spending in kindergartens, in light of their need for love, which is growing more apparent. In Norway, the recent growth of the number of children enrolled in full day care and education has been termed a 'kindergarten revolution' (Solhiem, 2010). Nearly 90% of all children in Norway under school age spend their days in kindergarten (NOKUT, 2010). The amount of children under the age of three who attend kindergarten rose from 37% in 2000 to a dramatic 78% in 2010 (NOKUT, 2010). Children between the ages of one and five years spend between 25-40 hours a week in kindergarten, with a current average of 31 hours (NOU, 2012). Considering children between one and five years are generally awake an average of 77 hours a week (Sørensen, 2003), this means, statistically, nearly 90% of Norwegian children currently spend between 30-50% of their waking hours in kindergarten between the ages of one and five years. Can children's need for love be put on hold for 30-50% of their waking hours during the first and most influential years of their lives? If not, I believe it is necessary to ask what love is and how kindergartens provide it.

Love is noted as a right of the child in the UN Convention of Children's Rights (UN-General-Assembly, 1989). Neighborly love is currently written into Norwegian law as one of the foundational values that Norwegian kindergartens are built upon (Ministry of Education , 2011). The values are rooted in the UN Convention of Human Rights and attributed to Norway's Christian and Humanistic tradition and cultural inheritance. In *The Framework Plan for the Content and Tasks of Kindergarten* (Ministry of

Education and Research, 2011) hereafter referred to as the Framework (M.E., 2011), the notable presence of love and warmth is also mandated, stating: "It is highly important that children experience warmth and love in kindergarten" (M.E., 2011, p.10). Though love is clearly mandated, what the Framework (M.E., 2011) means by 'love' and how kindergarten teachers perceive 'love', is less clear. There exists little academic reflection or discussion about love in the context of early childhood education (Page, 2011; Rhedding-Jones, Nordli, Tanveer, & Abdellaoui, 2011). Some un-posed but relevant questions for example are what love *is*, how love relates to care, how a kindergarten teacher may *love* a child in kindergarten or how a teacher may provide a kindergarten environment wherein a child experiences warmth and love.

One reason for the lack of interest in love may be the narrow perception of the term in today's society. The word love is most often used today to describe romantic or familial relationships, neither of which can be immediately applied to love in the context of early childhood education. Another reason may be the low status love seems to have in a professional, secular setting. As women struggle to achieve professional status independent of qualities that have long been considered 'natural' or 'feminine', the idea of love in early childhood education perhaps presents a threat of returning to traditional ideas of the woman as the exclusive caretaker of children. But, while love has become a subject reserved for the private realm, early childhood education brings the needs and values of the private realm out into the professional sphere, mixing the private with the professional. This mixing of the private and the professional is complex and, I suggest, demands examination. Sevenhuijsen (Sevenhuijsen, 2003) has problematized the proliferation of public care in a broad sense, referring both to care for the elderly in convalescent homes and care for children in kindergartens as a relocation of care. However, I suggest that care has not been re-located, so much as it has come to exist in *additional* locations, branching out, and it has come to exist in these locations in an unpremeditated way. Though early childhood education was conceived out of interest in the well-being of children, the proliferation of kindergartens today is not primarily the result of a social desire to provide care or love to children. The proliferation of full-day kindergartens is rather primarily the result of a social and economic goal of gender equality (M.E., 2012; Korsvold, 2005). It is in the lack of a conscious re-location, or additional location of love, that the part of the complexity of the professional practice of love in early childhood education lies, and that I wish to explore in this thesis.

Bjørnestad & Pramling Samulesson (2012) point to the need for research regarding how the Framework (M.E., 2011) is realized in daily interactions between the

youngest children and adults in kindergarten. This study can provide a glimpse of how a select group of kindergarten teachers operationalize the Framework's (M.E., 2011) foundational value of neighborly love and its emphasis on warmth and love, through their own descriptions of love in their pedagogic practice.

I ground this thesis on the vaguely defined, yet distinct mandate of love in the current Framework (M.E., 2011). In this thesis, I will seek to clarify what we might mean by "warmth and love" (M.E., 2011, p. 10) in kindergarten through an exploration and analysis of varied concepts of love, which I will explore in light of pedagogic practice. I also ground this thesis on children's fundamental need for love, infants' particular need for physical affection and love (Johnson & Gunnar, 2011) and the growing amount of time young children spend in kindergartens.

1.3 Research Theme and Questions

The study's research theme was, *Love in Early Childhood Education*. To explore this theme, I asked three research questions, relating to Kögler's (1999) three perspectives of understanding:

- 1. What are some non-romantic concepts of love and how do they relate to pedagogic practice?
- 2. What are some discourses of love in early childhood education and what sociohistoric practices have been involved in their development?
- 3. How do a select group of kindergarten teachers experience love in their pedagogic practice today?

1.5 Current Field of Research

I have been unable to find existing research on love as a professional practice in early childhood education, hereafter referred to as ECE, in Norway. Care is a more highly researched area, but is very rarely related to love (Tholin, 2013).

Internationally however, research on love in relation to education seems to be a slowly growing field. Lisa S. Goldstein (2009) takes a feminist perspective in her book *Teaching with Love*, wherein she explores teaching with love through active observation in a 1st-3rd grade classroom and suggests the term *teacherly love*. Goldstein grounds her study of love on Sternberg's triangular love theory which is

conceived to explain adult love relationships, consisting of: intimacy, passion and commitment (R.J. Sternberg, 1988). Goldstein found that teacherly love was a unique type of love that was similar to motherly love and agape, though also different. She also found that though teacherly love is a type of love, there were many ways to practice it according to the personality of the teacher.

Jools Page's (2010) PhD study explored mother's views about their babies and children being loved by the practitioners responsible for their children's out-of-home care. Page (2010) also based her study on feminist perspectives. She used narrative methodology, and on the basis of six deep interviews with mothers, she constructed narratives which she thematically analyzed. Her theoretical framework was based on Noddings' (1984) theories of *motivational displacement* and *engrossment* as aspects of care. Page found that the mothers she interviewed did indeed want practitioners to love their children. In this context, Page introduced the term *professional love*, which she suggests needs further conceptualization and examination.

Ole Henrik Hansen's (2012a) article *Interaktionsmønstre i danske vuggestuer* is based on his PhD study, in which he observed the quantity of infant-adult interaction in several nurseries in Denmark with varied levels of organizational structure. He found that the stronger organizational structure a nursery had, the more time infants interacted with caregivers. Hansen also builds upon Sternberg's (1995) triangular theory of love. Hansen suggests the Danish term *kærlig pædagogik*. He emphasizes the relevance of love for infants' acquisition of language, mental development and social abilities. Hansen suggests that kindergarten teachers are always replacements for parents, especially for children under 3 years, even though it is unpopular to say so. He describes love as a relevant and necessary aspect of pedagogic practice, and likens the love a teacher has for a child to the love parents have for their children. Hansen is affiliated with the Department of Education at Aaruhus University in Denmark. This department has been involved in the very recent publication of a book entitled *Professionel kærlighed* (2014). Because this book was released only a month a, I have not been able to make use of it in this thesis.

Within nursing research, love is a more familiar subject, and in Scandinavia, Katie Eriksson has focused on the term "Caritas" as an ethical foundation for nursing practice (Levy-Malmber, 2008). Eriksson's concept of Caritas is based on the Christian concept of unconditional love, as well as Fromm's (1956) concept of love as an activity rather than a search for a love object. Another nurse, Kari Martinsen (1996,

2006, 2010), theorizes care from within nursing science as being rooted in the Christian concept of neighborly love. Martinsen (1996; 2006; 2010) explores care as a concrete nursing practice, drawing alternately on phenomenology, Foucault's concept of power and the body, and Løgstrup's (1956/1997) 'ethical demand'. From this complex lens, she has explored everyday care experiences within the nursing profession between nurse and patient.

I consider the literature described above to be key literature in regard to the study of love in the context of ECE. I have drawn specifically on Goldstein (2009), Page (2010) and Martinsen (2006) in this study. The studies and literature above are for the most part based on one or two concepts of love, including neighborly love from The New Testament or Sternberg's trianglular theory of love, which are then applied to ECE or nursing as *caritas, teacherly love, professional love* or *pædagogisk kærlighed* (Goldstein, 2009; Hansen, 2012; Page, 2010; Levy-Malmber, 2008). These studies have contributed a valuable framework for understanding love in professional caregiving environments. However, I question the use of Sternberg's triangular theory of love in an ECE context. The theory is based on the dynamic between two adults in a romantic relationship. Because the relationship between a kindergarten teacher and a child entails a unique dynamic, I believe it also demands a unique conceptual basis. I also question the validity, in light of the diverse backgrounds of the families and staff involved in ECE, of basing the professional practice of love solely on a spiritual concept of love, such as neighborly love.

In this study, rather than drawing on one or two concepts of love, I will try to explore how varied concepts of love can deepen our understanding of love in the specific and complex context of ECE. I will also try to explore and address the complexities involved in the professional practice of love in ECE, in light of the unique dynamic between a child and a kindergarten teacher.

1.6 My Pre-understanding

My motivation in entering the Master program at HiOA was to write a thesis that addresses the topic of love. In my 14 years of work in ECE, love has been a driving force in my work with young children. My personal experience of love is connected to my enjoyment of interacting with children and the responsibility I feel toward them as open, developing human beings. In my experience, the role of love in our work in kindergarten was an absent topic of discussion at staff meetings. I was pleased when, as an assistant in 2006, I read the Framework (M.E., 2006) which mentioned love specifically and surprised that love continued to be an absent topic when I took my kindergarten teacher education from 2007- 2010.

In 2012, I answered a request from the Norwegian Union of Education for a student from the Master program at HiOA to hold a seminar focusing on the youngest children in kindergartens. I held a seminar entitled *Love as the Fundament for Care and Learning*. In connection with this seminar, I defined the love for a child as "a force in the form of the adult's wish for the child's well-being". I also defined care as "love in practice". These definitions drew on my previous knowledge of love based on spiritual and philosophical studies, perspectives and personal experiences. Today, through my work on this thesis, my understanding of care and love has been both challenged and enriched. My personal motivation in writing this thesis is to better understand my professional experience of love in pedagogic practice and to contribute my voice to a fundamental, complex and obscured aspect of professional practice.

1.7 Limitations of Study

Because the subject of love in ECE is an understudied area, I chose to take a broad/macro rather than an intricate/micro approach. I approached the term *love* with an open attitude to varied perspectives. I addressed broad philosophical and varied ontological perspectives. This approach carried with it a danger of superficiality, of just brushing the surface of a subject. As a result, each of the three analyses I conducted could have been developed further if I had not considered each in light of other perspectives. Because this thesis aims to be exploratory, I chose away the possibility of going in depth into any one of the perspectives. My aim is to gain varied knowledge about the complexities of love in the context of ECE. Rather than going in depth into each perspective, I will focus on how the varied perspectives *together*, can shed light on love in the context of ECE. One aim of this study was to contribute some groundwork for future and continued in-depth studies that could be based on findings within the broad spectrum of understanding I explored.

1.8 Organization of Thesis

The texts I have used in this study were written in English, Norwegian, Danish and Swedish. In order to remain accessible, I've translated all citations into English. I have

preserved some citations in the original language in those cases the original language had nuances that were relevant to the analysis.

In this thesis, I address the subject of love in relation to all children involved in ECE programs. At this time in Norway, that means generally between the ages of one and five years. I will from now on refer to both infants and young children as 'young children', except where referring specifically to infants. The ECE institutions these young children attend are uniformly called kindergartens. Likewise, in this thesis, I will refer to all ECE institutions as kindergartens. The thesis is divided into 10 chapters. In this Introductory Chapter, I have given an overview of the thesis. In Chapter 2, I discuss some terms and themes that form the background for this study. In Chapter 3, I describe the theoretical perspective I've drawn on. In Chapter 4, I describe the methods I've used to answer my research questions. In Chapter 5, I consider some ethical issues and implications of this thesis. Finally, in Chapter 6, I begin my analysis of concepts of love. In Chapter 7, I conduct a discourse analysis of love and, in Chapter 8 I discuss my analysis of kindergarten teachers' practice stories. In Chapter 9, I briefly review and discuss the findings, consider the perspectives in light of each other and reflect on the critical hermeneutic process. In Chapter 10, I conclude the thesis.

2 TERMS AND THEMES

In this chapter, I will clarify relevant terms and discuss some pertinent themes which form the background of this study.

2.1 Love and Care in the Framework

The Framework (M.E., 2011) outlines Norwegian kindergartens' social mandate, value fundament and pedagogic platform.

Included in the value fundament is the value of neighborly love, translated from the Norwegian *nestekjærlighet* into English as *charity*. The values are rooted in the UN Convention of Human Rights and Norway's Christian and Humanistic heritage. In 2006, private kindergartens had the right to reserve themselves against the Christian foundational values and create their own fundament of values based on alternate religious or philosophical views. Since 2011, the foundational values are obligatory for all kindergartens and are rooted in the UN Convention of Human Rights.

The Kindergarten shall be based on fundamental values in the Christian and humanist heritage and tradition, such as respect for human dignity and nature, on intellectual freedom, charity, forgiveness, equality and solidarity, values that also appear in different religions and beliefs and are rooted in human rights. (The Kindergarten Act, Section 1, 2005)

Adherence to these values is obligatory also for private kindergartens (M.E., 2005). A private kindergarten may choose to root these values, for example the value of charity, in another tradition, rejecting Christianity and Humanism as roots of these values. However, it is not legally possible to reject the value system laid down in the Kindergarten Act (M.E., 2005) and their root in international human rights (M.E., 2005). According to the Framework (M.E., 2011), the kindergarten's staff is expected to be familiar with and capable of representing the kindergarten's foundational values so that the values are reflected in practice (M.E., 2011).

According to the Framework that mandates kindergarten teacher education, *Nasjonal forskrift om rammeplan for barnehaeglærerutdanning* (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2012), "kindergarten teacher education shall contribute to and support kindergarten teachers' understanding of the kindergarten's value fundament"

(Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2012, p.1). It is implied that these values are ideals and aims that we, as a society and as a professional group need to gather around, discuss and reflect on in order to practice in accordance with them.

When it comes to the meanings of the word love that are implied in the Framework (M.E., 2011), three different words for love are used: charity, compassion and love. Whereas charity is used when describing love as an underlying *value*, compassion or love is used when that value is spoken of in the context of relationships to other people and in society. These three forms of love imply both a values based element to love and a relational element to the professional practice of love.

The kindergarten's duty to provide care is emphasized throughout the Framework (M.E., 2011) and is related to all aspects of kindergarten practice. The highly important experience of warmth and love is noted in addition to children's already acknowledged need for care and closeness. Why is it necessary to mention love and warmth, when care and closeness is already mandated? Is it possible to care for a child and be close to a child, without love and warmth? Care has both instrumental and emotional meanings. If we consider the dictionary definition, care entails regarding or liking, but also concern, obligation, protection and guidance (Oxford Compact, 1987). Love, on the other hand, is described by the feeling of liking and the joy received from the other's presence, as well as concern for the loved one. (Oxford Compact, 1987). The commonalities are that both terms entail an attitude that benefits the cared for or loved one. They seem to diverge around the joy and delight the one who loves experiences as opposed to the one who cares.

Evolutionary anthropologist Sarah Blaffer Hrdy (Hrdy, 2009, p. 114) links love to "the extra something that babies look for". This extra something, she suggests, has something to do with the value caretakers assign to children when they show interest in them. Being cared for is important and necessary, but once cared for, babies seek out approval from the people caring for them. The assigning of value, as I see it, often leads to joy expressed between both the caretaker and the child. I have experienced as many others have, that young children literally bask in the interest of an adult (Hrdy, 2009). The kindergarten teacher's interest in the child is not, as far as I have been able to interpret, mandated by the Framework (M.E., 2011). A child's interests are to be supported and cultivated, but the interests of the kindergarten teacher is a prerequisite for this extra something that gives a child a feeling of safety and happiness. Love is, in light of intuitive knowledge, psychological research and neuroscienctific research

(Esch & Stefano, 2005; Gerhardt, 2004; Harlow, 1971), responsible for the child's *well-being*, their ability to thrive emotionally, physically and cognitively. My understanding of the word care as used in the Framework (M.E., 2011), is that it describes a fundamental mode of relating to a child that *can* involve love.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, it seems that Norway is unique in its inclusion of neighborly love in a mandatory set of values which kindergartens must found their practice on. The very inclusion of values as law presents obvious legal difficulties, but seems to reflect a very conscious decision to include a Christian and Humanistic ideology in the practice of Norwegian kindergartens.

The Framework (M.E., 2011) is currently under revision and the third draft was recently released to the public for feedback (Aukland, Gjems, Seland, Røys, & Ødegaard, 2.14.2014). Though neighborly love is still a fundamental value, warmth and love were no longer mentioned as being highly important for children to experience in kindergarten. Hopefully, the inclusion of the importance of warmth and love in kindergarten was not a fluke, but does represent an agreed upon commitment to a Norwegian kindergarten that responds to the child's need and right to experience love in childhood, both at home and in kindergartens.

Though underlying values appear like facts or truths, they are in fact shifting and contingent. Currently, the field of Humanities from which the kindergarten's value fundament is rooted is experiencing a weakened position in society. (Jordheim & Rem, 2014; Moi, 31.03.2011). In some ways, the value fundament of the Framework (M.E., 2011) is like a remnant of past times. If we continue to believe in these values, I propose that it is important to try to re-new our professional understanding of them (Jordheim & Rem, 2014).

2.2 Early Childhood Education and Professionalism

The field of ECE is often referred to as 'early childhood education and care'. The terms education and care are represented as at best complementary and at worst, binary concepts. It is widely agreed upon that 'quality' in ECE entails a holistic understanding of education and care as inseparable concepts (Van Laere, Peeters, & Vandenbroeck, 2012). In Norway, our present kindergarten system developed from two strains of institutions, each emphasizing either care or education (Korsvold, 2005). In the 1800's, Asylums, which were full-day care institutions serving needy families, were a response to the needs of the child while their parents were at work. At this time,

both parents having to work outside the home was synonymous with poverty. Kindergartens, on the other hand, offered children a part-day education as a complement to the home, which was offered at a cost and used by affluent families (Korsvold, 2005). These two strains, one which responds primarily to the child's and the family's *needs*, and the other that responds primarily to the child's and family's *capabilities*, were eventually merged under a unifying Kindergarten Law in 1975 (Korsvold, 2005). Today, there is not an explicit institutional divide between ECE for the youngest and the oldest children in kindergarten. Educated teachers are mandatory for all age groups and kindergarten teachers are qualified to teach all ages. The Norwegian challenge becomes to assess what care and education entails for each child in each age group.

Recently, the education aspect of kindergartens has received political attention and interest. The results of PISA tests have been used in Norway as a partial justification for an increased focus on school preparation in kindergartens (Van Laere et al., 2012). PISA tests are internationally used to evaluate the academic abilities of 15-year-olds in comparison with other OECD countries. Norway's 15-year olds have performed relatively poorly relative for example to its Scandinavian neighbor, Finland. The fact that the test results of 15-year olds have been successfully used to argue for more school preparation in kindergarten (Solheim, 2013), is worth considering in light of the status of love and care in today's Norwegian kindergartens. An increased focus on school based learning clearly risks a further devaluation of the caring dimension of ECE (Van Laere et al., 2012). If there is a correlation between academic performance at 15 years and kindergartens, as is suggested, it is high quality childcare that produces positive effects, and the measurement of high quality is not connected to the amount of school-based learning children engage in, but the quality of their interactions with caregivers (Vandell, Belsky, Burchinal, Steinberg, & Vandergrift, 2010). If kindergartens must take responsibility, it would be logical that a commitment to increase the quality of relationships in kindergartens would be in order, rather than increased pressure to engage in school-based learning. In this thesis, I choose not to reproduce the education and care divide, and refer to the field as 'ECE'. I choose not to separate care from education, aiming to advocate for a field of ECE in which care and love are implicit within the term.

The education and care divide is also evident in the various suggestions for defining the ECE professional. Definitions of professionalism range from traditional, technical definitions, to definitions based on a feminine ethic of care which rejects the scientific basis of professionalism (Feeney, 2012). According to Feeney's (2012) technical definition, the criteria for the title *profession* requires at least: a specialized body of knowledge and expertise, prolonged training, rigorous requirements for entry into training and eligibility to practice, standards of practice, commitment to serving a significant social value, recognition as the only group in the society who can perform a function, autonomy, and a code of ethics (Feeney, 2012).

Today's field meets some of these qualifications, most impressively, to serve a significant social value. The newly adopted Professional Ethics for the Teaching Profession (Union of Education Norway, 2014) also provides the field with an ethical standard of practice in Norway. The remaining qualifications however are far from met. The criterion to be recognized as the only group in society who can perform a function is especially challenging, considering children under school age have traditionally been taught and cared for at home. The education that qualifies candidates to work as kindergarten teachers is a full-time three-year course study that leads to a bachelor degree in ECE. Though the education is organized as a profession based education, the study is more or less open to all who have completed 13 years of schooling and cannot therefore be considered to have rigorous requirements for entry into training. Nor are there rigorous requirements for eligibility to practice, in fact the situation is quite the contrary. Though kindergartens are required to employ kindergarten teachers, it is possible to apply for dispensation to the rule and work under the title kindergarten teacher without being a qualified kindergarten teacher. In this case, there are absolutely no prerequisites to work as a kindergarten teacher in a kindergarten except those which apply to all who wish to work with children, that they have no criminal record (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2013). Never the less, The Framework (M.E., 2011) insists that kindergarten teachers "be conscious of their professional ethical responsibility for practicing the values of the kindergarten" (M.E., 2011, p. 40). ECE in Norway is regularly researched and considered from a professional perspective (M.E., 2011; NOKUT, 2010), based it seems on an ethical perspective of professionalism.

Some suggest that ECE could develop a new kind of professionalism built on an *ethics of caring*. This form of professionalism would acknowledge the unseen and emotional aspects of the work of a kindergarten teacher, rather than being based on the exclusivity of scientific knowledge. According to Feeney (2012), the field of ECE could lead the way into this new form of professionalism. From my perspective, both the traditional definition of professional and the more progressive definitions rooted in an ethics of caring can be valuable. In this thesis, I refer to a kindergarten teacher as a professional in as much as a kindergarten teacher is providing a valuable service to

society, adhering to a legally binding social and pedagogic mandate in accordance with an ethical platform and in exchange for remuneration. I also refer to the kindergarten teacher as a professional in regard to her ethical and caring relationships with children and families. Finally, my use of the term also indicates a demarcation between the kindergarten teacher's practice of love in the private sphere and the kindergarten teacher's practice of love in the professional sphere.

2.3 Inter-subjectivity

The term inter-subjectivity is used within several disciplines, including psychology and philosophy. Some common modes of understanding the term are as a state of interpersonal communion where each is attuned to the other's emotional state, or simply the state of empathizing with another (Coelho, & Figueiredo, 2003). In this thesis, I refer to inter-subjectivity as described by Kögler (2012), as the human relational basis of self-consciousness. The self is conceived as existing only in relation to an inter-subjective reality. From a critical hermeneutic perspective there is no 'one', but always only a 'two'. I understand Kögler's (2012) description of inter-subjectivity as a mode of conceiving the self as the result of and dependent on an inter-subjective relation. Self-consciousness stems not from one's own mind or one's own consciousness, but from an inter-subjective meeting. This means there is no 'one' that meets another 'one', but that each person's self-consciousness is a response to an intersubjective experience. In other words, there is no one without the other. From this perspective, the 'other' truly does hold our lives in their hands. I consider this perception of inter-subjectivity to be highly relevant to this study, because it describes existence as mutual, interdependent and shared, aspects which are relevant to the subject of love in ECE that involves relationships between adults and young children.

Now that I have clarified my understandings of some key terms and themes, I will in the next chapter present the theoretical perspective that has inspired and shaped this thesis.

3 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

In this chapter, I will describe relevant aspects of critical hermeneutics; the theoretical perspective the research in this thesis is inspired by and methodologically built upon.

3.1 Critical Hermeneutics

The term critical hermeneutics denotes various attempts to integrate hermeneutic thought and critical theory. I will first give a brief overview of hermeneutics, the basis of critical hermeneutics.

Hermeneutics is the study of meaning or interpretation, with the interpretation of texts as its point of departure. According to Gadamer's hermeneutics, language is seen as a reflection, or the unfolding of what is within us (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). Therefore, through language, we are able to discern meaning, or, understand (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). According to Gadamer, the "principle of hermeneutics simply means that we should try to understand everything that can be understood" (Gadamer, 1976, p. 31). What we know and all that makes up who we are presently is termed our horizon of understanding, or, pre-understanding and is revealed through language or text. Understanding is attained through a fusion of horizons between two individuals. The process of understanding through the meeting of horizons is guided by the 'hermeneutic circle'. The hermeneutic circle is an illustration of the researcher's process of interpretation. The researcher moves from the whole, beginning as a mere intuition of the interpretation sought, to parts, the texts being analyzed and back again, to renew her overall impression of the whole. This process continues in a circular motion throughout the data analysis and interpretation (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009).

Habermas complicated the harmony of Gadamer's vision when he insisted that the totality of our existence could not be understood purely through a fusion of horizon of individuals, because existence was animated not only by language, but also by the practical: work and action (Gadamer, 1976; Mendelson, 1979). The resulting exchange between Gadamer and Habermas was a seed that has grown into critical hermeneutics. Habermas simultaneously embraced hermeneutics while criticizing its present shape (Mendelson, 1979). Habermas brought a critical, practical and emancipatory element into hermeneutic thought which has culminated in critical hermeneutics. Variations on the theme of critical hermeneutics range from an emphasis on hermeneutics, to critical theory and constructivism and include combinations of the thought of such

philosophers as Foucault and Gadamer (Kögler, 1999) or Ricoeur and Habermas (J. B. Thompson, 1981).

3.2 Kögler's Critical Hermeneutics

In this thesis, I focus on the integration of the thought of Gadamer and Foucault as proposed by Kögler (1999). Kögler's critical hermeneutics integrates and transforms the hermeneutic thought of Gadamer and the genealogical and archeological thought of Foucault. This integration is described as "an attempt both to clarify and to preserve the insights of the structuralist/poststructuralist tradition by integrating them into the conceptual framework of hermeneutics" (Kögler, 1999, p.2).

Kögler builds on Foucault's insights into the power and significance of socio-historic forces on our perception of what is 'true'. Rather than truth being achieved through a fusion of horizons, Foucault proposed that there was no 'truth', but that the illusion of truth was created by discourses that grew to prominence through haphazard and unplanned social circumstances (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2008). Foucault (1979) conceptualized power as the basis of social life, using war and battle as metaphors for research. In Kögler's suggestion for a hermeneutically based discourse analysis, power is not conceived as being the driving force behind social evolution as Foucault proposes. Kögler proposes a view in which social evolution is not shaped by power as an all pervading force, but that power is inherent in the agency of humans, and that human beings shape social evolution through a dialogic process rooted in social intersubjectivity (Kögler, 1999; 2012). A critical hermeneutic perspective asserts that social discourse, historical and political practices influence and shape observable phenomena. But, it also asserts that observable phenomena are not solely shaped by social discourse, historical or political practices (Kögler, 1999). Rather, it is our state of inter-subjectivity that enables and supersedes social discourse (Kögler, 2012).

The overreaching goal of critical hermeneutics is to liberate and strengthen the disadvantaged subject through a collaborative dialogue based on a radical openness to the 'other' (Kögler, 1999). Often, this is applied to marginalized cultural or social groups of people. In this thesis, I approach love as a disadvantaged subject and aim to strengthen its position in ECE through a collaborative dialogue, mainly between myself and selected texts, but with the additional help of the perspectives of five kindergarten teachers.

3.2.1 Accounting for the Unaccountable

Kögler (1999) suggests that ontological claims create binaries which invalidate other types of knowledge and reduce possibilities for understanding. Within Kögler's concept of a critical hermeneutics, universals are neither rejected nor foundational. As Kögler explains, "if every possible thought or reflection is accordingly seen as prescribed by contextually defined patterns, the possibility of the reconstructive work undertaken by the "archaeologist" of discursive rules or by the "genealogist" of social power remains unaccounted for" (Kögler, 1999, p. 6). Critical hermeneutics makes room for the unaccountable. The universal is considered to be neither apart from nor is it the foundational context of contextualized social situations, but rather the universal is asserted in the hermeneutic capacity to understand. Kögler points to human intersubjectivity as the 'primordial root' of this capacity (Kögler, 2012). From a critical hermeneutic perspective, "a hermeneutic conception of linguistically mediated experience allows for a productive dialectic between the particular and the universal within the act of interpretation itself" (Kögler, 1999, p. 6). In other words, within the act of dialogue, the interaction and interplay between the parts and the whole, the particular and the universal, exists. Kögler points to "Emotional recognition such as love, care, and friendship as appreciating one's unique and vulnerable nature" (Kögler, 2012, p.63) and asserts that they are essential for the inter-subjective act of productive dialogue.

Critical hermeneutics rejects therefore that a final ontological claim can be made and therefore supports an effort to interpret with what I call 'ontologically open eyes'. In Habermas' (2008) work, *Naturalism and Religion*, he expresses the sentiment that it is possible and indeed desirable to try to understand the meaning of texts that stem from differing ontological precepts. Of scriptural texts, Habermas asks: "Who is to say that they do not contain encoded semantic potentialities that could provide inspiration if only their message were translated into rational discourse and their profane truth contents were set free?" (Habermas, 2008, p.6). By analyzing and interpreting texts from varied ontological positions, addressing concepts and discourses which are familiar to us in light of alternate ontological and/or disciplinary perspectives, one enables an "always situated transcendence of context boundaries" (Kögler, 1999, p.7).

3.3 Methodology

This study is inspired and guided by Kögler's division of our preunderstanding into three perspectives in his *Critical-Dialogic Circle* (figure 1). This circle departs from

the classic hermeneutic circle and Gadamer's fusion of understanding (Kögler, 1999). Kögler directs his attention to the limitations of our preunderstanding, the basis from which we understand 'the other'. Kögler points out that our preunderstanding not only *enables* us to understand others, it also *limits* our understanding of others. We are limited partly by socio-historic practices which each individual is entangled in and which necessarily inhibit understanding, even as they act as a foundation from which to understand. In order to wrestle with the problem of our inherent limitations, Kögler divides preunderstanding into a three-fold structural complex, each of which acts as both enabling and limiting: *symbolic assumptions, social practices of power* and *individual meaning perspectives*. Each is, according to Kögler, "a constitutive moment of preunderstanding and thus plays an essential role in every possible understanding" (Kögler, 1999, p.68).

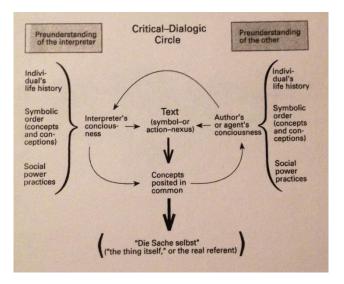


Figure 1 Kögler's Critical-Dialogic Circle (Kögler, 1999, p. 171)

Symbolic assumptions are deep-seated assumptions which form the basis for our understandings; in other words, concepts and conceptions. For example, my concept of what love is having grown up in the West, in a Catholic family differs for example from what my concept of love might have been if I were to have grown up in a Japanese village that practices Shintoism. Our concepts are to a large degree shaped by what is considered possible and impossible within the social power practices we are entangled in. Addressing this perspective, I will conduct a broad literature study of non-romantic concepts of love stemming from varied ontologies and disciplines and on the basis of this study, conduct a conceptual analysis of love in the context of ECE.

Social practices of power constitute therefore another aspect of our pre-understanding. These are the social, political and historical discourses and practices we are involved in and that shape our concepts and conceptions. The underlying ideologies of the times shape what we consider possible to do, think or perceive at any given time. Therefore, these circumstances to some degree shape the way love is perceived and is expressed in the field of ECE. Addressing this perspective, I will conduct a hermeneutically based discourse analysis, analyzing current discourses of love in light of historical discourses of love, care and maternalism.

The *individual meaning perspective* is unique only to the individual as a result of an individual's particular life history. This aspect acknowledges an individual's subjectivity and the value of their individual viewpoint to their overall understanding. This perspective will be addressed through my thematic analysis and discussion of a select group of kindergarten teacher's practice stories of love in their pedagogic practice.

The design of my study will therefore reflect this theoretical notion of the presence of each of these aspects in every understanding. Though I divide the three in order to focus on each aspect, I want to emphasize that each aspect is implicit within the other. My focus on concepts will remain sensitive to the socio-historic practices they stem from and my analysis of socio-historic practices will remain sensitive to the concepts of love that sprang out of them.

The underlying method of the entire process has been a critical hermeneutic dialogue between me and the various texts I have analyzed, underpinned by varied and divergent ontological understandings and disciplines. I considered the texts from the three sections in light of each other and tried to constantly question my own assumptions and taken for granted beliefs. My concept of 'the whole', an intuition of what love as a professional practice in ECE may entail, has undergone a transformation as I responded to new parts of an always changing whole.

This project is colored by my own symbolic assumptions, my own entanglement in socio-historic practices and my own individual meaning perspective. These aspects of my understanding both enable and limit my analysis, guiding it toward what I know, thereby enabling a focus on certain aspects and limiting my access to other aspects that may have been within reach for another person at another time and place.

3.3.1 Why Critical Hermeneutics?

I chose to work within the framework proposed by Kögler because, according to Kögler (1999) our conceptions, for example our conceptions of love, are shaped by social power and discourses that limit as well as enable us to understand love as a meaningful phenomenon. In order to better understand our relationships to concepts, Kögler suggests exposure to concepts rooted in alternate ontologies and cultures which may open up new possibilities of understanding. In my experience, the concepts of love which are predominant in today's society and within ECE, such as romantic or neighborly love, are not exhaustive in their relevance to love in the context of ECE. Thus, exposure to alternate concepts of love which are rooted in alternate ontologies or cultures, as Kögler suggests, could open up new ways to understand love in the context of ECE. I also chose to work within Kögler's critical hermeneutics because while I don't perceive love as solely a socially constructed phenomenon, I do consider postmodern insights into the role of socio-historic forces on shaping our experiences of phenomena an invaluable asset to our ability to understand our world, including our professional approach to and perception of love in the context of ECE. Finally, while appreciating the role of the social construction of concepts, I construe love and practitioners' experiences of love to be made possible by something that is unaccountable in a purely postmodern context. Kögler acknowledges the unaccountable and acknowledges the value of the subjective, individual meaning perspective as an aspect of our understanding and a valid source of knowledge. In order to research love in ECE, I wanted to use a lens that considers the individual's perspective to bear meaning in and of its self, not reducing the individual to a social construction.

Because love in the context of ECE is an understudied area, there are many aspects of the subject which are unexamined. Kögler's critical hermeneutics attends to three aspects simultaneously, which allows for a broad exploration of an understudied subject. Inspired by this model, I will analyze with sensitivity toward each of the three "constitutive moments" of understanding (Kögler, 1999, p.68). Through Kögler's vision, it is both possible and necessary to consider the experience of the individual as a subject and to explore which socio-historical forces have influenced the perceptions and the understandings of individual subjects. Operationalizing Kögler's theory in this way allows for a dynamic that opens up analytic possibilities and new dimensions to the subject of love. Viewing perspectives that do not generally 'perform' beside one another, such as religious and secular thought, is a conscious tactic that utilizes multiplicity and difference to gain a more sophisticated understanding of a phenomenon (Guba & Lincoln, 2013), such as love. An analysis that considers several

perspectives is ontologically explorative and, I believe, enables the possibility of generating new knowledge.

3.4 Limitations of Critical Hermeneutics

The main limitation of critical hermeneutics as a methodology, as I understand it, is that it may attempt to 'see too much'. The perspective is complex and ambitious, running the risk of trying to see everything and thereby not dwelling long enough upon a single perspective to grasp it deeply. While gaining analytic possibilities, I lose analytic depth. This limitation is somewhat accounted for however by the exploratory nature of this study. The groundwork I lay while considering three aspects of understanding could provide data for future and continued in-depth studies that could be based on aspects that were identified within the broad spectrum of understanding explored.

One weakness which has been noted is the implication of a 'missionary ethos' in critical hermeneutics (Hendrickson, 2004). The critical hermeneutic goal is normative, to work toward a common good through a collaborative effort with the disadvantaged subject. My position as a liberator for the disadvantaged subject of love in ECE can be construed as somewhat missionary in that I put myself in a 'moral high seat' as I advocate for love as a disadvantaged subject. I am not however attempting to convert the field, but trying to locate love as it exists already within the field and in its marginalization. I have tried to consciously include myself as *part of* both the practice of love and the mechanisms that contribute to the marginalization of love.

4 METHOD(S)

In this chapter, I will describe my research strategy and how I went about acquiring and analyzing data in a way that I perceived to be consistent both with the theories presented in this chapter and the overarching aims of this study.

4.1 Bricolage

The methods I used to gain knowledge in this study are the result of my use of *bricolage*. The term bricolage is French and stems from an artistic tradition of creating an artwork using materials one has at hand (Kincheloe, 2001). A bricoleur is "a handyman or handywoman who makes use of the tools available to complete a task." (Kincheloe, 2001). In the context of qualitative research it refers to the use of varied methods which may be altered or tinkered with as the study unfolds. The research strategy supports complexity, acknowledging that research which considers multiple perspectives can also require multiple methods (Kincheloe, 2001). The idea of incorporating bricolage into qualitative research was suggested by Denzin & Lincoln but was developed and further conceptualized by Kincheloe (Rogers, 2012).

In my project I found the need to use a variety of analytic methods to achieve the aims of this thesis. In the spirit of bricolage, I have used three analytic methods which I have tinkered with or supplemented as my research unfolded. According to Rogers (2012, p.1), bricolage "denotes methodological practices explicitly based on notions of eclecticism, emergent design, flexibility and plurality. Further, it signifies approaches that examine phenomena from multiple, and sometimes competing, theoretical and methodological perspectives". Because I aim to gain knowledge from varied perspectives within the framework of critical hermeneutics which itself straddles both hermeneutic and postmodern thought, I chose bricolage as a research strategy for this study.

Bricolage entails the use of a researcher's broad knowledge of research strategies (Kincheloe, 2001) in the construction of a useful bricolage for his or her particular study. Because I am just trying to start out as a researcher, I cannot claim to have broad knowledge to draw from. Rather, in my study, I have been learning along the way. I draw on knowledge I have gained through my exposure to various research strategies in my studies as well as my own continuing independent study. In the following sections, I will describe the three analytic methods used in this thesis.

4.1.1 Conceptual Analysis

In order to organize and make use of the knowledge gained from divergent concepts of love represented in my literature study, I have undertaken a conceptual analysis, based on the eight step method¹ described by Walker & Avant (2005). A conceptual analysis is a method which is commonly used to clarify meanings in order to aid analysis and build theory (Walker & Avant, 2005). The method involves a synthesizing of usages of a term found in a variety of media through a series of steps in order to come to a clearer understanding of its core attributes. Because of the method's reliance on a concept having 'core attributes', conceptual analysis is criticized for being a positivistic based method. This method would not be feasible if used unaltered to gain insight into the varied aspects of the concept of love from a critical hermeneutic perspective. I conducted therefore an altered version of Walker & Avant's (2005) conceptual analysis. Walker & Avant's (2005) method consists of 8 steps:

- 1. Select a concept.
- 2. Determine the aims of the conceptual analysis.
- 3. Identify all the uses of the concept you can discover.
- 4. Determine the defining attributes.
- 5. Identify a model case.
- 6. Identify borderline, related, contrary, invented and illegitimate cases.
- 7. Identify antecedents and consequences.
- 8. Define empirical referents.

Rather than identifying the uses for the term love, I tried to identify its different meanings. Rather than seeking after inherent attributes of the term, I sought after common or agreed upon meanings of the term. I used the practice stories written by kindergarten teachers for steps five and six. Although I completed all the steps in order to test the validity of my conclusions, I have only used the results of step four in this thesis. In step three, I limited the uses of love in my literature study to non-romantic concepts of love and did not consider popular uses of the word. My goal was to find some common meanings of interdisciplinary concepts of non-romantic love. I listed terms that were descriptive of the concepts I studied from within each discipline in order to determine the defining meanings of the term. I then sought out some common meanings among the concepts of love included in my broad literature study. Intuition and tacit knowledge played a large role in the process of conceptual analysis. Guba

¹ Walker & Avant's (2005) eight-step method is based on Wilson's (1963) original eleven-step process.

and Lincoln (1985) claim that the utilization of intuition and tacit knowledge is a relevant and necessary tool of the analytic process, explaining that nuances and multiple dimensions are able to be grasped this way.

My use of this method can be seen in light of the general lack of clarity surrounding what love in the context of ECE refers to and the tendency to consider love from popular, romantic and sexual perspectives. I consider this method to be useful in order to clarify some key meanings of love that are relevant within this thesis.

Though useful, the method is also problematic when considered in light of the aims of the cultivation of multiplicity that is central to critical hermeneutics. A synthesizing of meanings is the antithesis of my theoretical aims. Rather than gaining a deeper understanding of the complexity of the term 'love', one is left with a generalized description of its meaning. In order to strengthen the validity of my conceptual analysis, and in the spirit of bricolage, I have tinkered with Walker & Evans' (2005) method, adding an alternative step four of the analysis with the aim of cultivating the diversity of meanings within the concept. Using the same first three steps, rather than seeking after common elements between the varied concepts. Instead of resulting in three common meanings of the term, I was able to identify three divergent meanings of the term. Because the divergent meanings encompass several related meanings, I termed them multiple 'dimensions of love'. The results of this dual concept analysis were both three common meanings of the term love, and three multiple dimensions of the term.

Though the meanings of concepts are dependent to a large degree on the socio-historic context they are used in, concepts do direct our attention to the phenomena we want to focus on (Moloney, 1981) in a specific context. For this reason, I believe a conceptual analysis of non-romantic concepts of love could be useful to the field if further conceptualized. The results of a conceptual analysis could result in terms which direct our attention to meanings of love that are relevant in the specific context of ECE. In this thesis, a conceptual analysis of love served as a framework from which to analyze experiences of love in pedagogic practice.

4.1.2 Discourse Analysis

The discourse analysis I have conducted is not based on post-modern theory. I have conducted a hermeneutically based discourse analysis, as proposed by Kögler (1999). There is no clear methodological outline of how to conduct a hermeneutically based

discourse analysis, neither have I been able to find examples. Kögler's (1999) concept of a hermeneutically based discourse analysis is based on Foucault's genealogical and archaeological methods (Kögler, 1999).

Foucault's methods are complex, multifaceted and deserve a much greater focus than I can give if they are to be properly conveyed. Scheurich & McKenzie, (2008, p. 337) are skeptical to "cherry picking" among Foucault's methods, arguing that researchers need to adhere to his entire theoretical repertoire in order to do justice to his methods. Because I am working after Kögler (1999), who is basing his ideas on Foucault, I will therefore cherry-pick, as I am only appropriating a few of Foucault's methodological tools into my discourse analysis. I will present here the aspects of his work that I have incorporated into my attempt at a hermeneutically based discourse analysis.

Within academia today, the term discourse is often associated with Foucault and the postmodern project. Foucault directed his attention to the power discourses exert in the social sphere in as much as they define what is normal, acceptable or possible (Kögler, 1999; Scheurich & McKenzie, 2008). Foucault sought to uncover how concepts that seem to represent truthful descriptions of states or concepts that we have arrived at through a rational and cumulative knowledge base, are actually only a particular *discourse* which is the result of haphazard occurrences. This focus emphasized that knowledge is discursively defined and therefore socially and historically contingent, rather than cumulative and steadily growing closer to accurately representing an objective reality.

In order to examine a concept, Foucault looked to history. Rather than focusing on the formal history of ideas and formal knowledge, as the historical method traditionally has done, Foucault focused his attention on less examined aspects of knowledge, such as common knowledge and popular history, what he termed *savoir* (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2008). Knowledge in this category can seemingly have little to do with the subject under study, while on closer scrutiny a "common matrix" of knowledge can be identified. These undercurrents of knowledge are what Foucault suggests actually produce *connaissance*, or formal knowledge (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2008).

Another tactic Foucault used was to compare the way concepts were perceived in different periods (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2008). In so doing, Foucault challenged the modernist assertion that "the more recent is the more humane" (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2008, p. 335). He challenged the idea that modernity was progressing toward an ever more humane society, becoming "more rational than that which came before modernity" (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2008, p. 335). The basis of Foucault's

entire project is the decentering of the human subject which he considered to be a modernist invention. Rather than centering his studies on the human subject, Foucault's subjects are discourses, and these discourses are shaped by haphazard circumstances, not by the rationality of humans (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2008). Here is where Foucault and Kögler split sides. Kögler reserves a place for the human subject in his discourse analysis. The social world does indeed shape discourses and knowledge, according to Kögler, but the social world is made possible through the inter-subjectivity of humans (Kögler, 2012). Without adhering to a reductionist view of knowledge as discursive, Kögler suggests that these insights are valuable and necessary to reflect upon in order to understand a given subject as fully as possible.

Kögler refers to discourse as "the totality of statements that, through the regulative function, that is, through a common ontological premise that functions as an engendering rule, are joined together and linked to a coherent meaning context." (Kögler, 1999, p.181). Kögler continues, "The discursive formation collects statements into…discourses, inasmuch as it prestructures the content of these statements through the ontological presuppositions of those conceptions that are possible with respect to thematic concepts." (Kögler, 1999, p.181). That is to say that the ontological presuppositions of concepts *shape* the possible discourses of themes or concepts, such as love. I have found the somewhat simpler but still relevant description of discourses as "a particular way of describing and understanding the world or a particular aspect of it" (M. W. Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999, p. 9), to be useful for my discourses analysis. In this thesis, I am interested in particular ways of perceiving love, care and maternalism, and particular social practices that arise from that mode of perception.

Discourse analysis is described as an ethnology of the culture to which we belong (Kögler, 1999), a kind of impersonal auto-ethnography. In order to work ethnologically, I have to place myself outside of the culture I want to study. The particular aspect of the culture I belong to and wish to study is love in the context of ECE. I will, through research into socio-historic practices I perceive as connected to discourses of love, try to put myself outside of my own culture in order to perceive my own conception of love as a *construction*, one of many, rather than the 'truth' about love.

I have included visual images in my discourse analysis. When visual images are used in discourse analyses, the image is analyzed as a text (M. Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). I have included some visual images which were either already a part of the texts I analyzed, or which I considered necessary to include for my analysis. My analysis of the visual images is sensitive to my interpretations of the text and concepts the visual image is linked to. Images, like words, belong to a frame of context. Understanding the meanings an image conveys is not an exact science. I analyze the images only in relation to my subject matter, not in order to gain an understanding of the images themselves.

The goal of a hermeneutically based discourse analysis is "to identify the *contingency*" and specificity of discourses, which claim to speak nothing other than truth and to grasp nothing other than reality" (Kögler, 1999, p.181). The contingency of discourses refers to what has made them possible. Discourses are not construed as finished and packaged truths that have appeared out of nowhere, but results of time, place and circumstance. The specificity of discourses refers to the way discourses can only appear at specific times and places in history, under certain circumstances. The researcher identifies discourses, not in order to judge them to be correct or incorrect, but to evaluate what power/knowledge relationships are involved in our understandings. Once evaluated, the researcher, hopefully, achieves a certain selfdistance or socio-historic-self-consciousness that is necessary in order to resist the reproduction of unwanted discourses (Kögler, 1999). One weakness of this method lies in its diffuse aim. One does not garner results, so much as one hopefully gains a broader understanding of a concept in a historical and social perspective. Though diffuse, I believe this method is an especially useful way to achieve an understanding of the historicity of the subject of love in the context of ECE.

4.1.3 Thematic Narrative Analysis

"To gain knowledge about phenomena of life such as love...a cultural detour is necessary, through story." (Martinsen, 2006, p.151)

Narrative has been called the primary form by which human experiences is made meaningful (Polkinghorne, 1988). The narrative tradition includes many different conceptions of narratives and ways of working with narratives. A narrative in its most basic sense is a story, defined by certain common elements, including a beginning, a middle, an end, and a message or plot.

I was interested in how kindergarten teachers experienced love in their own pedagogic practice. I chose to ask the teachers for narratives, or, practice stories, because I wanted to gain an impression of the individual perspective. When we write a story about our own experiences, we are quiet, still and inward thinking, reflecting that "Narrative meaning is one of the processes of the mental realm" (Polkinghorne, 1988,

p.1). Rather than interviewing teachers, I asked for practice stories because I wanted to know how their experiences could be expressed when given plenty of time to reflect.

My interest in the practice stories was their content. Thematic narrative analysis is interested in the content of a narrative, *what* is said, not why, how or to what end (Riessman, 2008). There are no formal rules to adhere to when conducting a thematic analysis. Different researchers have used different ways of gaining knowledge about the content of narrative data. I took inspiration from Silbey & Ewick's (1992) study of individual's acts of resistance to authority and their method of the inductive thematic analysis of data². Themes from the narratives collected by Silbey & Ewick (1992) were coded and grouped into categories of different 'means' by which they resisted authority before they grouped the coded stories and created a typology of practices (Riessman, 2003). This method seemed to me to also be suitable for gaining thematic knowledge from my data.

One weakness of a thematic analysis of narratives however, is that it assumes each author meant the same thing under each theme, creating a substantialist view of data. Silbey & Ewick (1992) problematize the substantialist perception of a narrative that occurs when focusing on content, ignoring consequently the processual, contingent aspect of the narrative (Silbey & Ewick, 1992). In their work and in this thesis, I consider the narrative a dialogic process between the told and the teller. From this perspective, which is in keeping with a critical hermeneutic perspective, the stories and the themes are not discovered, but are the result of a dialogic process which involves the authors and I and (at least) each of the three aspects involved in our understanding. The stories are, from this perspective, not objects, but processes (Silbey & Ewick, 1992). As processes, my interpretation and analysis is dependent on place and time, as well as each aspect of my pre-understanding. In other words, these stories could have been read in a myriad of alternate ways.

Inspired by this description and the research produced, I went about my own thematic analysis. The first step in my analytic process was to *immerse myself in the stories*. At this step, I read through the practice stories casually several times a day for about a week without trying to form an opinion or seek after patterns. The next step was to *identify themes*. At the end of the week, I read over them again, this time letting myself

 $^{^{2}}$ Silbey & Ewick's (1992) study entailed a thematic analysis of hundreds of narratives, whereas I have worked with only seven. Despite the small number of narratives to analyze, several common characteristics emerged in my readings of the texts.

seek out patterns and repeated phrases or words. The first themes that emerged were the result of repeated words, such as the word 'smile' which occurred in nearly every story. As my readings of the texts matured the repetitive 'smiles' turned into 'smiles and hugs'. As days and weeks passed, the more implicit themes emerged, such as the teacher's 'flexibility' or the underlying theme of 'decision making'. I was interested in how new and more interesting findings can come about as a result of looking away from patterns and into fragmentations- that which doesn't belong or is paradoxical and ambiguous (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011). In my analysis, I tried to be open to idiosyncratic themes as well. On the whole, the themes that made it to the surface of my analysis were those I perceived as most prominent and/or relevant to my research question.

As I became satisfied with the number and breadth of the themes identified, the next step in my process was to systematically identify the themes within the texts so that they could be drawn upon in my analysis. I decided to color code the analyzed texts. I read through the texts again in full several times, one theme at a time, color coding segments which pertained to the theme in question.

I then used the three dimensions of love I identified in the conceptual analysis as a framework for grouping the themes. I sorted the themes into what I interpreted to be relevant dimensions. Once sorted, I considered the individual themes in light of the dimension and chose the final umbrella themes to analyze. These umbrella themes contain the sub-themes which emerged directly from the practice stories. Three final themes emerged: *Love and the Pedagogic Body, The Child as Pedagogic Guide* and *Navigating the Professional Practice of Love*.

I present the results of my thematic analysis in a discussion of the three themes. The themes are analyzed and discussed in light of theory from the previous chapters as well as additional key literature I have considered valuable to my analysis.

4.2 Theoretical Data

In this thesis, texts are my data source. I consider these texts with sensitivity to each of the three constitutive moments of understanding. The texts represent alternate perspectives and ontologies which I have engaged in a dialogic process with through my interpretations. In this section, I'll describe my text selection process.

4.2.1 Text Selection Process

In order to answer my first two questions, I've conducted a literature study of existing texts and images. For question (1), pertaining to concepts of love, I used original, often translated works. For the Christian concept of love, I used the Authorized King James Version of The Holy Bible. I had three criteria/considerations for text selection:

4.2.1.1 The Text's Relevance in the Context of ECE

I chose a broad range of texts about non-romantic concepts of love. I chose to consider only concepts of love that pertained to love for the generalized 'other'. I considered these concepts to be most relevant in a professional context. I chose concepts that lay behind the Framework's (M.E., 2011) Christian and Humanistic basis. I also sought alternative concepts that are rooted in alternate ontologies than those previously presented and/or stemming from an alternate discipline.

4.2.1.2 The Text's Previous Use and Exposure in the Context of ECE

Previous studies focusing on care in professional practice have devoted much space and time to an ethical perspective (Foss, 2009; Martinsen, 2010). Although ethical perspectives are highly relevant to this study and will be addressed, I have chosen to devote space to the study of alternate and less exposed perspectives, for example perspectives from within the Natural Sciences.

4.2.1.3 The Text's Relevance to the Framework

The Framework demands adherence to the foundational values, including charity, in kindergarten (M.E., 2011). The Framework grounds the foundational values in Humanism and Christianity, though it opens up for alternative traditions for kindergartens to ground these foundational values upon (M.E., 2011). I have chosen texts from within the framework of Christianity and Humanism as well as alternative texts that could serve as an alternate foundation for the values laid down in the Framework (M.E., 2011).

For question (2), my data consisted of both texts and images taken from primary and secondary sources within academic literature, popular literature, scientific journals and mass media. My criteria for data pertaining to this question were:

4.2.1.4 The Discourse's Relevance in a Norwegian ECE Context

There are countless discourses that affect our practice in countless ways. I have focused on social practices and discourses which I judged could be directly related to the professional practice of love in Norwegian kindergartens. The field of ECE developed internationally with common roots (Korsvold, 2005). The discourses and social practices that are analyzed are therefore taken from an international context, drawing on both international and Norwegian literature. I include however only those discourses which I could trace back to professional practice in a specifically Norwegian context.

4.2.1.5 The Discourse's Exposure in ECE Academic Literature

Also in this section, my criteria involved favoring analysis of less exposed discourses within ECE to more established discourses. For example, I do not include discourses of developmental psychology in my analysis. In those cases which I do analyze established discourses, I try to analyze them in an alternate light than they have typically been subjected to.

4.3 Empirical Data

Empirical data is typically used as a main source of data in qualitative research (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011). The empirical data in this study is used to gain knowledge from the individual meaning perspective. Rather than constituting the main body of data for this study, the empiric data functions as a contrast and complement to theoretical data. By contrast, I don't mean that the empiric material is presumed to oppose the theoretical material, but that the empiric data offers a contrast in the form of a practical perspective on the subject matter. Inspired by Alvesson & Kärreman's concept of "disciplined imagination" (Alvesson, 2011, p.17), I've tried to consider the data creatively, remaining open to fragmentations within the data, aspects or emergent themes which do not fit with my previous understandings or presented theory. Empiric data will therefore be used to "challenge, rethink and illustrate" (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011, p. 4) my theoretical data.

The empirical data are stories written by kindergarten teachers about how they experience love in their pedagogic practice. I include my own story as data. I could rather have observed kindergarten environments and written narratives of love. However, the observations I could make would be based solely on my own perception of love. I was interested in the experiences of others' and their alternate viewpoints.

Asking children for their perceptions of love in kindergarten was an option that, given a larger scope, I may have pursued. Given the fact that kindergarten teachers and assistants do share in the everyday duties in kindergarten, it would have been interesting to have asked for stories of love from assistants. In this thesis, however, I am interested in the *professional* practice of love in the sense that those who love are not only paid, but also trained and educated to do so. I chose therefore to give voice to kindergarten teacher's stories of love.

I asked kindergarten teachers for a 'practice story' about love in pedagogic practice. A practice story draws from experiences within the field of practice which are told as stories, with a beginning, a highpoint and an end. The story has a message to tell, at the same time as it is open and descriptive (Fennefoss & Jansen, 2004). These stories are conceived as tools for evaluating and reflecting on one's own or our common pedagogic practice. I asked the teachers for a practice story, both because it is a format that I assumed teachers had some experience with and because I wanted to support the use of practice stories for the development of professional practice. There is some descent as to whether or not a story is the same as a narrative (Kvernbekk, 2001). As I see it, narrative is the key aspect of story-telling. Story-telling as an art, however, involves other aspects as well, as it is also a *craft*, the craft becomes relevant in an analysis. Because I am interested in the content of kindergarten teacher's stories, and not in the qualities of the storying of the narrative, I chose to analyze practice stories as narratives, using a thematic narrative analysis as described.

4.3.1 Sampling Method

In order to collect practice stories from kindergarten teachers, I faced the choice between randomly choosing sample kindergartens and teachers or purposively selecting based on my insider knowledge. The subject of love in pedagogic practice is in my experience a relatively uncommon topic for reflection. I did some preliminary research, informally airing my idea of teachers writing their own practice stories about love in pedagogic practice to the teachers in my professional circle. The general response was that they had not previously reflected on love in their pedagogic practice and that writing a practice story about it would be challenging.

I was inspired by Goldstein (2009) who in her book *Teaching with Love*, chose to undertake a case study of her colleague whom she considered to be a teacher who exemplified 'teacherly love'. I decided that my prior knowledge of kindergarten teachers or kindergartens, which had environments I interpreted as especially

conducive to warmth and love, could provide valuable information to the study. My choice of purposive sampling is one way I have incorporated my insider status in this study.

Purposive sampling is typically used in critical hermeneutic research, because subjects are chosen to provide information about their own particular situations (Lincoln & Guba, 2013). In my 14 years of experience, ECE environments vary widely and atmospheres range from emphasizing the practical side of the group dynamic of kindergarten life to emphasizing the emotional side of the group dynamic. I chose kindergartens based on personal knowledge of their emphasis on the emotional side of group dynamics and their presumed ability to provide information on the subject of love in pedagogic practice.

Initially I contacted ten kindergartens. I personally visited two kindergartens and delivered information about my study. My intention was to generate interest and to establish a rapport. I wanted the balance of power between me and the study's participants to be as equal as possible, considering I myself was also a participant. A personal visit was not practically possible for me to carry out with all the kindergartens. The remainder of the kindergartens were contacted first by telephone and then through email. I chose to telephone first, rather than email, in order to establish as much of a rapport and generate as much interest as possible. The email contained more formalized information.

According to instructions from Norwegian Social Science Data Services, NSD (see Appendix A and B), I took contact with the kindergarten's director and asked that mailed information regarding the study be forwarded to kindergarten teachers. The teachers who chose to participate sent their practice stories to their director who then sent them to me. This way, the teachers' anonymity was ensured.

In composing the sample for a study, it is valuable to consider what components of the system or universe must be included to provide a valid representation of it (Luborsky & Rubenstein, 1995). Though a valid representation of the pedagogic practice of love can arguably never be achieved, in order for my data to reflect the aims of this thesis, I sought a sample that would encompass kindergartens that ground the Framework's (M.E., 2011) foundational values in Christianity and Humanism, as well as kindergartens that ground the foundational values in alternative traditions. Of the kindergartens who contributed, one has reserved itself from the statement of values rooted in Christianity and Humanism, one has an alternate pedagogic platform and the

others are county kindergartens. Each kindergarten adheres to the Framework (M.E., 2011) and each respondent is a qualified kindergarten teacher.

I asked for practice stories of love from their everyday practice and added that they could include any reflections they had about love in pedagogic practice as well (see Appendix C). The stories I received were written by teachers of children aged three to five years-old. This did not sufficiently represent the 'system or universe' I wanted to gain an impression of. This study aims to gain an understanding of love in regards to all age groups in kindergarten, including those between one and three years-old. Because I had exhausted my insider knowledge, but wanted to continue with a purposive sample, I took contact with the five kindergartens in my community which scored highest on the most recent county-wide parent-satisfaction survey. Underlying my decision is my assumption that parent-satisfaction reflects child-satisfaction, and that child-satisfaction reflects an environment that is conducive to warmth and love. There may or may not be a correlation between high scores on a parent-satisfaction survey and knowledge of warmth and love in pedagogic practice. Despite my uncertainty, I chose to call the directors of these kindergartens and asked for stories specifically from teachers who work with one to three year-olds. Of the total fifteen kindergartens contacted at both stages, I received six stories.

One respondent conveyed her story in a verbal conversation which I transcribed. One respondent preferred to be interviewed. The participant received three questions in an interview form which I sent to her via email some days beforehand (see Appendix D). I recorded the informal, open interview and transcribed it. The practice stories are translated and rendered as they were received, except for the omission of the kindergarten teachers' personal reflections which they included after the written narratives.

I did not ask for reasons some kindergarten teachers chose not to participate, but some offered explanations. Explanations given for not participating included lack of time due to parent-teacher conferences and routines related to new children beginning kindergarten. Other explanations included an uncertainty regarding the role of love in pedagogic practice and an uncertainty regarding the relationship between care and love. Most teachers, both those who participated and those who did not, explained that they had not previously reflected over love as an aspect of their pedagogic practice.

Now that I have described the methods I've used and explained why and how I used them, I will consider some ethical perspectives of this study before continuing on to the analyses.

5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this chapter, I will describe and discuss some ethical considerations I have concerned myself with in regard to my position as researcher and the subject matter of this thesis.

5.1 Contact with NSD

I informed NSD about my study. Because I did not collect any personal information from informants, it was concluded that my study did not require registration. However, I was obliged to take prescribed measures in order to ensure informants' anonymity in the process of data collection over email.

5.2 A Child Perspective Orientation

Research focusing on love and care in ECE and nursing science frequently draws on feminist perspectives (Jools, 2010; Goldstein, 2009; Jacono, 1993). Feminism is a multi-faceted perspective that emphasizes human interdependence and the concrete and contextual nature of ethical decisions. These qualities are certainly relevant for my study. In deciding whether or not I wanted to pursue a feminist perspective in this thesis, I was confronted with several considerations. In this thesis, I reflect critically on some of the effects of certain feminist discourses and the influence I suggest they have on attitudes toward love and care as aspects of pedagogic practice. Though there are several strains of feminism, from maternal feminists who advocate the maternalist cause, to 3rd wave feminists who resist linking the female to the maternal, as I see it, feminism always advocates the adult woman's perspective. As an adult woman myself, I have found that my interests often seem to conflict with my children's interests and the interests of the children in my classroom. In this thesis, in order to avoid as much as possible this conflict of interest between my own interests and the interests of young children, I have chosen not to build on feminist thought. I have rather attempted to take a *child perspective orientation*, inspired by the term coined by Sommer, Pramling Samuelsson & Hundeide (2013). A child perspective orientation is committed to seeing a child as having the same needs as an adult, which includes being loved, seen, respected and included. Understanding how the other sees the world is central to a child perspective orientation (Sommer et al., 2013).

I believe that a child perspective is well equipped to support my intention of advocating for what the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child, Article 13 calls "the best interests of the child" (1989). It can be argued that knowing what is best for the child is an impossible task. 'Best' is a normative term that is relative to social and temporal conditions. The relativity of what is best for the child may be true for peripheral aspects of childhood, but, in my experience, and from a critical hermeneutic perspective, being human also entails some 'relative' certainties. One such certainty is that relations with a loving caretaker are vital for the mental, emotional and physical well-being of a child. I construe love, in the sense of a beneficial connection with a caretaker, as clearly in the best interest of the child. Agreement about what love is and how love is expressed through action, is less certain.

On this basis, in this thesis I try to consider love in the context of ECE and our professional notions of love, care and maternalism from a child perspective orientation. I do so with the aim that such a perspective will make me more conscious of advocating for what is best for the child.

5.3 Insider/Outsider

I am a kindergarten teacher who has worked with, cared for and loved children for many years, both professionally and in my personal life. From this perspective, I am clearly an insider when it comes to my subject matter. However, I am also an outsider in this research. Unlike the other kindergarten teachers who contributed practice stories, I am also a student writing a thesis about the subject matter. This gives me an additional perspective, status and privilege as it separates me from the other contributors. Within a critical hermeneutic context, my goal is to become an outsider in my own culture, while still remaining aware of my always present subjectivity.

Insider knowledge can be used in different ways and to different degrees in research. Wilkinson & Kitzinger (2013) describe three different strategies for doing insider research: utilizing, maximizing or incorporating. In this thesis, I do more than utilize my status, since I am involved in the project as a participant and consciously include my own experiences in my analyses. However, I am not maximizing my participation as would be the case in an auto-ethnographic study. I have chosen to incorporate my insider status. Through incorporation, my personal experiences and perspectives are included, but the focus of the study remains always on 'the other'. As a result, my own experiences from pedagogic practice will be drawn on throughout the study, in as much as they can shed light on the subject of the professional practice of love in ECE.

My own practice story was a catalyst for this thesis. I include it because the story brings up questions of maternalism and professionalism which are central to the theme of this thesis. The story is thematically analyzed along with the greater body of stories. Even though it is interpreted and analyzed alongside collected stories, my own practice story necessarily enjoys a privileged status. The questions of maternalism and professionalism which the story addresses were critical to the direction and shape of this thesis. In my discussion and analysis of this story, I have included my understanding of the experience, rather than attempting to read the story without having insight into it. In order to acknowledge its privileged status, I've chosen to present it as a prologue to this thesis, consciously incorporating my insider status.

I chose not to consult the participants about the results of my interpretations of their practice stories. I had two reasons; firstly, my preliminary, informal studies gave the impression of a general discomfort with the subject matter. Secondly, this study is already very complex. Including teacher's viewpoints would have complicated it further. Therefore, I chose to collaborate only through incorporating their voices into my analyses. This choice can be criticized and, looking back, I can see that their opinions could have been valuable.

5.4 Re-articulating Love

The only word we have in the English language for the love of a child is 'pedophilia'. The word, though etymologically stemming from the Greek meaning "child-loving" (Online Etymology, n.d.), has come to refer to the sexual desire for children. The prominence of this concept and the lack of a current concept for the healthy 'love for a child' present a challenge to our ability to communicate what we mean by love in the context of early childhood education. In her work regarding professional love, Page (2010) refers to the inhibiting effect of practitioners' fears of accusations of abuse and the different views regarding what kind and how much love is appropriate to give an unrelated child. I have experienced negative reactions from both colleagues and acquaintances when describing the theme of this thesis. I feel that it is necessary to articulate a broader understanding of the term 'love', and consequently, an alternate understanding of love that is in the best interest of the child. I hope such an articulation could strengthen public awareness of the impacting force of the kindergarten teacher's love for a child in their care.

6 EXPLORING CONCEPTS OF LOVE

Love has been interpreted in different ways in different times and within different disciplines. As de Rougemont (1940/1983, p. 5) explains in *Love in the Western World*: "the human heart is strangely sensitive to variations in time and place". Yet, each interpretation bears the name love. I have reviewed concepts of love from within the fields of biology, psychology, neuroscience, Buddhism, Christianity and Ancient Greek philosophy. In this section I will discuss my analysis of these concepts and how they may relate to pedagogic practice.

6.1 Common Meanings of Love

In an effort to try to make sense out of the wide array of theories I exposed myself to, I undertook Walker & Evans (2005) concept analysis as described in Chapter 4. I identified three common meanings of non-romantic love deduced from my literature study: *unifying*, *empathetic* and *active*.

The first meaning I identified was *unifying*. This term refers to the many ways varied concepts of love describe love as a force that brings people together, either physically or through a mental realization of our common humanity. I experienced this aspect of love as the most emphasized aspect in all the texts. For example, the Buddhist concept of love describes love as the awareness of human suffering (Aronson, 1980). A Christian concept of love describes love as the awareness of our common interdependence and scientific concepts of love describe love as a shared emotional experience (Feldman, 2012). Whether the unifying experience is construed as an ethical imperative or a biological imperative assuring the survival of the species, in the data included in my literature study, love invariably involved a realization of or a sense of togetherness.

Experiences of unification also involve the second meaning I identified, *empathetic*. The individual's perception of another person's emotional experience was a motivating factor of love in each of the texts I studied. The Buddhist monk's awareness of human suffering is made possible through empathy. Acting in a way that is conducive to the happiness of another, as the Greek philosopher Aristotle described love, entails empathy. Being emotionally involved and aware of the emotional experiences of others was conveyed in scientific concepts of love as a physical

reaction to eye contact, body temperature and other subtle forms of non-verbal communication (Gerhardt, 2004; Johnson, Waugh, & Fredrickson, 2010). Again, this trait was construed from an ethical perspective as compassion, and from an evolutionary perspective as a function of the survival of the group through the cultivation of empathy for one another (Hrdy, 2009).

The third meaning that I noticed in all the texts was that love was construed as being *active*. It was emphasized that love is something that is *done*. The active aspect of love involves not only feelings, but decision making and actions undertaken within the material world toward the growth of love. Buddhist monks meditate in order to cultivate a mind of 'loving kindness' and are encouraged to practice love by good deeds toward others. Aristotle describes love as continually cultivated and brought forth through virtuous actions toward another, "actualized in episodes of friendly contact and encounter" (Rapp, 2013, p. 24). The activity of love is about the change that love brings about in one's own life and in the world.

In the context of pedagogic practice, the term *unifying* can be used as a tool to assess our practices, nurturing a sense of togetherness in kindergarten rather than divisiveness. These meanings can be seen in relation to the pedagogic environment's support of the child's right to participation and their sense of belonging in kindergarten. The Framework (M.E., 2011), emphasizes that "Children must both experience a sense of belonging and community, and feel that they can exert selfdetermination and express their own intentions" (M.E., 2011, p.15). Child participation involves empathy in our meetings with individual children. This aspect of love is also written into the current Framework (M.E.,2011), which states that children shall be met with *empathy* by the kindergarten teacher and this way of meeting children shall nurture an atmosphere in which children can experience empathy and love for others. The kindergarten teacher's role-modelling of empathy is mandated in the Framework (M.E., 2011). Role-modelling charity is one of the ways in which the third aspect of love I identified, active, is also present in the Framework in the sense that a kindergarten teacher is mandated to act in accordance with the kindergarten's underlying values and social mandate (M.E., 2011). This aspect of love reminds us that the kindergarten teacher's actions are always pedagogic actions. Actions can either support an environment that is conducive to experiences of love and warmth for a child, or our actions, or inaction can hinder experiences of warmth and love. This aspect of love can be relevant for all aspects of the kindergarten teacher's decision making- from the furnishing of a kindergarten, to the structuring of the day and our relationships with children and co-workers.

These three meanings contrast sharply the perception that love is a concept that is not appropriate or relevant in kindergartens. When common meanings are distilled from non-romantic concepts of love, our associations of love as a private and unprofessional phenomenon are not supported. Rather, love as described through these three common meanings are qualities of pedagogic practice that are already emphasized in the Framework (M.E., 2011). I suggest these terms can be used as a tool to view our practice in light of. It becomes possible to become aware of key modes of pedagogic practice that support the experience of love and warmth in kindergarten. Awareness of these terms could encourage reflective questions in practice, such as: Does this action cultivate togetherness? Am I trying to understand this child's emotions? Am I acting on what I sense from this child? Because each of these terms is already discussed in various ways in the Framework (M.E., 2011), putting them into a framework of love simply brings into focus how experiences of warmth and love can be supported by these pedagogic practices.

Though these meanings are obviously not exhaustive in describing love and are by no means authoritative, they are helpful in clarifying how I have interpreted varied concepts of love in the context of this thesis and how existing pedagogic practices can be seen as part of the broad, yet unarticulated framework of a professional practice of love. The three common meanings of love, while threatening to simplify love if used as a definition, can, if used as a tool rather than a definition of love, help to identify how some of our everyday pedagogic practices can possibly support children's experiences of warmth and love in kindergarten.

6.2 Multiple Dimensions of Love

Because this thesis is based on the cultivation of multiplicity and complexity, I analyzed concepts of love one more time, this time searching out divergent meanings which were specific to each discipline. Three dimensions of love emerged: *the ethical*, *the practical* and *the physical*. Presenting all the concepts I have considered would be too messy and complicated within the scope of this thesis. I've rather chosen to discuss select concepts which are representative of each dimension and contribute unique perspectives on familiar terms.

6.2.1 The Ethical Dimension

Concepts which emphasize *the ethical dimension* of love that I identified in this thesis are based on knowledge gained through intuition and inward ways of knowing. These are concepts of love that stem from pre-scientific times. Within this dimension I include concepts I've analyzed within Christianity, Buddhism and Greek Philosophy. Of these, I will present the Christian concept of neighborly love because it is a central concept of love in Norwegian culture and is represented as a foundational value in the Framework (M.E., 2011). In order to nuance the terms love and suffering, which I interpret as central to the concept of neighborly love, I will also present alternative perspectives of the same terms from the Theravada Buddhist tradition.

The Christian concept of love describes love as Agape, or what is often translated as 'charity'. I prefer the term neighborly love because 'the other' is represented in the term. From a religious studies perspective, Islam, Judaism and Christianity stem from the same Judeo-Christian tradition. The Judeo-Christian concept of neighborly love is rooted in the Old Testament or, Jewish Torah. The basic concept of the value and importance of neighborly love is found in each of the holy texts from these three religions. The concept is however given a unique importance in the Christian tradition. In the New Testament, love and love alone is the 'new law'. This interpretation of love lent a new quality to the Jewish commandment to love thy neighbor. 'Thy neighbor' no longer referred to thy neighbor from the same tribe (Nygren, 1953), but rather to the universal neighbor: the man from a foreign tribe, the sinner, the degenerate or the criminal. One way this concept of neighborly love is conveyed in the New Testament is through parables.

In Luke we find the popular story of *The Good Samaritan*. This parable has been considered a fundamental illustration of neighborly love and the caring ethic and is widely used within the field of nursing (Martinsen, 2006). The parable is often interpreted as a story about the interdependence and vulnerability of human beings. After presenting the parable, I'll elaborate on this interpretation.

..."And who is my neighbor?"

And Jesus answering said, A certain went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieve, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead. And by chance there came down a certain priest that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And likewise, a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he was journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he had

compassion on him, And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him...Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbor unto him that fell among the thieves? And he said, He that shewed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go, and do thou likewise. LUK 10:29-37

In this parable, The Good Samaritan alleviates the suffering of a Levite. On the surface, the story illustrates right action vs. negligent action. The story illustrates the responsibility each of us carries for the well-being of the other. Martinsen (2006) elaborates on this story, focusing on the choice the good Samaritan made to *see* the man's suffering, whereas the passers by simply used their eyes to record the man's suffering. Martinsen (2006) calls the act of seeing, beyond recording, *believing what the eye sees*. This alludes to an act of will that lay behind neighborly love.

When we look into the socio-historic background for the story, yet another level of interpretation is possible. Who were the Samaritans and the Levites to each other? Jesus and his disciples were of the Levites, who were Jewish (Steinhouse, 2013). At the time the Gospel of Luke was written, Levites and Samaritans had very bad relations. Samaritans were often cast in a negative light in Jewish society (Steinhouse, 2013). The fact that Levites, including a Levite priest walked past the suffering stranger and it was the Samaritan who finally helped the suffering man, lends a critical and complex aspect to this story. The story conveys both the value of compassion the Samaritan showed the suffering man in spite of their social differences, but it also encourages us to challenge our preconceptions and prejudices regarding who is 'good' and who is 'bad'. The call to love thy neighbor therefore refers to all 'others' and encourages us to dissolve the distinction between one's self and others.

The Christian concept of love is often interpreted as a concept of universal connection and interdependence where we are challenged to see the stranger in ourselves and ourselves in the stranger (Levinas, 1969; Løgstrup, 1997). Neighborly love is aimed toward the alleviation of suffering through compassion toward 'the other' as one's self. From the perspective of our inter-subjectivity, we are asked to remain aware of our interdependence and co-existence.

The sociologist Max Weber emphasizes the *acosmic* nature of neighborly love, described as brotherly love (Symonds & Pudsey, 2006). The term acosmic refers to the fact that love goes 'against the order of the world', illustrated by the parable giving the role of the one who loves to the person in the story, who according to the order of society at the time, would be least likely to love. This world denying aspect assigns

value only to the suffering individual (Symonds & Pudsey, 2013). The *Professional Ethics for the Teaching Profession* affirms that a kindergarten teacher's loyalty shall lie with the best interests of the children (Union of Education Norway, 2014). In the UN Convention of Children's Rights (1989), the best interests of the child are designated in singular form 'child'. This brings up challenges regarding the individual's status within the group. The Framework (M.E., 2011) emphasizes the importance of an inclusive environment in kindergarten. This is described as involving both the needs of the individual and the rules and norms of the group. Assigning ultimate value to the suffering of each individual's suffering. This may demand a reconceptualization of what it means to live in a group setting, while assigning ultimate value to the suffering individual. I have often experienced the norms and rules of the group being used as an argument against the needs of the individual being realized in kindergarten. Perhaps it is easier and 'safer' to assign ultimate value to rules and norms rather than the individual's suffering.

The concept of suffering seems a bit harsh in the context of kindergartens. The word has connotations of drama, destitution and impoverishment. The concept of suffering that is described in the tradition of Theravada Buddhism, another concept that represents the ethical dimension of love in this thesis, can nuance this perception. The suffering human being also occupies a central place in this Buddhist concept of love (Aronson, 1980). Gotama Buddha's teachings are rooted in a worldview that describes humanity as caught in a continuous process of birth and rebirth, wherein we perpetually experience the suffering of birth, death, old age and sickness. Through his contemplations on the perpetual suffering of the world, Gotama awakened upon his realization of the four noble truths: universal love, compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity. The cultivation of universal love as a response to universal suffering is therefore a central teaching of Buddhism (Aronson, 1980).

Gotama explains that a person who is capable of sustaining a loving mind for *even the snap of a finger* may be called a monk. Advice given as to how to sustain this 'loving mind' includes being devoted to relating to sentient beings with the wish for their wellbeing. This state of devotion is considered to be the rudimentary level of love and "cause for breathing easily" (Aronson, 1980, p. 25).

Whereas the Christian perception of both the terms suffering and love focus on the individual and are illustrated dramatically, from a Buddhist perspective, suffering is a fundamental state of being human and loving involves first and foremost devotion to

relating to sentient beings with a wish for their well-being. I think this perspective on love and suffering nuances our conception of the professional practice of love and challenges the habitual mode of understanding love and suffering as dramatic and specific personal experiences.

When I reflect on my own experience of pedagogic practice, I have encountered countless children experiencing momentary sensations of suffering. I have seen children who miss their parents, children who have been shunned by other children, children who have been shunned by me. I have been told by colleagues not to pick up one-year-olds who were crying, with such phrases as "he has to get used to kindergarten life" or, "we can't walk around holding them all day". From my perspective, assigning ultimate value to the suffering individual occurs through the kindergarten teacher's dedication to the alleviation of children's suffering, in whatever degree. Dedication involves first perceiving the other as suffering, and then believing what the eye sees. Neighborly love's dedication to the alleviation of suffering requires us to question our assumptions about how a child feels and to rather believe what our eyes see, keenly aware of our inter-subjective existence. It compels us to be compassionate and open to suffering in the other and willing to alleviate it. It encourages us to see ourselves in the other and from the other's perspective, challenging preconceived notions about what a child needs or how they should behave. Neighborly love seems to privilege the suffering individual over norms and rules which are worldly circumstances and temporal judgments. What qualifies as suffering and how to discern the cause of suffering are both themes which I believe demand further reflection, if kindergarten teachers are mandated to act in accordance with the underlying value of neighborly love in kindergarten.

6.2.2 The Practical Dimension

Another dimension of love identified was *the practical dimension*. Some of the concepts of love I researched emphasized a practical element- that love was something we had to do *in the world*. One concept that emphasizes the practical dimension of love is Fromm's theory of love as an art. I present Fromm's theory which directs attention to the practice of love in relation to the materiality of the world.

The concept of love as a practice has been used as a framework in nursing science, drawing on Erich Fromm's (1956) *The Art of Love* (Levy-Malmber, 2008). According to Fromm, in order to love, one must love through *actions* (Fromm, 1956). Love as a practice for one who is caught in a conceptual understanding of love which is based on

a love object rather than the function of love, requires *knowledge* and *effort*. For Fromm, loving is a cognitive activity that requires both understanding and self-reflection. Far from being primarily a feeling, love is described as an active way of being. Fromm describes the way toward mastery in the art of loving in the same way one masters other art forms: by a practice of self-discipline, concentration and patience. Practicing adhering to one's will through one's actions, rather than acting against one's better judgment is one step toward the practice of love, in other words, doing what one considers good for one's self and others is to practice love. This can be seen in relation to Martinsen's (2006) plea to believe what the eye sees. Fromm emphasizes the action one takes as a result of that belief. According to Fromm, "discipline should not be practiced like a rule imposed on oneself from outside, but that it becomes an expression of one's own will; that it is felt as pleasant, and that one slowly accustoms oneself to a kind of behavior which one would miss, if one were to stop practicing it." (Fromm, 1956, p.93). The practice of love involves work and pleasure, dissolving the dichotomy often imposed between the two.

Another important aspect of practicing love as an art that Fromm points out, is having a supreme concern for the mastery of the art. One has to have a personal commitment to learning to love, which can only be learned through example. Fromm puts forth that love is taught not through rules and precepts, but by the passing on of loving traits through the presence and guidance of loving teachers who embody these traits. Fromm suggests that the value we have in earlier epochs placed on traits such as kind, loving and patient, we today place on traits such as glamorous, beautiful or exciting. The lack of value placed on spiritual or loving attributes in today's society (Fromm wrote in the the 1950's), is thought to impoverish modern education and its ability to promote love as a practice rather than an ambition toward a love object (Fromm, 1956). The Framework (M.E., 2011) demands that the kindergarten teacher role model the kindergarten's foundational values in her practice (M.E., 2011). The teacher's practice of love becomes an initiation into the practice of love for children learning from the teacher's example, according to Fromm's (1956) theory. This aspect of the teacher as role model can also be seen in relation to the concept of the process of formation, or bildung that has recently been introduced to the Framework (M.E., 2011). Formation as a concept refers to the overall education of children as members of society. The Framework (M.E., 2011) describes formation as "a process through which adults lead and guide the next generation...our values, norms, ideas and modes of expression and action are being passed on, changed and subjected to negotiation" (M.E., 2011, p.27). Fromm's concept of love being learned through role-modelling is relevant for describing love in a professional context because it focuses on the quality of our *actions* toward others as demarcations of the professional practice of love. Fromm's concept also emphasizes the correlation between the kindergarten teacher's personal practice of love and the ability the kindergarten teacher has to role model the value of neighborly love. In other words, the kindergarten teacher's ability to support the child's formation through role-modelling love is involved with the kindergarten teacher's own process of formation and her practice of love.

6.2.3 The Physical Dimension

The third dimension of love I identified is *the physical dimension*. This dimension identifies love as an emotion and locates it in the body. Though many concepts of love use the physical body as an illustration of ethical acts of love, concepts of love within the Natural Sciences emphasize experiences of love as they are apparent in the brain, in the heart, in all of our organs, and even in our cells. I have found this dimension of love to be eye opening in relation to work in kindergarten because it lifts love out of the abstract realm of judgments and responsibility, to the experiential level of the feeling body. Within this dimension are theories of love within the field of biology, neuroscience, neurobiology and evolutionary science. To represent this dimension, I will discuss Barbara Fredrickson's (2013) theory of love from the field of evolutionary psychology.

This perspective of love was brought to my attention by one of the participants in this study. Her contribution is in the 'spirit' of critical hermeneutics which considers research a collaborative effort. Fredrickson (2013) dares us to see love from a biological perspective. Fredrickson's research into love came about as her renowned studies of positive emotions took an unexpected turn. She began to notice that of all the emotions she studied, the emotion she and others referred to as love had a unique, transformative effect on her study's participants. Through her studies of positive emotions, she eventually identified love as the *supreme emotion* (2013).

She describes love as authentic connections between people which result in what she terms *positivity resonance*. This feeling of being in a shared emotional space can be very intense, or it can be a short exchange of smiles between colleagues. Fredrickson's theory of love conceives these experiences of positivity resonance as *micro-moments* of love that arise and ebb away, as emotions do. Love, according to Fredrickson's definition, is not exclusive and does not imply a future connection beyond the experience of these micro-moments. These micro-moments of love are however dependent upon two factors: safety and interpersonal connection (Fredrickson, 2013).

The first need can be seen in relation to emotional safety that allows one to feel as if they can open up to another person. The second, interpersonal connection requires another person who makes an effort to meet the 'other' in a safe emotional environment.

Fredrickson's theory builds on research within neurobiology and biology. She uses examples of how the body responds to the supreme emotion of love through physical changes in internal organs that were previously considered stable and unchanging (Kok & Fredrickson, 2010). In general, the neuroscientific knowledge Fredrickson uses to support her theory sees love in connection to happiness and closeness. These feelings of happiness and closeness are involved in reducing stress and increasing well-being (Esch & Stefano, 2005). Fredrickson also emphasizes the role the 'love hormone' oxytocin plays in reducing stress, measured by cortisol levels. There has been a growing concern for the high cortisol levels of children in kindergarten (Bjørnstad & Pramling Samuelsson, 2012). Fredrickson explains that the hormone oxytocin is released in our bodies when we experience touch, closeness and positivity resonance. The effect of oxytocin on the body is manifold and includes a lowered heart rate and lowered levels of cortisol.

Neuroscientific research that Fredrickson builds on, and that UNICEF (2008) refers to, has also focused on the brain's plasticity and its particular flexibility during the first three years of life, making these years especially consequential (Twardosz, 2012). The brain's plasticity continues throughout adult life, but to a lesser degree than the plasticity of young brains. The mapping of information that goes on in our brains is created in relation to our environments. Warmth and touch induce the hormone oxytocin, which acts as a kind of lubricant for making connections in the brain between neurons. The more connections made, the more communication is possible and, put very broadly, the more ways one has of understanding (Twardosz, 2012). This renders the child's experiences meaningful in a way that is unique to the child in relation to the adult. The experiences a child is involved in in childhood, according to research within neuroscience, influences the way in which the child will act from in its post-pubescent years, when the brain's flexibility wanes and new information is no longer "formative" in the sense of enabling or disabling the brain's future possibilities of receptivity to information (Twardosz, 2012; Gerhardt, 2004). On a critical note, Twardosz (2012) emphasizes that, this view, though valuable, can and does seem to have contributed to a deterministic view of children and people in general. It is therefore important to emphasize that the brain is *always* plastic, although its plasticity wanes as one grows older. This concept of love relates directly to the unique adultchild dynamic in ECE settings. The love and care an adult gives or does not give a child, according to the neuroscientific research presented, has a lasting effect on the child. Fredrickson's concept of love can inform pedagogic practice in its emphasis on love's presence in our physicality, *here and now*, as well as the varied degrees of intensity with which experiences of love occur.

The lasting effect of love on the brain can perhaps be seen in relation to the positive effects of high quality ECE on the cognitive performance of 15 year olds (Vandell, Belsky, Burchinal, Steinberg, & Vandergrift, 2010). Fredrickson's concept of love as positivity resonance that occurs in micro-moments of love will be drawn on in my analysis of practice stories in Chapter 8.

Considering love as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, rather than limiting our conceptualization to one perspective, can provide a fertile conceptualization of love in ECE. Concepts of love from within the Natural Sciences alone could lead to an instrumental view of love as something defined that can be achieved and increased through a regimented practice. The scientific concept lacks insight into the ethical dimension, which includes philosophical and spiritual perspectives on love that are derived from an intuitive, rather than a rational mode of knowing. Finally, Fromm's concept of love as a practice is rendered meaningless without the articulation of what love entails. The concepts of love I've reviewed were developed in varied periods of time and places through history which made it possible for precisely these concepts to arise. Today, the plethora of concepts allows us the opportunity to both theorize love in a way that emphasizes the common meanings of various concepts, and to conceive of love as multi-dimensional.

I will continue to address the concept of love, but from a new perspective. In the following chapter, I will explore some discourses of love as they have appeared within the history of ECE.

7 EXPLORING DISCOURSES OF LOVE

In this chapter, I will address some discourses of love within the socio-historic practices the field of ECE has been involved in.

This discourse analysis of love can be seen in light of the birth of the scientific method in the West and a general tendency toward *reason* over *belief* and thereby the *seen* over the *unseen* that followed the growth of the scientific method in the 17th century (Wainwright, 2009). The authority of reason was relatively new, compared to centuries of belief-based spiritual worldviews. In order to better understand their spiritual worldviews, between the 18th and 20th centuries, philosophers tried to interpret their worldviews from the perspective of reason. It became a dominant idea that only those aspects of spiritual thought which could be proven through reason were to be accepted (Wainwright, 2009). This resulted, for example, in the distilling of Christian values that could be described through reason into the Humanistic values Norwegian kindergartens are founded on today. The privileging of reason over belief and the seen over the unseen gained more and more authority and is today considered by some to be the driving force behind modernity (Kincheloe, 2008).

7.1 The Romantic Worldview: 18th Century- 19th Century

The field of ECE has its roots in the Romantic era, localized in Western Europe and characterized by ontological presuppositions which I will show differ from prevalent assumptions of today. Because our current ontological assumptions differ from those present in the Romantic era, the discourses imbedded within the tradition of ECE, such as love, care and maternalism may no longer be immediately intelligible to us, as they were for the field's pioneers.

Exactly what constitutes 'the Romantic era' is disputed among academics (Löwy & Sayre, 2001). I base my view of Romanticism on Löwy & Sayre's (2001) analysis of Romanticism as a worldview, rather than an isolated period of time or a specific philosophical movement. Löwy & Sayre, (2001, Loc 344) explain, "Romanticism represents a critique of modernity, that is, of modern capitalist civilization, in the name of values and ideals drawn from the past". This worldview grew partly out of disenchantment with the rationalist ideals of the Enlightenment, but first and foremost, the Romantic worldview was (and still is) a reaction against modernity, specifically capitalism's influence on daily life. Romanticism is often negatively referred to as a

particularly 'feminine' time, referring to the inherent values of the period: the internal, intuitive, communal and the universal (Löwy & Sayre, 2001). My interest in discourses from this time can also be construed as belonging to the romantic tradition. I too am drawing on the past, to better understand the role of love, care and maternalism in our present day ECE institutions. I will try to resist falling into the romantic tradition, however, as my goal is neither to idealize the past, nor to idealize the present in comparison with the past.

7.1.1 The Individual in the Romantic Era

In the Romantic era, *the individual* gained a new status. The Romantic worldview was perhaps made possible by a strain of philosophy that shifted their attention from understanding religion through rationalism, to understanding religious beliefs through feelings and experience (Wainwright, 2009). This view located the divine within the experiences and feelings of the human being. For the Romantic, reason did not dismantle religion; it directed religious understanding inward, to the individual. Within the individual were intimations of the divine, of the whole. Any individual was therefore rendered of equal value to the next, because each 'took part' in the Divine, or the universal whole (Reardon, 1985).

Individualism also found expression in the capitalistic worldview Romanticism was reacting against, but the individualism that was cultivated within capitalism was not based on the concept of the individual as part of a whole (Löwy & Sayre, 2001). This rise of individualism both within the Romantic worldview and the Capitalistic worldview unleashed the energies of oppressed individuals, such as women, children and people who were kept as slaves, and seems to have been part of what drove forward both the kindergarten movement and the women's suffragist movement. The kindergarten movement and the women's suffragist movement were successful attempts to politicize the ideals that permeated the creative and academic world.

I bring up this value of the individual, because it seems the underlying assumption for the founders of the kindergarten movement, was that a child was an individual, alongside men and women (Pestalozzi, 1827). This view of the child gave the child a new status and, I suggest, paved the way for the love-based pedagogy which was propagated in the kindergarten movement era. I will now turn my attention to the kindergarten movement, where discourses of love, care and maternalism were abundant.

7.1.2 The Kindergarten Movement Era

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852) and Maria Montessori (1870-1952) were three pillars of the early kindergarten movement era. Each of these educators focused on love, care and maternalism in varying degrees (Fröbel, 1980; Montessori, 1912/1964; Pestalozzi, 1951). Their focus on these aspects was not expressed as juxtaposition to learning, as is often the case today. Love, care and maternalism were the very fiber of these education systems, the foundation upon which learning occurred (Fröbel, 1980; Montessori, 1912/1964; Pestalozzi, 1951). These educators were each influenced by Romanticism and successively by each other (Kilpatrick in Fröbel, 1980; Pestalozzi, 1951; Signert, 2007). The influence of each of these pedagogic philosophers was also manifest in the Norwegian kindergarten movement (Korsvold, 2005).

The term 'kindergarten movement' refers specifically to the development of Froebel kindergartens from the mid19th century to the early 20th century (Allen, 1982). I use the term both specifically and broadly, referring also to the kindergarten movement as an *era* characterized by the growth of idealistic systems of ECE, stretching from Pestalozzi who inspired Froebel to Montessori, who built upon Froebel's ideas.

The modern history of the kindergarten movement in many ways began with Pestalozzi, a Swiss pedagogic reformer active toward the end of the 18th century. His pedagogic philosophy and practice was developed as a reaction against the educational system of his time, which was punitive and excluded poor children (Pestalozzi, 1951). One of the six principles he based his schools on was that "love for those we would educate is 'the sole and everlasting foundation' in which to work" (Kilpatrick in Pestalozzi, 1951, p.viii). Pestalozzi's religiosity reflected his era, bearing signs of humanism and mysticism. He saw God, nature and man as bound together by love: "Love is the bond that ties the globe together" (Pestalozzi, 1951, p.93).

Pestalozzi's educational philosophy, referred to as *Head, Heart and Hand Education* (Brühlmeier, 2010) encompassed the symbiotic nature of intellectual capacities, moral and religious capacities and technical or practical abilities. Pestalozzi emphasized that the capacities for intellectual and practical abilities were only valuable when founded on love, the faculty of the heart (Brühlmeier, 2010; Pestalozzi, 1951). Knowledge, according to Pestalozzi without love, was more dangerous than ignorance with love (Pestalozzi, 1951).

Teaching, by itself and in itself, does not make for love, any more than it makes for hatred. That is why teaching is by no means the essence of education. It is love that is its essence. Love alone is the eternal

effluvium of the divinity that is enthroned within us. It is the central flow point from which the essentials of education flow. (Pestalozzi, 1951, p. 33)

Pestalozzi located the source of this love for the child, in the maternal. His influential novel, *Lienhard und Gertrud* from 1780, portrayed maternal love as the foundation of the child's, moral, intellectual and spiritual development (Allen, 1982, p.330-331). Pestalozzi advocated the primacy of maternal love, but emphasized that it was a *thinking love* (Pestalozzi, 1827). Pestalozzi's pedagogic philosophy institutionalized his concept of love by emphasizing the teacher's duty to develop an emotional involvement with the children so as to ensure sensitivity toward the children (Steinsholt, 2007). His love based pedagogy gained international fame in his time and was influential in the growth of the ECE field in Norway. One of the most influential figures of our modern field of ECE was his pupil, Friedrich Froebel.

Froebel was a German pedagogic philosopher embodying Romanticism. He was influenced both by Pestalozzi's educational ideas and Rousseau's (Johansson, 2007) image of the naturally unfolding child (Froebel, 1898/2005; Kilpatrick in Pestalozzi, 1951). Froebel's philosophic and pedagogic writings, like Pestalozzi's, were strongly colored by his religiosity and mystical view of God and man, presenting a view of nature and man as being a reflection of and part of divine unity (Froebel, 1898/2005; Fröbel, 1980). For Froebel, we find within man and nature echoes of the divine. The goal of education for Froebel was therefore the maximum unfolding of the child's inner nature. Froebel was responsible for the growth of the kindergarten movement which he described as *united by love* (Heiland, 1993).

When Eva Balke (1995) describes Froebel's role in the history of Norwegian ECE, she begins with placing him and his ideas within the Romantic era: "The Romantic era in Germany was a spiritual movement that was expressed in poetry, painting and music, as well as philosophy and science" (Balke, 1995, p. 85). She continues: "The child and the woman were idealized because they stood near nature and our origin" (Balke, 1995, p. 86). Though Froebel idealized the maternal, his call to procure an education for work with young children was initially addressed to men. When he received little interest, he addressed his call to both men and women. It was then women who responded with enthusiasm (Allen, 1982).

For Froebel, the safety of the family was considered to be the social center of learning. In this view, Froebel showed sensitivity to emotional security being a prerequisite to learning. His writings were intended to be used first and foremost in the home, but also as a complement to the home, within kindergarten institutions (Fröbel, 1980). His pedagogical writings (Froebel, 1898/2005; Fröbel, 1980) are addressed consistently to both mothers and fathers. The maternal role however is attributed with a special significance.

It is first and foremost the mother who perceives the child's elevated being. For the husband as well, the wife is seen as the protector of the spiritual, things like care and caretaking have through the history of mankind always been close to the female mind. (Fröbel, 1980, p. 35)

Froebel separates his use of the term care into two subcategories: *omsorg*, which means care, and *pleie*, which refers to caretaking. Froebel links care with the mind, just as Pestalozzi spoke of a thinking love (Pestalozzi, 1827). Froebel elaborates on his view of women and children:

Women and children are the most oppressed and neglected of all...They have not yet been fully recognized in their dignity as parts of human society. If progress and a greater degree of freedom depend largely upon the degree of universal culture, then it is women, to whom God and Nature have pointed out the first educational office in the family, on whom this progress depends."' (Froebel, 1948 in Allen, 1982, p.319)

Through his interest in women and children, Froebel was in his own time a supporter of what today is considered the feminist cause. Heiland (1993) contends that Froebel's main pedagogic principle is motherly love, expressed through attention and play. Ailwood (2008) argues that Froebel is to a large degree responsible for the maternal basis of the concept of 'the good kindergarten teacher'. As I interpret Ailwood (2008), she sheds light on maternalist discourses that are responsible for the idea that women and kindergarten teachers are 'natural' caretakers and therefore, the work they do deserves little pay and is not construed as professional.

From a socio-historic perspective, until Pestalozzi focused on the woman's nurturing role in childrearing near the end of the18th century, the father was generally looked upon as the children's over-looker and had responsibility for their education. Allen (1982) emphasizes that Froebel's assigning of value to the woman's perception of the child and her caregiving role for her children should be seen in light of the patriarchal society his observations were a part of. The voices of the woman's work that we today perceive as oppressive in their categorization of women as a gender were, at the time, progressive in that they gave a mother's work in childrearing a higher value than the

father's (Allen, 1982). Within the socio-historic framework Froebel existed in, care and motherly love were as yet unarticulated.

Though today's society is still patriarchal, the society that Froebel voiced his opinions within was directly oppressive towards women. Froebel assigned value to women and a woman's work that was utterly absent in society (Allen, 1982). Though the problems associated with maternalist discourses, including low remuneration, are important discussions, I agree with Allen, that the feminist response to discourses of maternalism could be nuanced by emphasizing the, at that time, radical value assigned to the caretaking role which, as I see it, lies at the core of maternalism.

For Froebel, the professional kindergarten teacher embodied characteristics of love, care and maternalism. In the early days of the kindergarten movement, 'the kindergarten teacher' was a term that had not yet been filled with meaning. When Froebel described the qualities a kindergarten teacher should possess therefore, he was describing what he considered important for the profession as he envisioned it. The qualities described include the love of children, love of singing, and a love of play and occupation.

By the late nineteenth century, the Romantic era was reaching its end and discourses of scientific rationalism were rising. The pedagogic philosophy of Maria Montessori epitomizes this crossroads. Montessori was educated as the first female doctor in Italy. From both a visionary and scientific perspective, informed by research within the field of biology and relying on empirical observations, she developed a pedagogic philosophy and system that embraces both Romanticism and modern scientific instrumentalism (Korsvold, 2005). Montessori's methods were scientifically based, in contrast to Froebel and Pestalozzi whose ideas were based on inward, philosophical observation. Montessori's personal background however was deeply religious and, in the spirit of Romanticism shared by Froebel and Pestalozzi, her religiosity veered toward the mystical. Throughout Montessori's writings, love is given a central role in her concept of ECE. Her concept of love was described both from the viewpoint of the teacher's love for a child and the child's love for the teacher (or parent/caretaker). The teacher's love for a child, Montessori describes, goes beyond material and physical care, toward spiritual servitude (Montessori, 1949/1967).

Often, when we speak of love for children, we refer to the care we take of them, the caresses and affection we shower on those we know and who arouse our tender feelings... But I am speaking of something different. It is a level of love which is no longer personal or material. To serve children is to

feel one is serving the spirit of man, a spirit which has to free itself. The difference of level has truly been set not by the teacher but by the child. It is the teacher who feels she has been lifted to a height she never knew before. The child has made her grow till she is brought within his sphere. (Montessori, 1949/1967, p. 283)

Montessori's elevated view of the child is apparent in this passage. Children are described as being "love teachers" (Montessori, 1956/1970, p. 25). The child's deep love for their teachers, parents or caretakers is described as being instructive. Montessori emphasizes the degree to which children follow us, desire our presence and call for us- even cry for us. She points our attention toward how adults often respond to children's calls and cries less as calls of love and more as cries of irritation, looking past the love that is the source of their irritation and focusing on ways to correct undesired behaviors³. The irritation, Montessori tells us, is about what they don't have; comfort from the one they love. Children as love teachers remind us how to love, through their spontaneous loving of us and the world around them (Montessori, 1956/1970). In both the teacher's love for the child and the child's love of the adult, it is the child itself which is the source of love (Montessori, 1949/1967). Love is considered a permanent force in mankind that should be "treasured, developed and enlarged to the fullest possible extent" (Montessori, 1956/1970, p. 295).

Montessori's view of the maternal was both scientific, romantic and religious. A portrait of Raphael's *Madonna della Seggiola* (figure 2) hung as an emblem in Montessori's Children's Houses (Montessori, 1912/1964). She explains that the image symbolizes "not only social progress, but universal human progress, and are closely related to the elevation of the idea of motherhood, to the progress of woman and to the protection of her offspring...in Raphael's picture, we see humanity offering homage to maternity,-maternity, the sublime fact in the definite triumph of humanity" (Montessori, 1912/1964, p. 82).

³ This can be seen in light of behaviorist theories which were popular at the time which I will discuss later on in this chapter.



Figure 2 Madonna della Seggiola (Raphael, 1513-1514) Galleria Palatina, Florence

Montessori describes maternalism from a spiritual perspective that considers all humanity to be interconnected. From this perspective, maternalism is perceived as a gift which we in turn show our indebtedness and respect to. Montessori did not consider maternalism to be an exclusively female, or even an exclusively human concept. She states that the "maternal instinct is not confined solely to females, although they are the procreatices of the species and play the greatest role in protecting the young, but it is found in both parents and at times pervades a whole group" (Montessori, 1949/1966, p. 201). Rather than idealizing the 'beautiful mother', Montessori seems to interpret this image as homage to the androgynous protective and nurturing qualities of the maternal instinct itself.

Also Montessori links discourses of love, care and maternalism with her description of the professional kindergarten teacher. Teachers were likened to wives in a home who try to make their homes as attractive as possible for themselves and their husbands. To do that, they focus their attention on the house, rather than the husband, making "surroundings in which a normal and constructive life can flourish" (Montessori, 1956/1970, p.277). In the same way, a teacher focuses on the environment of the classroom, of which she herself is a part. For this reason, preparation to be a Montessori teacher included becoming aware of how they looked and moved in the classroom, aiming for grace and beauty.

The discourses of love, care and maternalism from the kindergarten movement era are based on a distinctly spiritual concept of love that also encompasses discourses of care and maternalism. When considering these discourses in light of the concepts of love discussed in the previous chapter, one can ask if the love research within neuroscience suggests children need, is the same love Pestalozzi speaks of as "the essence of education" (Pestalozzi, 1951, p.33), or Montessori's love that "serves the spirit of man" (Montessori, 1949/1967, p.283). Whereas discourses of love within science

recognize love as something concrete and beneficial, the spiritual discourses of love seem to emphasize love as transformative and universal. Our conceptualizations of love are plastic and are in many ways shaped by our socio-historic situation and our individual life history. It seems, that, in any case, the love neuroscience describes and the love Montessori and Pestalozzi describe have in common the fact that love, though unseen, has a fundamental value in the lives of children. From each of these perspectives, teachers, through their involvement with children, are also involved with love. These views differ in that the scientific view is founded not only on experience, but also on the scientific method. Pestalozzi and Montessori's concepts of love were garnered from inward modes of knowing, feeling and experience. In fact, the writings and pedagogic systems of Pestalozzi and Montessori seem to share a common mystical concept of love. The term mystical is difficult to define, but it involves receptivity to inward experience (Underhill, 1990). Weber described the mystical concept of love as an abstraction of brotherly love characterized by the impersonal devotion to anyone as other (Symonds & Pudsey, 2006). Montessori illustrates this concept when she describes a "love which is no longer personal or material" (Montessori, 1949/1967, p.283). Pestalozzi expresses a mystical concept of love when he stated "Love alone is the eternal effluvium of the divinity that is enthroned within us. It is the central flow point from which the essentials of education flow" (Pestalozzi, 1951, p.33). The immaterial, unseen, but experienced, had not only a legitimacy in the discourses of Pestalozzi and Montessori, they were privileged over the seen and the material world.

In summary discourses of love, care, maternalism and professionalism were encompassed within each other in the kindergarten movement era and privileged the unseen and inward modes of knowing. These discourses were perhaps made possible by the Romantic, philosophical decision to interpret the spiritual worldview of Christianity through feeling and experience, rather than distilling it into rational thought, as was generally done in this time period.

7.1.3 Maternalism and the Suffragist Movement

In the course of a hundred years, both the international women's suffragist movement and the international kindergarten movement transpired. The romantic ideals of the age coupled with capitalism's gaining momentum provided fertile ground for both movements. These two movements were, and still are, in many ways symbiotic. The idea of individual liberty gave women a new position in society and the kindergarten movement's focus on maternal love made the women's work outside of the home in kindergartens relevant and harmonious with the work women traditionally performed at home. The kindergarten movement provided an avenue to professionalism for women as they were achieving voting and legal rights. The women's rights movement provided enthusiastic candidates for the profession of kindergarten teacher, which Froebel had been unable to achieve with a male workforce (Allen, 1982). Today these two movements are still symbiotic, in that mothers working out of the home secure the need for kindergartens and kindergartens secure the possibility for mothers (or primary caregivers) to work outside of the home. The elevation of the maternal which Montessori describes in her interpretation of the *Madonna della Seggiola* (figure 2) was used as a tool in the women's suffrage movement as illustrated from this suffragist poster (figure 3).



Figure 3 Women bring all voters into the world (Flagg, 1917)

The image of the mother and child in this poster shows a powerful image of mother and child. She is holding her infant, but leaning slightly forward-less passive than the *Madonna della Seggiola* (figure 2), but still focused on her relationship with her child. The mother's own needs are coming in to focus and her relationship with her infant is considered from the perspective of the woman's service to the community through the legitimate *work* and *activity* involved in her mothering.

The women's suffragist movement at the turn of the 19th century began the first of three "waves" of Feminism. At this point, women's maternal qualities were portrayed by suffragists as their strength. The perception of maternal qualities and activity as a woman's strength and contribution to society however was transformed in the course of this first wave of feminism, which lasted until about the 1960's (Holst, 2009; Rampton, 2008). As feminism shifted its focus into professional society and away from the home and the maternal-dyad, so did the kindergarten movement. Discourses of scientific rationalism gained authority in ECE through the field of psychology. In

the next section, I will look ahead at some of the changes that took place as a result of this crossroads the kindergarten movement and the suffragist movement represented.

7.2 Modernity: 20th – 21st Century

As I explained at the beginning of this chapter, the Romantic era was a reaction to modernity. The discourses described in the previous sections describe a kind of Romantic rebellion that gained momentary status and influence. In this section, I reflect on discourses of love, care and maternalism as they appeared after the brief Romantic era waned and modern science continued to deconstruct the religious worldview. The modern era as a whole can be characterized by the dominance of the scientific method and the rationalism that guides it (Kincheloe, 2008). The Cartesian epistemology that defines modernity at this stage is no longer coupled with a mystical view of the individual, as it was in the Romantic era. The duality of known and knower, in the 20th century, exists alongside a capitalistic, scientific and secular society. Weber refers to modern scientific and technical knowledge as having led to an intellectualization of reality (Kim, 2012). I decided to follow Ailwood (2008) and refer to this process as scientific rationalization. Along with the rise of scientific rationalism, fell the Romantic conception of love as a reflection of the divine in humanity and the essence of education within ECE.

7.2.1 Scientific Rationalism and the Rise of Out of Home Child Care

Returning to the early 1900's changes were taking place in the lives of the general population, in other words, a paradigm shift was underway. For children, this period marked the beginning of what Selma Sevenhuijsen (2003) refers to as the relocation of care. The relocation, or the branching out of child care, mixed the private sphere with the professional sphere. Because the professional sphere by this time was so heavily influenced by scientific rationalism, the process of relocating care, also bears witness to what could be called the dislocation of love. Within ECE, the spiritual concept of love as universal which flourished in the work of the kindergarten movement's pioneers were losing their voices the rising field of psychology that gained influenced within the field of ECE (Bloch, 1992). The concept of childcare and education was now a part of a new context: psychology and the increasing participation of women in the professional sphere.

In the face of secularism and science, the inward philosophical knowledge which Pestalozzi, Froebel and Montessori drew on had lost authority. Goldstein (2009) links

a turning away from discourses of love which existed in "a more introspective mode of inquiry and mode of knowing about children, represented by Froebelian kindergartens...to twentieth century "scientific" programs..." (Bloch, 1992, p.9). The field of ECE was gaining the attention of various psychologists and scientists, such as John Dewey and G. Stanley Hall (Bloch, 1992). It is further suggested that acceptance of this turning away from intuitive knowledge about the child, toward scientific knowledge about the child, was accepted by female practitioners partly due to the social legitimacy and professional status a scientific grounding afforded the field of ECE (Bloch, 1992). Professionalism in ECE was already then associated with scientific knowledge and a turning away from the intuitive modes of knowing represented by Froebel, Pestalozzi and Montessori⁴

It seems as though only the aspects of love which can be seen by the scientific eye and which could be useful in the market economy still have authority in modernity: sex and romance. Modern ideas of love are mainly expressed through mass media and popular culture, propagated within the context of capitalism (Fromm, 1956). Discourses of love are accordingly centered round the search for a love 'object' rather than the ambition to love as a basis for good work, practice or way of life (Fromm, 1956). Non-romantic discourses of love fell outside of the rationalist project and consequently lost authority in society and within the field of ECE.

7.2.2 Behavioristic Discourses of Care

In the early 1900's, the field of psychology began describing "child rearing as a science" (Bigelow & Morris, 2001, p. 26). The field was highly influenced by Behaviorism. Behaviorism is a branch of psychology that seeks to be more "scientific" than traditional psychology, aiming to gain knowledge based only on behavior that can be seen and observed. Knowledge is therefore gained by examining that which can be perceived from the outside of the individual (Jensen & Kranmo, 2010). Behaviorist ideas also penetrated universities, as ECE became focused on scientific modes of understanding children and child development (Bloch, 1992). The behaviorist perspective is explicitly notable in today's kindergarten praxis in for example the use of positive and negative reinforcement as a means by which to alter the behavior of children. Jensen & Kranmo (2010) concede that traces of the behavioristic perspective

⁴ Though Montessori based her system on empiric observation, her methods were never tested scientifically. Though informed by scientific knowledge, her pedagogic system was also visionary and intuitive (Röhrs, 1994).

continue to exist in Norwegian kindergartens, though few practitioners would describe their methods as behavioristic.

Within popular culture, handbooks of childcare were written for mothers and nurses that were widely distributed and read as articles in women's magazines such as *Cosmopolitan*, which addressed "social issues of the day, for instance, the role of women in then-modern society...and of course child rearing" (Bigelow & Morris, 2001, p.26). The advice given included regimented plans for when young children should sleep, eat, play, defecate, urinate, exercise- even when to drink water (Holt, 1907). Behaviorist theories at this time represented an extreme version of scientific rationalism. The *unseen* was truly unaccounted for. When these theories were applied to childcare, a new discourse of care emerged. Care within these discourses was not mingled with a concept of love as the term was used, for example, by Froebel.

The scientific rational discourse of care, influenced by behaviorism, was propagated through government manuals. The manuals dismantled the idea of motherly intuition, warning mothers against using their own judgment regarding their infant's wellbeing or health and imploring them to consider the physician to be the mother's guide (United States Department of Labor, 1929).



Figure 4 "Look, but don't touch!" (my title) (United States Department of Labor, 1929, p. 3)

The information spread was intended to ensure the health of the general population and included some basic health measures and information. The discourse of care however that it propagated was that of care as emotionally detached, favoring the seen over the unseen. The care a child received could be measured by the mother's intelligent carrying out of doctor's orders. In figure 4, taken from the U.S. Bulletin from 1929 that contained the above-mentioned advice, we see a new image of the mother that contrasts the previous figures. The mother in figure 4 keeps a safe distance from her baby, stands smartly dressed, behind her husband and child, intelligently awaiting 'the doctor's orders'. Good caretaking, in this illustration is described by *keeping a distance* and *trusting the doctor* rather than the child's or one's own feelings.

The degree to which science took precedence over matters such as love which were not "observable" is illustrated in Holt's (1907) advice to not kiss children for fear of spreading disease. He argued that "The kissing of infants upon the mouth by other children, by nurses, or by people generally should under no circumstances be permitted. Infants should be kissed, if at all, upon the cheek or forehead, but the less even of this the better" (Holt, 1907, loc 153). The reasons given within this discourse varied between the prevention of disease and the prevention of over-coddled children. Watson wrote that parents should "never hug and kiss them, never let them sit in your lap" (Watson, 1928, p.81 in Bigelow & Morris, 2001, p.27). According to Holt (1907) babies cries were scientifically described as either relating to actual physical needs, such as pain caused by intrusive objects or wet bedclothes. If a baby cried for any other reason, it was termed a cry of *indulgence* or, a *bad habit*, such as the desire to be held, fed at night or rocked (Holt, 1907). The well-known phrase "cry it out" can be traced back to Holt's advice about babies who cry out of "bad" habit (Holt, 1907, Loc 1478). The word indulgence is used to describe what we might today call a need to be loved. An infant's crying 'to be indulged' was construed as a bad habit which was acquired. The behaviorist worldview assumed behavior to be the result of the environment- thereby any desire a child had that could not be visibly accounted for, was simply a habit. There was no explanation for human behavior that could not be seen with the eye.

In Norway, physician and playwright Alex Brinchman (1929) contributed to this discourse in his book *Barnets første år (The Child's First Years)*. Brinchman (1929) advises parents of crybabies (skrikebarn) whom he refers to as house tyrants, (hus tyranner), to not pick the child up outside of mealtimes, to be kept in their own room with a closed door, and then "it has to be allowed to scream- not one hour or two- but easily for several days, until it understands by itself that screaming no longer results in appealing to the parents' tenderness" (Brinchman, 1929, p.124). In the international behaviorist discourse of care, intelligent care involves *resisting* feelings of tenderness or sympathy for infants and children. It involves keeping physical distance from infants and children, following prescribed schedules rather than taking cues from the

infant or child, and following the orders of an absent, male figure of scientific authority instead of trusting one's own intuition or the experiences of friends and family.

These discourses equate a great deal of planning and premeditated work going into caring for a child. Schedules are to be kept and performed with exactitude. The child's health and happiness hinges on the instrumental care parents give them. Foundling Hospitals such as the hospital where the men who propagated these discourses worked, experienced near 100% mortality rates of infants in their care (Bakwin, 1942). Sick infants and children were touched as little as possible by doctors or nurses, for fear of contamination. After decades, the need for psychological stimulation and babies need for individual care and affection, warmth and touch was acknowledged. Holding and carrying infants each day became a systematized aspect of the care provided at hospitals (Bakwin, 1942). In some hospitals, women were hired as 'mothers' whose job was to hold and 'mother' the infants. Far from being a trivial job, these 'mothers' were what kept these children alive (Bakwin, 1942). The amount of time it took for the scientific community to understand what was happening, I think can be at least partly attributed to the scientific method upon which they relied for knowledge. Because inward modes of knowing were disallowed, the long and tedious process of scientific reasoning and deduction was necessary to realize that babies needed to be held.

Polakow (1992), in her study which deconstructed discourses of care from the Romantic era, links these discourses to the reigning discourse of mother-child love.

But the most contradictory aspect of the discourse of mother-child love, and the elevation of mother to a domestic pedestal during this period, is the plight of thousands of poor babies dying in foundling hospitals. (Polakow, 1992, p.129-130)

Polakow (1992) links the death of infants in foundling hospitals to the pervading classstructure at the time which subjugated women and children. According to Bakwin (1942), though it may have been poverty and subjugation that brought infants to foundling hospitals, it was the scientific rationalist mode with which they were 'cared' for that led to their deaths. I don't perceive these as contradictory aspects of one and the same discourse. Though they occurred in the same time period, these discourses rose up from different ontological strains or, contingencies, in society. The one, *maternalism*, rose up from a romantic rebellious worldview that privileged the unseen and exalted the virtue of care expressed in the previously unacknowledged relationship between mother and child, and the other, *scientific rationalism*, rose up from a scientific rational worldview, that privileged the seen, valued knowledge gained through a scientific method and disqualified inward modes of knowing. These discourses, as I perceive them, existed side by side in society, the one, maternalism, a reaction to the other, scientific rationalism. As Polakow (1992) also explains, eventually maternalism was encompassed within a scientific rationalist worldview through Bowlby's attachment theory. Polakow (1992) construes attachment theory as a *continuation* of the maternalism discourses from the Romantic era. I see it in relation to behavioristic discourses of care which resulted in the deaths of infants in foundling hospitals.

7.2.3 The Growth of Scientific Concepts of Love

As the fatal consequences of the lack of a concept of love which was legitimate within a scientific rationalist paradigm became clear, in 1950, The World Health Organization requested a review of studies of maternal deprivation in young children separated from their mothers either due to illness, hospitalization or economic circumstances (Bretherton, 1992; Bowlby, 1965). The man who was asked to perform the study was none other than John Bowlby (1907-1990), who went on to form his highly influential attachment theory, based on much of the evidence gathered in connection with this report (Bretherton, 1992). Thus began the long and tedious process of trying to understand love from a scientific rationalist perspective. Bowlby was joined by Harlow (1958), another psychologist interested in the study of love. Their work, though it proved to be influential, was considered both radical and comical in its infancy (Blum, 2002).

Harlow focused on love as a primary drive (Harlow, 1958; 1971) and Bowlby developed his well-known attachment theory, with the help of Harlow's experimental work on Rhesus monkeys (Van der Horst, LeRoy, & Van der Veer, 2008). They developed their theories at a time dominated by the scientific assumption that the basic human motives are "hunger, thirst, elimination, pain, and sex -- and all other motives, including love or affection, are derived or secondary drives" (Harlow, 1958, p.1). Theories of the infant's attachment to the mother being primarily driven by nutrition needs were disproven in Harlow's groundbreaking report *The Nature of Love* (1958). Bowlby's attachment theory built on Harlow's work and provided a counter discourse to behaviorism. Rather than an infant's crying being the result of environmental stimuli, Bowlby proposed that the infant's cry was instinctual and biological and a tool to ensure proximity with the mother (Bretherton, 1992). Attachment theory was widely recognized and continues to inform many fields, including the field of ECE. The

theory is not without its critics, however. While assigning value to the infant's articulations and rendering the infant's emotional and physical relationship with its mother meaningful, the theory also assigned a deterministic and exclusive role to both mother and child which have since been challenged. Popularly, attachment theory is propagated by the concept of attachment parenting which is based on Bowlby's theories of the young child's need to experience constant near proximity to its mother (Sears & Sears, 2001).

Maslow (1954) worked parallel to both Harlow and Bowlby. Maslow focused his study on healthy personalities whom he termed 'self- actualized'. The process of self-actualization is presented as hierarchical. In Maslow's hierarchy of needs, belonging and love are placed as the third level of the hierarchy, after physiological needs and safety (Maslow, 1954). As I interpret the experiences of the multitude of young children who died in foundling hospitals due to lack of human touch and contact, in the case of infants and very young children, both physiological needs and safety needs must come from a care taker. The infants who had shelter, nutrition and safety in foundling institutions died when human contact was withheld. I consider the vital role the adult plays in providing the physiological environment and safety needs of the young child to be fundamental to the scientific knowledge basis of the professional kindergarten teacher. Children's need for human warmth, comfort and touch, seems to me to be the primary conceptual content behind discourses of maternalism.

Behaviorism's commitment to the idea that behavior can be explained without reference to non-behavioral, un-seen mental and emotional inner states has been found to be too narrow an understanding of human beings, and is no longer dominant. Still, at present, behaviorism continues to exert influence within some fields of psychology and education (Graham, 2010). Popularized behavioristic discourses of care are still propagated in today's society, for example by Dr. Richard Ferber's (1985) modified method of Holt's "cry it out" method that is used to get young children to sleep faster, better or longer. I used this method on my son after a pediatric nurse recommended it to me. I have also witnessed this method used during nap time in kindergartens. I suggest behaviorist and scientific rationalist discourses generally continue to exert authority over modes of knowing based on feeling and experience.

Discourses within the scientific rationalist paradigm are responsible for universal medical and technological advancements that children today clearly garner benefits from. Discourses and the knowledge perpetuated within them are not necessarily in themselves good or bad, but they do *allow* or *disallow* the propagation of certain

concepts and understandings. In the discourses I've presented, it seems the concept of care as a *response* or *loving interaction* to the infant, such as Froebel described, was disallowed. The idea of comfort based attachment, rather than nutrient based attachment was *unthinkable* in a behaviorist paradigm. Though behaviorism is no longer dominant, it persists as common, popular knowledge or, *savoir*, and I presume thereby informs to some degree the field's formal professional knowledge basis.

7.3 Current Discourses

Discourses of love are still rare in ECE, but they are slowly growing as a result of the growing field neuroscience, which, builds on research begun within the field of behaviorism (R. F. Thompson, 1997). UNICEF (2008) bases their concern for the well-being of young children involved in full-day ECE on research within neuroscience that links love with cognitive and emotional health. Unlike discourses of love from the Romantic era, these discourses rely on what can be seen rather than on inward experience. Since the behaviorist discourses of care that did not "see" love, scientific tools of measurement and assessment have grown more sensitive. Scientists can now see inside the brain and measure slight changes of internal organs. These measurements when seen in connection to experiences of love have contributed to the discourse of love as a physical occurrence.

Discourses of care are a more common subject of focus and study within the field both internationally and in Norway. I will consider some of these discourses in light of each other and of the historical discourses already discussed.

7.3.1 The Feminist Ethic of Care

In 1982, Carol Gilligan (1982) published *In a Different Voice*, a revolutionary book that introduced the idea of a particularly feminine ethic- that of *caring*. Gilligan (1982) argues in the book, that the ethics of reason, rationality and justice which men and women have traditionally been judged by, are not the whole story on ethics. There is another side- another voice, the feminine voice. The feminine voice perceives ethics in the context of being one who *cares* for others. From this perspective, ethics involves concrete and contextualized relationships that cannot be reduced to rules and rational deductions. The fact that the ethic of caring is described as a feminine ethic is not reflective of the essential nature of caring, but of the place a caring ethic has in today's society (Gilligan, 2011).

Within a *patriarchal* framework, care is a feminine ethic. Within a *democratic* framework, care is a human ethic. A feminist ethic of care is a different voice within a patriarchal culture because it joins reason with emotion, mind with body, self with relationships, men with women, resisting the divisions that maintain a patriarchal order. (Gilligan, 2011, par. 11)

The ethic of care is only feminine in as much as the norms of society are masculine, rooted in ideas formed during centuries in which women's (formalized) voices were silent. The defining quality of feminist ethics is a general critique of the idea of the isolated individual, again, stemming from a Cartesian view of the separation between the known and the knower and the universality of the knower's observations and reasoning (Cockburn, 2005; Kincheloe, 2008). A feminist ethic, in contrast, is based on our connectedness to and interdependence on each other, and the contextual and concrete nature of our ethical decisions (Cockburn, 2005). The validity of a concept of a feminist ethic based on care has been criticized for the linking of the caring ethic specifically to women. Doubt has also been raised as to whether a caring ethic is a better alternative than a traditional justice and rights based ethic (Tong & Williams, 2014). Despite criticisms, Gilligan's feminist ethics has opened the door for new discourses of care to emerge within ECE.

7.3.2 Care Ethics and the Natural Threat to Professionalism

Nel Noddings (1984) has continued Gilligan's conceptualization of care from a feminine perspective. Noddings (1984) focuses on care as an ethical responsibility. Some characteristics include *motivational displacement*, when one puts another's needs ahead of one's own, and *engrossment*, when one is engrossed in another's perspective. Noddings continues to theorize 'ethical care' as a contrast to 'natural care'. Natural care refers to the spontaneous desire to care, such as a mother might feel when her baby cries. Ethical caring, on the other hand, refers to the intellectual and ethical capacity to care which one performs, for example in a professional context, even when the natural desire to care is absent (Noddings, 1984). Noddings (1984) emphasizes that she is not elevating ethical caring over natural caring and that indeed ethical caring is dependent on natural caring.

Though Noddings (1984) refutes an elevated status of ethical love in her theory, for me, the separation of the natural and the ethical is still problematic. I interpret, though it is denied, a hierarchal relationship being suggested between the natural and the ethical, where the natural and thereby the physical and the emotional dimension of the one caring can easily be construed as being less 'professional' than the ethical intentions of the one caring. Goldstein (1998) supports Noddings' efforts in separating 'natural care' from 'ethical care', citing the need to re-theorize caring, as Noddings has done, so as not to allow the common misperception of caring as a "desire to nurture children with smiles and hugs" (Goldstein, 1998, p. 245) to define care as practiced in ECE. Goldstein further suggests this misconception "will contribute to the erroneous conception of early childhood educators as somehow not as professional or not as intelligent as teachers of older children" (Goldstein, 1998, p. 245). Goldstein's statement seems to underscore the low status of 'the natural' in current discourses about care within ECE academia and the tendency to equate professionalism with intellectual capacities rather than physical acts. This tendency to value intellectual capacities can perhaps be traced back to discourses of scientific rationalism, where intelligence and intellectual choices are acknowledged, while intuitive and emotionally based choices are either unspoken or specifically warned against. Whereas the Romantic view of the natural equated nature with the divine, from a scientific rational perspective, the natural seems to be perceived as yet uncivilized and certainly unprofessional.

Ailwood (2008) explains that some teachers attempt to refuse the discourse of the natural, "pointing out their years of university education and the need for ECE teachers to be recognized as professionals. For these women," argues Ailwood, "the naturalization of their work undermines their struggle for professional status" (Ailwood, 2008, p. 162). As I explained earlier, Ailwood (2008) refers to Froebel's portrayal of women as crucial for a healthy childhood. She suggests this portrayal has contributed to the establishment of maternalism as a basis for being a good ECE teacher. This maternalistic basis, Ailwood (2008) argues, is responsible for kindergarten teacher's low status today, resulting in low remuneration.

Hoagland (1990) also problematizes maternalistic discourses and Noddings' use of the mother-child dyad as an example of caring. The unidirectional care a mother gives to a child can, according to Hoagland, serve to perpetuate oppressive institutions (Hoagland, 1990). The threat of women's return to a subservient role in society seems to stand in the way of a more broad appreciation of the qualities at play in the maternal dyad as suggested by Noddings. Many mothers experience reciprocity in their relationships with young children (Page, 2010). In fact, reciprocity is a basic attribute of Nodding's theory of caring (Noddings, 1984). The maternal dyad, which was exalted by Montessori as being a humane love (Montessori, 1912/1964), is today

perceived from one feminist point of view, as an oppressive type of love, reinforcing a woman's perpetual role of unidirectional caregiver (Hoagland, 1990).

Can a general resistance to discourses of maternalism be considered in light of a resistance from mothers themselves, both mothers who are teachers and mothers who are parents of children in child care, to acknowledge that their children are not being cared for or loved by them while their children are in kindergarten? According to the mothers involved in Page's (2010) PhD study, feelings of guilt for putting their children in day care rather than caring for them themselves were experienced as a part of the decision making process of enrolling their children into child care institutions. The ambivalence of society's relationship to the mother-child relationship is evident in a recent news article which featured Italian MEP Licia Ronzulli (Rettman, 2010). Ronzulli took her one-month-old infant to work with her on the day she was voting on a bill which sought to improve conditions for mothers to work outside the home. Images of her spread worldwide. Ronzulli explained why she brought her daughter with her to work:



Figure 5 Ronzulli with her infant (Kessler, 2010)

It was not a political gesture. It was first of all a maternal gesture – that I wanted to stay with my daughter as much as possible, and to remind people that there are women who do not have this opportunity, that we should do something to talk about this. (Rettman, 2010)

Ronzulli brought her daughter to work with her on the day she is voting to improve conditions for women to work outside of the home- *because she wants to spend as much time with her daughter as possible*. Ronzulli explains that it was "first and foremost a maternal gesture" (Rettman, 2010). What exactly is the message here, then? Should more women, like Ronzulli, be allowed to *want to spend more time with their babies*, while they are at work outside the home? If we consider this image in light of the previous images of mother and child, we see a mother in a very different situation. As a mother, Ronzulli is now connected to her infant, illustrating the underlying

presence of attachment theory, unlike the mother in the figure 3, who stood at a safe distance to her infant, illustrating a behaviorist concept of care. Compared to the previous images, we can see a change in the mother's focus. Ronzulli is close to her baby, but her mental focus is on her public work. She is not able to truly *engage* the baby while she is voting to improve conditions for mothers to work outside the home. The infant's emotional needs are unaccounted for in the situation this mother is in with her infant. The infant has her body, but her attention is on her work as an MEP.⁵

7.4 Toward a Child Perspective Orientation

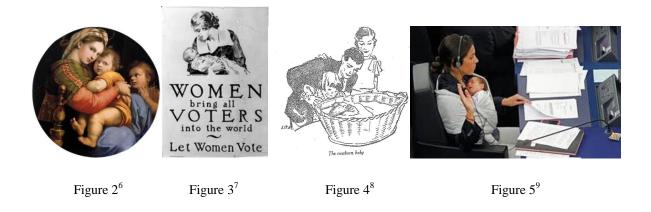


Figure 6 Mother-child dyads in varied discursive situations

The socio-historic perspective of love, care and maternalism presents a varied and plastic image of the mother-child dyad. If we consider the figures together, the image of what a mother is has changed, but, has the maternal dyad changed from the child perspective? Whether or not the infant is being held, is lying by itself or attached to his mother in a pouch, the infant always *needs* its caretaker.

The dependency of young children on adults is one way in which children are different from adults. Difference has often been perceived as deviance (Cockburn, 2005) and

⁵ This is only one photograph. If one searches the internet, a myriad of images of Ronzulli and her daughter can be found, many of which illustrate a loving, emotionally engaged mother and child. What all the photos reveal, is that the mother and child have entered into the new discursive situation of the professional sphere.

⁶ "Madonna della Seggiola" (Raphael, 1513-1514)

⁷ "Women bring all voters into the world. Let women vote" (Flagg, 1917)

⁸ "Look, but don't touch!" (my title) (United States Department of Labor, 1929, p. 3)

⁹ Ronzulli with her infant (Kessler, 2010)

dependence has been perceived as a deviant aspect of the child in relation to the adult (Cockburn, 2005). I want to approach the dependence of young children from a critical hermeneutic perspective in which our mode of being is inter-subjective and thereby subjects are always conceived in relation to one another, rather than standing alone. When there are always two, there is no certain objective 'norm' against which to judge what is different. Two subjects always differ from one another in various ways and in varying degrees. The degree to which children are dependent on adults is one of the ways children and adults differ from each other. The discourse of difference as deviance is contingent on the idea that there is an objective norm that stands alone and can be compared to. Acknowledging difference from a critical hermeneutic perspective allows for a difference that could never be deviant, because the idea of an objective or specific norm is disallowed. Difference becomes a description of unique individuals who differ from each other in varying degrees and at different times and places in an always inter-subjectively shaped social reality (Kögler, 2012). From this perspective, the differences between adults and children can be perceived without alluding to deviance or lacking.

Needs-based discourses are unpopular today (Korsvold, 2005). The suggestion for a needs-based politics that is in keeping with a feminist care ethic has been met with skepticism (Cockburn, 2005). One argument is that a needs-based discourse of the child identifies a child's need for care as an inherent identity, rather than "only a temporary or episodic necessity" (Cockburn, 2005, p. 82). Polakow (1992) argues that childhood has never been a timeless, unchanging developmental essence, but is rather an economic and cultural construction. Though our perceptions of what a child is are certainly shaped by socio-historic factors, there are, I argue, certainties as well in human lives. Need is a constant state of being human. From my perspective, a distrust of such universal statements makes it difficult to acknowledge the needs of young children which love is a response to.

The aspect of maternalism that seems to represent the greatest problem for the field of ECE is the identification of love, care and maternalism as natural female principals. Ailwood (2008) emphasizes the maternalist discourse in Australia of the exclusive bonds between mother and child that propagate the idea that it is best for the mother to be home with the child for the child's first few years. In Norway, I interpret maternalism discourses as being manifest in another way. In contrast with the maternalism discourses sited by Ailwood (2008), in Norwegian politics, the mother is not considered the best full-time caretaker for one-three year olds. As an example, a newspaper article recently reported that the number of children between one and on-

and a half years in Norwegian kindergartens had recently dropped by 2% (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2013). The political response that was represented in the article stated that the slight decrease was "a shame for children and for society" (Ruud, 2014). The Ministry of Education and Research explains the function of Norwegian kindergartens on their website in this way: "Besides being a good pedagogical institution for children, the kindergartens also take care of children while their parents work or study. The kindergartens therefore also are a means to gain equality between the genders" (M.E., 2012). This view seems to cast kindergartens in the "child saving" role asylums had in the 1800's. Whereas asylums were saving children from a lack of care, kindergartens today save *society* from a traditionally gendered society. What lies behind this political perspective is complex and beyond the scope of this thesis, but what is relevant for this thesis is that, the quality of care and love children receive in kindergartens is not used as an argument by the government for young children's enrollment in kindergartens. Here, we can see unarticulated discourses of maternalism, in that it is assumed that the (mostly women) kindergarten teachers who care for children in kindergartens 'naturally' provide care and that the quality of care, or what care entails, is not necessary to articulate.

Discourses of professionalism today no longer encompass discourses of love, care and maternalism. Discourses are unclear, splintered and disconnected from each other- at times even in opposition to each other. The kindergarten movement was a spiritual movement that linked love, care and maternalism to education. This link is now broken and this discourse analysis was an attempt to understand the breaking of that link.

In the next section, I will move my attention away from the socio-historic perspective and toward the individual meaning perspective. There is no one way to practice, so, in the next section, I will explore varied experiences of love in pedagogic practice as described by a select group of kindergarten teachers.

8 EXPLORING STORIES OF LOVE

In this chapter, I will explore love as it has been experienced in pedagogic practice by a select group of kindergarten teachers. Because the authors have already made clear that these stories are about experiences of love, I have not analyzed to find or identify love, but to find some sense of what concrete practices are involved in these kindergarten teachers' experiences of love in pedagogic practice.

8.1 Love and the Pedagogic Body

From a scientific perspective, love is a bodily experience (Harlow, 1971; Bolwby, 1965; Gerhardt, 2004; Fredrickson, 2013). According to research within evolutionary psychology and neuroscience, interactions between children and teachers result in a shared emotional experience between both brains and bodies (Esch & Stefano, 2005; Johnson et al., 2010; Twardosz, 2012). From these perspectives, the kindergarten teacher's use of her body in the professional practice of love comes into focus.

Martinsen (1996) describes the body as an abode and a center for our sensory experiences of the world, explaining that we "inhabit a common world and time with our bodies" (Martinsen, 1996, p.99). If we direct our attention to the kindergarten teacher's 'pedagogic body', we see how the teachers use their bodies to collaborate in their interactions with children. The pedagogic body makes connections, creating spaces of unity between teacher and child. The following description of a kindergarten teacher's experience of love in pedagogic practice involved what I interpret as the kindergarten teacher's use of her body as a tool to make a meaningful connection with a child.

"Ba!", a little finger presses against the window. I am quickly on my way to wash the tables after lunch, there's a lot to do, sticky rice kernels everywhere! Lunch in the infant classroom is no simple matter. I have to sweep the floor fast so the little ones don't get rice under their socks. "Ba!" repeats the little tri-lingual girl, 1,5 years old. I'm still on my way to the tables, but then I stop. I crouch down next to the little girl and look out the window in the direction she is pointing. A little bird hops out in the yellow autumn leaves. "Oh, look, a little bird" I say. The little one smiles wide and nods. I see her joy that I am interested. Silently, we observe the little bird. The little girl tries to sit in my lap and I sit down on the floor to make it possible for her. We sit together and look out at the bird...her body rests in my lap. We have a good connection. Her body rests in my lap. I confirm and support the child's experiences, put them into words as well as I can. The bird flies away. "Bye bye!", I say, and wave to the bird. The little girl waves too. Slowly, we get up and I explain that I have to sweep the floor, pointing out the rice kernels everywhere. The little girl looks, and I give her the little broom and we sweep together. This teacher begins her story on her way to sweep the floor "so the little ones don't get rice under their socks." She is on her way to use her body to perform physical labor on behalf of the children. But one of those very same children is calling her. At first she continues on her way to the tables, but then, she stops and crouches down beside the child. The teacher is using her body to "inhabit a common world and time" (Martinsen, 1996, p.99) with the child. Crouching down, closer to the child, the teacher joins the child in a collaboration of communication. It takes an effort on both sides and results in joint attention.

When the child tries to sit in her lap, the kindergarten teacher responds by taking a new physical position and shifting her body to respond to the child's articulated desire. The child's body is resting, relaxed. It seems as though Fredrickson's two pre-requisites for love are achieved: safety and interpersonal connection (Fredrickson, 2013). The kindergarten teacher's body is seemingly passive, as she and the child collaborate to achieve what Fredrickson terms positivity resonance (Fredrickson, 2013), a shared emotional experience that takes place in the body and effects the brain, the heart and even the body's cells (Fredrickson, 2013).

When we locate the professional practice of love in the physical dimension, the way a teacher moves and the actions she performs are consequential and defining. Warmth and love are communicated through the body. Warmth is given or held back by the individual kindergarten teacher. This kindergarten teacher's experience of love unfolded when she responded to the cues from the one-year old with a physical language that was a direct response to the impressions received by the teacher. The kindergarten teacher believed what her eyes saw and she acted accordingly.

The physical signals the child gave the kindergarten teacher confirmed that communication had been reciprocal. The teacher engaged the child verbally, responding to their already established connection. The verbal communication was a part of the entire bodily experience.

In each practice story contributed, smiles and hugs were both given and received. As I interpret the stories and as teachers expressed in their reflections, these were interpreted as expressions of love and happiness shared between children and teachers through the use of their bodies.

Every day when I come to work there is a 4 year old boy who always comes running over to me. He says "Hi" and gives me a big hug before he goes back to his playing. Sometimes he has something more to tell, but most often it is just this one hug, with his arms that cling tightly around my neck.

These physical signs and actions which kindergarten teachers received and responded to seemed to be central to kindergarten teachers' experiences of love in pedagogic practice. Shared joy between themselves and children conveyed through physical contact, verbal communication, smiles and hugs seems to be a key aspect of these teachers' professional practice of love. According to neuroscientific research I've referred to earlier, these experiences of smiles and hugs produce the hormone oxytocin that reduces stress levels (Feldman, 2012). One kindergarten teacher described her experience of love with a description of a child's reaction to the *absence* of a smile.

A boy gave me a make-up bag, wrapped up in a blanket like a gift. I unwrapped it and opened it up and began to "put on the make-up". First I put on the pretend lipstick and asked "Do I look nice"? "No" answered the boy. So, I put on some blush and mascara and asked "Do I look nice now?" "No" answered the boy. "Ok then...", so I brushed my hair and touched it up a little bit and asked "Do I look nice nice now then?" "No", said the boy "it's because you're not smiling."

The mutuality (the child in this story experienced a lack of mutuality) and the centrality of non-verbal and physical affection in the communication of joy between children and kindergarten teachers represented in this thesis, challenges some of the current discourses discussed in the previous chapter. Concern was expressed that care in the form of "smiles and hugs" was linked to "the erroneous conception of early childhood educators as somehow not as professional or not as intelligent as teachers of older children" (Goldstein, 1998, p. 245). Goldstein (1998) expresses concern that this could limit teacher's conceptions of what it means to be an ECE teacher and further argues that if educators do not focus on the theoretical foundations of care, the "recent trend toward coupling caring and ECE will be detrimental" (Goldstein, 1998, p. 245). Though the goal of encouraging teachers to dig deeper into their caring experiences and consider them in a broader theoretical light is valuable, I think, especially for the youngest children, it is unwise to devalue the physical and in some ways, the most readily available aspects of care. It seems to me that the physical dimension of love in ECE is precisely what differentiates the kindergarten teacher's pedagogic practice of love from the practice of love in the greater teaching professions (Aslanian, 2014).

As history has shown us through the mortality rates of untouched or unhandled infants and young children, the physical aspect of care may be simple to perform, but it is in no way insignificant. From my perspective, an intellectualization of caring threatens to separate the body from the caring act. If we consider Fredrickson's (2013) concept of love as an emotion that takes place in the body, we can see that an intellectualization of care must involve the physical dimension of care in the form of both smiles and hugs. Feminist care ethics (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 1984; Sevenhuijsen, 2003) offer a valuable contribution to the practice of love in ECE through a focus on a concrete and contextualized approach to caring. But, just as Goldstein fears that a focus on smiles and hugs threatens an understanding of the ethical and theoretical dimension of caring and the ECE profession, so do I fear that a devaluation of smiles and hugs threaten a deeper understanding of the physical dimension of love and its significance in the lives of children and teachers within the field of ECE.

Our bodies are not generally included in an understanding of how abstract ethical notions of love are performed by the kindergarten teacher. Is the physical nature of the practice of love a threat to our desire to be perceived as professionals? Are our bodies crouched down on the ground, or bent over a broom sweeping up rice kernels a threat to our professional identities? Perhaps, but it is not the physical labor in itself that holds the key to our professionalism, but that which instigates our physical actions, the reasons that lay behind our choices to stop sweeping and crouch down beside a child, before sitting down again and then standing up again and so on and so forth...

8.2 The Child as Pedagogic Guide

According to my interpretation, teachers' experiences of love were instigated by children and developed thanks to the kindergarten teacher's flexibility and decision making. The following story describes a kindergarten teacher who clearly follows the unanticipated cues of a child:

We're sitting around the table in the classroom with drawing supplies talking about a book we've read about a dragon and a princess. A child (4 years) next to me is talking about princesses. I tell her that I remember a drawing of a princess she drew a while ago. She looks at me and mumbles "but that wasn't very good really". "Why not?" I ask. "I'll get it; it's hanging behind the door somewhere". The child looks around a little concerned while I look for it. "Yes, here it is", I say and lay it out on the table. We study it together. The drawing shows a large head with two enormous yellow eyes, a line for a nose, a crooked mouth with lots of red lipstick and a little hair that stands straight up in small lines. The body is almost just a line. I am moved by what she has accomplished, that she has drawn a princess entirely in her own way, and how she thinks so intensely while I praise what I see. She finds a drawing I've made of a princess and says that she hasn't drawn a crown and that mine is much nicer than hers. We discuss back and forth. She looks at the drawings with interest and mumbles that her princess was a little sour that day, since she hadn't eaten breakfast. I say that is does look like she wasn't feeling great, but that she was definitely very sweet. The child sits and thinks...maybe wondering if it's true or not? We sit together for a while and she finally says "we have to make a crown for her head". We agree to draw it together. I outline it and she colors it in. She gets happy and smiles with excited eyes "I think it's an angry princess, but it is a princess, a real one I can see it now". We smile to each other, laugh a little and decide to hang the drawing up on the wall.

I construe the teacher's interest in what the child was saying as well as what the child had drawn at an earlier time, as having an integral role in that which leads to this teacher's experience of love in her pedagogic practice. Drawing on her interest in the child, the teacher engaged the child by following the child's lead and making a connection based on her previous knowledge of the child's activities. The child responded that her drawing "wasn't really very good at all". This slightly vulnerable response, expressing a low opinion of her own work, was responded to by the teacher as if it were an invitation from the child. "Why not?" She asked. She did not say "oh, yes, of course it is a beautiful drawing". Rather, she asked an open question, engaging the child in elaborative talk that supports the child's exploration of the social world and her place in it (Evangelou, Sylva, Kyriacou, Wild, & Glenny, 2009). The open question eventually helped the child to appreciate her own work in a new light through a collaborative effort.

The teacher's willingness to join into the conversation and her commitment to following the child's cues shows her willingness to interact with the child in an improvised way, guided by the child. It seems to me that being able to improvise is dependent on one first having perceived the situation. Martinsen (2006) describes the act of *perceiving* as a series of collaborative moves between two people. Perceiving is a complex combination of waiting to see what the other expresses and responding continually to what one perceives (Martinsen, 2006). Perceiving takes time and requires the teacher's commitment to perceiving. I see the act of perceiving a child one is interacting with as a collaborative dance, led by "the participating attentive eye" (Martinsen, 2006, p.92). Paying attention entails waiting, watching and responding. Martinsen describes this mode of seeing as a process of professional understanding which is "comprehending, perceptive and exploring" (Martinsen, 2006, p.92).

Child guided pedagogy has been emphasized by Montessori (Montessori, 1946/1989) and more recently within the pedagogic philosophy of Reggio Emilia (Taguchi &

Åberg, 2006). Child guided pedagogy as it is exemplified in these kindergarten teachers' stories, is a practice of responding to the articulated (either verbally or nonverbally) needs of a child and favoring the child's needs over non-urgent practical matters. Responding involves approaching the child as a familiar rather than a stranger, like the Samaritan approached the Levite. As I see it, the fact that she reached out to the child, sharing her memory of the drawing the child had drawn earlier was a way of reaching out to the child as a 'neighbor'. The way she responded to the child's slight depreciation of her work, I understand as her acting on what she perceived from the child as a type of suffering. The child's response and eventual appreciation of her work implies that the action taken was received. Her pedagogic work was rooted in and took form according to her perception of the child. The teacher 'chose to see' or, perhaps we can say, she *tried* to see the child and to act upon what she saw. This kindergarten teacher reflected, "It was a true pleasure to be able to show her that what she had managed was very good and to share the experience together." As many of the stories conveyed, the feeling of shared joy was a described as a defining element of this kindergarten teacher's experience.

A child as pedagogic guide challenges our habitual mode of hierarchic thinking of the adult who leads the child. The child in kindergarten, like the suffering man in the parable of The Good Samaritan, is at the mercy of the passersby. In a kindergarten setting, the balance of power between children and teachers is uneven. For a kindergarten teacher, disregarding a child whose needs do not hold power over us, is easy. Sometimes the child's needs do hold power over us, such as when they cry. But other, more subtle articulations of need do not hold power over us and are easy to overlook in favor of, for example, practical duties. Choosing to regard a child who does not hold power over us, from the perspective of the story of the Good Samaritan, is an act of love. According to my interpretation, when a teacher's pedagogic activity is guided by the articulated emotional needs of the child, and favors the suffering individual, the value of neighborly love can be detected.

8.3 Navigating the Professional Practice of Love

The professional practice of love is not without hindrances and some of these emerged in my analysis. This kindergarten teacher experienced pedagogy itself as a hindrance to the active practice of love.

Love is something that arises in a meeting with another without any ulterior motives or plans...sometimes I feel that pedagogy is in opposition to love because we want to convey something or we want the children to learn something.

This kindergarten teacher brings up the question of what early childhood pedagogy is about. Learning to love and be loved is certainly not implicit within the idea of pedagogy this teacher is describing. In sharp contrast to Pestalozzi's declaration that love is the essence of education (Pestalozzi, 1951) planned learning or, teaching, seems to be a dominant idea in this teacher's concept of pedagogy. Planned learning currently has high status in kindergarten. In her master's thesis, Lyngstad (2006) refers to an inferiority discourse within early childhood education in relation to school teachers. Perhaps an emphasis on planned learning can be related to a desire to emphasize those aspects of our work that are similar to the higher status of the school teacher's work? Without challenging the value of pedagogic planning, I would like to reflect on the values that lay behind the emphasis placed on plans. Planning is intellectual work, as opposed to the emotional and physical labor that is involved in the *carrying out* of pedagogic plans. As suggested in the discourse analysis, in our scientific rationalist society, the seen can be said to be privileged over the unseen.

Perhaps because unseen aspects of pedagogy make up such a great deal of the practice of ECE, the work we do that *is* visible is highly valued by kindergarten teachers. It would take a conscious effort within the field to acknowledge the value of the unseen work and the undocumented work of kindergarten teachers to combat the discourse of planned pedagogy. We associate pedagogy with the seen and the documented and love is that which arises unplanned and remains undocumented. But, within the professional practice of love in early childhood education, there is no distinction between pedagogy and love. Take for example the kindergarten teacher who had delayed her work washing and sweeping up rice kernels and now sat on the ground with a little girl in her lap, looking out the window with her. If a co-worker were to pass by this scene, would he or she notice the work the kindergarten teacher was involved in? Or, would the co-worker focus on the fact that she wasn't cleaning up the still messy tables or the un-swept floor? Was she or was she not engaging in pedagogy? Was she or was she not *working*? I believe opinions differ. I have interpreted divergent discourses of pedagogy and love acted out in kindergartens.

I asked him if he was tired and he said yes. I asked him if he wanted to rest and he said yes. I told the teachers inside that I thought he was tired and that I thought he should take a little rest inside. The teachers expressed concern that he was "getting his way". They told me that he had to learn that it is we who decide, not him. The teachers explained to me that he hides everyday around this time and doesn't want to go outside. I suggested that it may be because he was tired. A teacher finally agreed to let Peter rest.

In this story, I found myself in conflicting discourses with co-workers about what pedagogy entailed. For one teacher I found myself in conflicting opinions with, not letting the child get 'his way' was a part of her pedagogic practice. As I interpret this situation, this pedagogic practice linked the child's crying and articulations to a behavioristic discourse of unexplained needs as 'bad habits' that should be controlled by the environment. I interpret my perception of his crying and other articulations from a neighborly love perspective, as suffering that I felt compelled to alleviate. But, my reaction to Peter can also be seen from a behavioristic perspective. I also molded his behavior by the way I received him and while alleviating his suffering, I also satisfied my own need for resolution.

The pedagogic plan for the day involved all the children going outside to play at one o'clock, a plan that for these kindergarten teachers, seemed important to adhere to. Perhaps plans and group practicalities are sometimes relied on by kindergarten teachers, to take the pressure off the intimacy of contact with young children...

Two 5 year -old boys have just been in a fight with arguing, pushing and kicking. I take then with me and we sit on the edge of the sandbox. Several children come over to us, but I send them away, telling them that this is a talk between the three of us and I wait to say anything more until they've all gone. Both boys get to tell their version of the fight and as usual, they are sure that they are right and the other is wrong. ...and we continue to talk about what we can do if we get in a situation like that again. Both boys calm down and contribute to the conversation. First, we talk about general ways to deal with problems and they each come up with good suggestions...we are in the midst of a nice talk together when we hear someone call to us that we have to come and eat fruit for snack-time. Ole runs away, but Per stays seated and looks at me while he asks: "Can't we keep talking?"

In my interpretation of this story, I assume the two of them responded to the call for fruit. The author herself commented on the pedagogic practice of love in her story as "To show children that you care about each individual child, respect them and want the best for them". This story, for me, illustrates the 'edge' of the pedagogic practice of love. I get the sense that the child was sitting on the edge of an experience of love and had just started feeling those qualities the author lists, and it felt *good*. He wanted more. Why did the call that fruit was being served represent a so definitive end to their conversation? As I read this story, this boy was not ready to go. He seemed to want more. In my experience as a kindergarten teacher, being in the face of that kind of want is challenging. He wanted something more from the teacher. Not any particular

words, but her individual attention and interest in him, perhaps. I have felt myself confronted with the wide open face of a child, seeming to want more. The spaces that open up between kindergarten teacher and child can be very intimate and challenging to place oneself as a professional in relation to. This, for me, is when a child is looking for the 'something extra' that, though it is not explicitly described as a part of our professional duties, falls upon us to give.

Navigating the practice of love in kindergarten involves the complexity of myriad of discourses including discourses of pedagogy, the individual, and the group. It seems the discourses teachers are entangled in effect the relationship between planned pedagogic environments and being guided by the children's articulated needs.

8.3.1 Teachers, Mothers and Others

The role of maternalism in the field of ECE has been discussed from a discursive perspective. Turning to my own practice story again, I'll focus on the personal experience that was a catalyst for this thesis.

I gave him a blanket and pillow and he rested on the couch with a book for about 10 minutes. After a while he got up to start playing around the classroom. I told him we weren't going to play now; now we can go out. He happily ran down to his cubby and found his clothes. He goofed around and I smiled but didn't join in because I wanted him to get dressed to go out. He fell into my arms and gave me a long hug, then said: "You're my mommy." I was taken aback. "Am I your mommy?" I replied, feeling uneasy, "My name is Teresa. What's your mommy's name?" Peter replied seriously, "My mommy's name is Pam and your name is Pam too. You're my mommy too."

In this story, I express that I am taken aback by what Peter tells me. I see my reaction in light of a tension between teachers and mothers regarding who loves the child and who the child loves (Page, 2010), as well as an unpopular discursive notion discussed earlier in Chapter 7, of the teacher as a mother figure (Ailwood, 2008).

Page (2010) has explored the complex relationship between mothers and teachers, asking if mothers want professional caregivers to love their children. In her study, she found that the mothers she interviewed did want their children to be loved, but that the question was not as simple as a yes or no answer. For example, as mentioned earlier, associated with their desire for their children to be loved by their professional caretakers were also feelings of guilt for handing their children over to strangers (Page,

2010). Among other feelings expressed by mothers in Page's research was the feeling of being 'replaced' (Page, 2010). I interpret my reaction to Peter calling me mommy as a feeling of shame or guilt at having threatened Peter's mother's unique position in his life. The fact that a kindergarten teacher can be conceived as both a stranger, and at the same time, a mother figure, is indicative of the complexity of the teacher-child dynamic. On one hand, a kindergarten teacher is a passer-by in the child's life, but on the other hand, the kindergarten teacher is *there* day after day, and often year after year, when the child's parents are not. Hansen (2012a) claims that kindergarten teachers will always be replacements for parents, especially for the youngest children, insisting that kindergarten teachers have a duty to love the children in their care. My reaction to Peter telling me I was his mommy came from my perspective and what I perceived as his mother's perspective. What about Peter's perspective? From a child perspective, what other word could Peter have to describe a woman who shows she cares about him and advocates for his needs, besides *mommy*?

When Bowlby explained why he focused on mothers instead of fathers, in his study of maternal deprivation, he explained: "It is she who feeds and cleans him, keeps him warm, and comforts him. It is to the mother that he turns when in distress" (Bowlby, 1952, p.13). The role Bowlby describes seems very much like the role a kindergarten teacher performs for young children while in kindergarten. When an international group of kindergarten teachers were asked how they describe their work, descriptions included "mothering, providing, performing, producing, facilitating, observing, creating environments and opportunities, role modeling, foundation building, and being an extended member of the child's family and community" (Harwood, Klopper, Osanyin, & Vanderlee, 2013, p. 9). It is worth considering whether the maternal-like work kindergarten teachers experience they do, could be professionally developed if it were more often acknowledged and more highly valued.

Perhaps our hesitance to acknowledge the 'mothering' work we do in kindergartens in regard to young children is the result of the exclusivity assigned to the mother-child bond. The perceived exclusivity can be seen in light of Bolwby's attachment theory (Hrdy, 2009). Bowlby's attachment theory, while providing a counter-discourse to behaviorism's discounting of the child's emotional needs, described a child that was entirely dependent on its mother for care. In an attempt to counteract the exclusivity of mother-child bonds emphasized by Bowlby, Hrdy's (2009) work emphasizes the role of 'all mothers' throughout human history. In contrast to the image of the exclusively bonded mother and child, Hrdy (2009) suggests that mothers *and others*, both men and women, have from an evolutionary perspective, shared the role of

caretaking of young children. Basing her theory on her studies of caretaking in a variety of hunter-gatherer societies, Hrdy (2009) claims, that our development as uniquely empathetic creatures as compared to our evolutionary primate ancestors can be seen in light of the constant communal care human young have received. From this perspective, a kindergarten is re-conceptualized as an environment of communal caring, providing support to families and each other, raising our community in a collaborative effort. Whereas the social mandate of today's kindergartens is to support gender equality and even out economic disadvantage, the social mandate of a kindergarten in which mothers and others raise children, is interdependence and the mutual need for community support.

Our ideas of what a family is, how it should function within the community and what parental love entails are complex, political and related to social and historical discourse and practices. A child who likens his teacher to his mother may do so for reasons other than the exclusive bonds I myself associate with the love between a mother and child. Fredrickson explains that "Love, which appears to be the positive emotions people feel most frequently, arises when any other of the positive emotions is felt in the context of a safe, interpersonal connection or relationship" (Fredrickson, 2013, p.8). It is exactly this context of interpersonal connection that I want to continue to reflect on.

Returning to my practice story, when Peter told me I was his mommy, I felt ashamed and surprised. I loved him as a professional, within the confines of my workplace and within the confines of my work hours, as best I could. But, can I expect the feelings he returns to me to be likewise 'professional'? The child is after all *unprofessional*. The kindergarten is not a workplace for a child and, as a result, I am not only a professional in my meeting with him, I am also simply a person in his life. I think it is worth considering which ethical responsibilities fall upon me in this capacity and if these are included in the kindergarten teacher's perception of professionalism.

A kindergarten is conceived as an institution, from an adult perspective. From a child perspective, especially a very young child, the concept of institution may have no meaning. The kindergarten is a part of their life, no more or less real than his mornings and evenings at home. Our adult perspective on work, profession and institutions is only *a* perspective, a construction- a contingent and specific way of viewing the time we spend on weekdays between eight in the morning and four in the afternoon. Like any other social practice and discursive construction, it is not 'true', but is bound by

time and place, changing as circumstances change. From this perspective, can there be a distinction between pedagogy and love?

In my analysis of empiric material, I set out not only to look for patterns, but to also look away from patterns and into fragmentations- that which doesn't belong or is paradoxical and ambiguous (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011). As I continued reflecting on these questions that arose from my practice story, I began to wonder if perhaps there is another dimension of love that can be valuable to consider in my analysis of the professional practice of love that was not represented in my conceptual analysis: the personal dimension. This dimension relates to the irrefutable inter-subjective experience of the two people involved in loving interactions that transcend the mandate of the institutional framework and the teacher's professionalism into the personal realm. Whereas the Good Samaritan met the suffering Levite unexpectedly one day, and the Buddhist monk does good deeds for others whom she meets along her path, teachers and children plan to be together and are together day after day. Within these days spent together, relationships are built that, though based on the professional practice of love; none the less affect teacher and child on a personal level.

The personal dimension of love can be seen in light of Weber's description of love as radical and devoted wholly to the subject. The acosmic goal of love illustrates the complexity confronting the kindergarten teacher's professional practice of love. A professional setting sets clear limits on the personal dimension of love, both in degree of devotion, the space where the devotion takes place and the limited time span of devotion. I've been invited home for dinner by well-meaning families more than once. One father eagerly informed me that I was on his daughter's invitation list for her 3rd birthday party. In these situations, I've been confronted with the limits of the personal dimension of *my* professional practice of love.

The professional practice of love demands a radical, inward drawn expertise and what Weber calls an anti-establishment attitude (Symonds & Pudsey, 2006). An anti-establishment attitude could be likened to the "all for the child" fundament that is made clear in the *Professional Ethics for the Teaching Profession*, which states that a teacher's loyalty shall always lay with the children (Union of Education, 2014). This statement assumes that there are other forces competing for the kindergarten teacher's loyalties, which I understand as Weber's 'establishment'. Perhaps one way to describe the professional practice of love is that it is the advocacy for the child perspective of love within the confines of the socially constructed establishment of kindergarten.

Regardless of the experiences of love shared between me and children, I can quit my job. The role of 'mommy' in kindergarten will be filled with another kindergarten teacher. Though even now, thinking about Peter and countless other children, I feel love. They too, I know have lingering feelings, as their hugs and smiles upon meeting them after a long period of absence affirm. But, I don't mourn for them, and I don't think they mourn for me either. I don't feel a deep personal loss, even though each child affected me personally. The professional practice of love involves the unique context of kindergarten; a temporary institution in a formative period in a child's life. Though the relationships that grow in kindergarten are temporary, I don't think it's as the song goes: *"Things means a lot at the time, don't mean nothing later"* (Kozelek, 1993). For me, and I think for children too, it did mean something at the time, and it will continue to mean something. Also from the perspective of neuroscience, in as much as the relationships young children are involved in shape the brain (Twardosz, 2012), love means a lot at the time and continues to mean something later.

8.4 Varied Experiences of Love

When I asked kindergarten teachers to contribute practice stories about how they experienced love in their pedagogic practice, several expressed surprise and more than a little confusion at my chosen theme. One teacher explained: "When I received your request, my first thought was that love is so much, and not a term I use in my daily practice in kindergarten". The experiences of love described by the teachers were in many cases situations I would not have pointed out as particularly exemplifying love in pedagogic practice (which is exactly why I wanted other perspectives). Upon a committed reading of the texts, the experiences of love became clearer to me from the authors' perspectives. The experiences were made especially meaningful in light of Fredrickson's theory of love as positivity resonance, taking the form of micromoments of love that vary in intensity (Fredrickson, 2013). One kindergarten teacher had reflected on love and had a conscious understanding of what love was in the context of her pedagogic practice. The experience of love this teacher described touched upon each theme identified in my analysis. The story was rich with intersubjective experience and reflection. In contrast, the other stories touched upon few themes. One teacher described her own experience as being "a hint of love in pedagogic practice".

Fromm's (1956) theory of love holds that love is a practice that requires knowledge and effort and above all, a supreme concern to learn it. Could the teachers who had not

previously reflected on love in their practice have had stronger experiences of love if they had reflected more on love in their pedagogic practice earlier? I became interested in the correlation between familiarity with a concept or phenomenon and one's experience of a concept or phenomenon. Could kindergarten teachers' experiences of love in pedagogic practice be developed and enriched through knowledge of love and consequent practice? Would the development of teacher's experiences of love result in an enrichment of children's experiences of love in kindergarten?

These questions bring up whether or not loving can be demanded of kindergarten teachers. Goldstein addresses this problem in her study (2006), as she encounters certain theorists who perceive love as exclusive and private and, therefore, inappropriate for the classroom and impossible to mandate. Goldstein argues that behind this concern is the idea of "one monolithic, general kind of love" (Goldstein, 2006, p.150). Drawing attention to varied types of love, such as Agape and motherly love, Goldstein suggests that 'teacherly love' *can* be mandated, because it is rooted in commitment, unlike other types of love. Page (2010) and Hansen (2012 a; b), both of whom focus on the youngest children in ECE, emphasize the young child's *need* to be loved as a justification for the kindergarten teachers' responsibility to love.

Considering the varied experiences of love the kindergarten teachers in my study described, it becomes clear that, for Page (2010), Goldstein (2006) and Hansen (2012 a; b), love is a clearly –though obviously not fully, understood phenomenon. Each have reflected about various aspects of love and have broad knowledge of love. For these researchers, mandating love seems 'natural'. I am not so sure the same can be said for all or even most kindergarten teachers. In some ways, advocating love can alienate large groups of kindergarten teachers who do not find it 'natural' to describe pedagogic practice as involving love. It would be ironic if advocating love in ECE resulted in dis-chord, within the field. Though I agree with Goldstein (2006), that a discomfort with love could be the result of a narrow definition of love, it would be disrespectful to those who experience love as an uncomfortable topic to ascribe their discomfort to a lack of understanding, rather than a different understanding. However, not focusing on it for fear of alienating kindergarten teachers would be irresponsible in light of the vital role love clearly plays in the lives of young children.

In an inter-subjective meeting between kindergarten teacher and child, the experiences of the kindergarten teacher shape the experiences of the child, and vice-versa. From this perspective, it seems clear that the development of teachers' experiences of love could lead to an enrichment of children's experiences of love in kindergarten. Inter-

subjective meetings involve individuals. Some teachers problematize the mandate to love, arguing that kindergarten teachers don't find all children 'loveable'. Goldstein (2006) also attributes this to a narrow understanding of love as pleasure based. Goldstein explains that if "teacherly love is a commitment, a professional responsibility, then by extension all students must be considered worthy of teacherly love" (Goldstein, 2006, p.152). To Goldstein then, the fact that children are loveable stems from the kindergarten teacher's attitude, not the personality of the child.

Opening up to a broader spectrum of love experiences has been the subject of Fredrickson's (2013) research the past years. Fredrickson (2013) has achieved positive results in her research which aims at increasing individuals' experiences of love (as defined by Fredrickson), through a combination of reflection practices and a particular form of meditation from the Theravada Buddhist tradition called 'loving kindness'. Loving kindness meditation aims at a practice of wishing for the well-being of others and one's self. Participants practice wishing others well and, eventually, experience love more often and in more aspects of life. Fredrickson's attempt to develop experiences of love is unique in that it outwardly strives to develop the capacity to love in new ways. The wish for the other's well-being is, I think, a qualitatively different experience of love than loving a child based on the child's pleasing qualities.

I will now conclude my analyses of love in ECE from multiple perspectives. In the next chapter, I will begin to try to pull the threads of this thesis together.

9 REVIEW AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In this Chapter, I will take a step back and look at the results of this bricolage. After reviewing the findings from my explorations into multiple perspectives of the professional practice of love in ECE, I will try to discuss the perspectives in light of each other.

9.1 Review of Findings

In this thesis, I've asked three questions. The first question was: *What are some nonromantic concepts of love and how do they relate to ECE practice?*

To answer this question, I first conducted a broad literature review of non-romantic concepts of love and found three common meanings of love: *unifying*, *empathizing* and *active*.

These meanings were found to be represented in the Framework (M.E., 2011) in varied descriptions of practice, suggesting that the descriptive qualities described in the common meanings of the term love, are already an integrated part of Norwegian pedagogic practice. I suggest that considering our already established pedagogic practices from within a framework of love, using these three terms as tools, could nuance and deepen the kindergarten teacher's perspective on love and love's role in pedagogic practice.

In order to preserve and gain knowledge from the divergent qualities of varied concepts of love, I also identified three dimensions of love: *the ethical, the practical and the physical*.

Within the plethora of concepts of love, certain aspects of love were represented in some and not others. Each concept had a unique way of approaching the concept of love, influenced partly by the ontologies upon which the concepts were based. Concepts of love stemming from alternate ontological understandings than my own enabled me to see the pedagogic practice of love from other vantage points than my habitual mode of seeing led me. Likewise, I suggest that the kindergarten teacher could, through teacher's education, be exposed to and encouraged to reflect upon varied concepts of love and how they may apply to pedagogic practice, in order to nuance and professionalize the field's understanding of love in the context of ECE.

The three 'dimensions of love' identified within this thesis proved to be a valuable tool for understanding how the many aspects of love are involved in aspects of pedagogic practice. A fourth, personal dimension of love proved necessary to discuss when considering empirical data.

The next question I asked was: What are some current and historical discourses of love in ECE and what socio-historic practices have been involved in their development?

The results of the discourse analysis of love from the 18th-19th century showed that discourses of love, care and maternalism from the kindergarten movement era were prominent and based on a spiritual worldview that was a reaction against the rising tide of modernity and privileged the unseen over the seen. The lack of current discourses of love in ECE was linked to the privileging of the seen in today's society; and the resistance to discourses of care and love that link the caretaker to an exclusively female mother figure. The rise of modernity, the plight for gender equality and behaviorism were social practices linked to the development of discourses of love, care and maternalism in ECE.

My last question was: *How do a select group of kindergarten teachers experience love in their pedagogic practice today*?

My thematic analysis indicated that the kindergarten teachers experienced love in the their practice through *using their bodies to make meaningful connections with children*, through *following the child as pedagogic guide* and through *privileging the individual child* when navigating between non-urgent practical matters and perceived varied discourses of pedagogy and love. I also found that *experiences of love transcend the professional framework of the kindergarten as an institution* and commence in *shared joy* between kindergarten teacher and child.

9.2 Perspectives in Light of Each Other

What are the implications of these findings for the field of ECE? In Chapter 5, I described how I have received negative or uncomfortable reactions to my chosen theme, both from some colleagues, some acquaintances and some participants. Love has not only private connotations, but also sexual connotations which are distinctly inappropriate for work with children. As explained in Chapter 7, the term love is understood today in a very different way than it was in the kindergarten movement era. Though our common understanding of the word has changed, the word continues to impress itself upon the field of ECE in Norway. Love is both recognized as an underlying value and a necessary experience for young children in kindergarten in the Framework (M.E., 2011). However, between the mandate to love and the common perception of love, there is a gap- a broken link. As Goldstein (2006) also noted, the misconception of love as a singular and monolithic kind of love seems to disable a professional understanding of the term. The 'broken link' between pedagogy and love results in an unclear kindergarten mandate. The explicit use of the term love in the kindergarten movement era made the relationship between love and ECE clear. Today,

the link is evident in our pedagogic practices and the foundational values of the kindergarten, but perhaps because our modern understanding of the word has additional meanings that are not relevant to ECE, the link is no longer immediately intelligible. The weak link impedes the development of love as a pedagogic practice. How can we strengthen the link? Reflecting on discourses of love from the Romantic era can remind us of the circumstances surrounding the birth of early childhood education and the consequent link between love and pedagogy. The circumstances, the rise of modernity and a spiritual worldview that linked the individual to Nature and the Divine, also linked learning and progress to love.

The social practice of gender equality was noted as being involved in the development of discourses of love. Love between mother and child was idealized in the Romantic era. This idealization contributed to the liberation of women as autonomous individuals in society. As women progressed into society, the maternal aspects which rendered her valid in society, eventually became oppressive rather than liberating, as women struggled to enter into all areas of society. I believe it is in the best interest of both children and adults that we do not reverse progress toward gender equality by connecting the child's need for love exclusively to the female. Neither can we afford to skirt around the subject that children need to be involved with caretakers who love them, more often than in the mornings, evenings and weekends. Re-articulating love, independent of gender, can contribute to a discourse of love that does not threaten a return to female subservience. In my conceptual analysis, the primary meanings of the term love were unifying, empathizing and active. These terms do not connect the onewho-loves exclusively to the female, nor do they describe an exclusively personal, or pleasure based experience. Though Goldstein (2006), Hansen (2012a) and Page (2010) have considered different types of love, and suggested theorizing the love between a kindergarten teacher and a young child as a unique type of love, they have not, nor have others within ECE, attempted to break down the varied types of love into common meanings. Identifying types of love are helpful, in that they emphasize unique aspects of love, and describe how love is manifest in different situations. However, types of love also compartmentalize love. I believe trying to understand what love *means* can help us understand love, independent of social circumstances and gender roles. Considering common meanings of love can help to clarify why we value it and how we can support experiences of love in ECE. I found that the common meanings of love are implicit in pedagogic practices mandated in the Framework (M.E., 2011). In spite of this, several of the kindergarten teachers that participated in this study who had not previously reflected on love in their pedagogic practice, struggled to locate experiences of love in their pedagogic practice. As I explained in

Chapter 5, concepts direct our attention to a phenomenon. I believe the lack of a relevant concept of love to relate to pedagogic practice, could render love difficult to locate in pedagogic practice. Therefore, exposure to concepts of love and reflection on their relevance to pedagogic practice, could strengthen and develop both kindergarten teachers' and children's experiences of warmth and love in kindergarten.

As a whole, love as an aspect of professional practice seems to involve seeing children and our work with children in a broader perspective, as human beings in relations with each other. The inter-subjective basis of human social interaction allows love to transpire (Kögler, 2012). Beneath the kindergarten teacher's plans and the social mandate of kindergartens, are adults and children spending a portion of their lives together. Whether what transpires is described as a caring relationship, universal love, neighborly love or, love as an emotion, it involves reciprocal joy. Shared joy in connection with love brings up the question of the role of happiness in early childhood education. Happiness, like love, has superficial connotations that can make the term easily misconstrued. Noddings (2003) considers the role of happiness in the lives of children and the role schools play in supporting a child's present and future happiness. Happiness is described by many as the opposite of suffering, or lack of pain (Noddings, 2003). If love is conceived as the alleviation of suffering, it is logical that happiness follows. From this perspective, love precedes happiness, rather than happiness preceding love. Whereas a child's happiness can be a goal of ECE, a professional practice of love could be a method with which to achieve it. The story about the teacher who didn't smile in Chapter 8.1 points perhaps to the value of the expression of happiness for a child. Inter-subjectivity involves a collaborative dance between two people. Being met with happiness allows one to feel happiness. If our dance partners are not smiling, how can we smile? What goes on between an adult and a child who care about each other is an understudied area. Love, care and maternalism are biologically and socially connected to women and children, both groups which have been historically oppressed. Neither the maternal work performed by women, nor the maternal needs experienced by young children, seems to have been considered necessary to articulate into theoretical professional knowledge when branching out care to meet the best interests of society.

In this thesis, I have reproduced the binary concepts of the seen and the unseen, and reason and belief by my problematization of the privileging of the seen over the unseen in Modernity. Though I stand by my analysis, I do not mean to imply that privileging the *unseen* over the seen, is a better solution. Privileging belief over reason can get a woman burned as a witch and a man to believe he is the center of the

universe. I consider both the seen and the unseen, reason and belief as valid, but incomplete sources of knowledge. Together, the seen and the unseen as sources of knowledge can complement each other. Knowledge gained from either is valuable when considered in light of the other. It is when the seen or the unseen is perceived as complete in and of itself, or superior to the other, that the marginalization of the other occurs. It is this marginalization of the unseen quality of love that I tried to shed light on in my analyses. Pedagogy and love were perceived as unfortunate binaries by one kindergarten teacher. After having considered the varied experiences of love described by teachers, one thing seems certain to me. The professional practice of love in kindergarten bridges the concepts of pedagogy and love.

9.3 Reflections on the Critical Hermeneutic Process

The process of working from a critical hermeneutic perspective has been very challenging and at times, overwhelming. Looking back, I can see some alternate ways I may have approached my research questions without having to undertake three separate analyses.

Kögler suggests that seeing our familiar perspectives in light of the perspective of 'the other' can bring new perspectives on familiar subject matters. I experienced this in regard to scientific theories of love. Going into this thesis, I wanted to move focus away from philosophical and spiritual concepts of love. I considered scientific knowledge of love to be of a greater value than the intuitive, spiritual descriptions of love that my background and knowledge of love is heavily influenced by. The more I came to understand the value of scientific concepts of love, but in a new light. These were no longer 'true' ways of perceiving love, but unique and valuable ways. These perspectives give voice intuitively to what we've since discovered through scientific method. Spiritual and philosophical concepts of love ensure knowledge of love independent of the paradigm of scientific rationalism. They also privilege inward ways of knowing, which I consider to be especially valuable in our meetings and interactions with children.

I did not consider the themes of physical contact, verbal and non-verbal communication and smiles and hugs in light of 'the pedagogic body' prior to the construction of dimensions of love garnered from my literature study. These elements were perceived by me in my habitual mode of perception, as abstract ethical notions. Prior to having established the physical dimension of love, I did not *see* the

kindergarten teachers' bodies in the practice stories. My habitual perspective in regard to love is ethical and grounded in a spiritual understanding of love. The new perspective gained from my dialectical encounter with scientific concepts of love that were rooted in an evolutionary worldview, literally opened my eyes to a new aspect of the practice stories and the pedagogic practice of love.

I have also experienced the aspects of the critical hermeneutic process that were identified as weaknesses to have been problematic in my process. I experienced what was described as a missionary ethos as a problem at times. My emotional reaction to voicing the marginalization of love made me zealous at times. I have consciously tried to nuance my certainty regarding the importance of love in kindergarten, focusing rather on the circumstances surrounding both experiences of love and its marginalization.

9.4 Further Research

One question I did not ask in this research, that I think would be a relevant and valuable study, is *why* kindergarten teachers love. What instigates the pedagogic practices that support love and warmth in the kindergarten environment? Love, like sleep, cannot be demanded of a person. A commitment to love can be demanded, loving cannot be forced. Therefore, love involves inner motivation. It would be interesting to look further into the personal motivating factors in the professional practice of love in ECE.

The development of love as a pedagogic practice is an interesting possibility for future research. How can the professional practice of love in kindergarten be developed in the workplace and perhaps before that, at the level of teacher education? Action research in a kindergarten classroom, or, even a college classroom, could be an interesting approach. An intervention of some kind could be an interesting study to see if love can be developed through exposure, reflection and experience.

10 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I set out to explore love as a professional practice in ECE from multiple perspectives. Through reflecting on the terms love, care, maternalism and professionalism in light of each other, I believe I have gained insight into love in the context of ECE today.

Rather than being only something one feels for a loved one in our private lives, love has been shown in this thesis to be a multi-dimensional and cross-culturally relevant phenomenon that supports a sense of togetherness through empathy with other beings. In kindergarten, these characteristics of love seem to form the very foundation of mandated pedagogy. Though, for example, nurturing a sense of belonging and child participation is not explicitly defined as love, these practices reflect the underlying value of love in kindergarten. Despite the fact that love is implicit in the pedagogic practices mandated in the Framework (M.E., 2011), kindergarten teachers do not necessarily reflect on love as an aspect of pedagogic practice.

The socio-historic situation a kindergarten teacher exists in will exert influence over her experiences of love. In the kindergarten movement's infancy, discourses of professionalism, love, care, and maternalism were overlapping. This is no longer the case. Discourses of professionalism today often run contrary to discourses of love and care, while discourses of maternalism have transformed into discourses that threaten gender equality and professionalism. Despite a lack of explicit discourses of love today, the kindergarten teachers who participated in this study were able to locate experiences of love in their pedagogic practice. More than anything, it seemed that shared joy between the kindergarten teacher and a child were the results of experiences of love in pedagogic practice. Shared joy was made possible by the kindergarten teacher's interest in the child, her decision making and favoring of the individual child over non-urgent practical matters and the use of her body as a pedagogic tool to make meaningful connections with the child.

Almost all young children in Norway spend up to half of their lives in kindergarten between the ages of one and five years. Situations wherein young children could experience love once primarily occurred 'naturally' at home with their families. Today, young children find themselves in a new situation and kindergarten teachers are in that new situation with them. The men and women who make up the field of ECE are a major part of the lives of young children. While young children are in kindergarten, they are *living* and *growing* among and along with kindergarten teachers. Children need love to grow (Esch & Stefano, 2005; Gerhardt, 2004; Harlow, 1971). I suggest that articulating the value of love is fundamental to the professional development of the kindergarten teacher and to the field of ECE as a whole.

This research has been exploratory, with the aim of gaining knowledge about love as a professional practice in ECE from multiple perspectives. Looking back on how I've chosen to approach my theme, I see some weaknesses. As a result of exploring

multiple perspectives, I have not been able to develop my analyses as far as I would have liked. I can't help but wonder what a study emphasizing only one perspective might have yielded. I may also have attempted to address too many analytic points out of enthusiasm for my subject matter. The five terms I used as a guide in this study: ECE, love, care, maternalism and professionalism, encompass an enormous field of study that I felt compelled to consider as a whole.

My sample of kindergarten teachers was quite small, and my own practice story took up much place because of the issues it raised. Perhaps the results of my thematic analysis would have better reflected the 'other' if my own practice story had been left out. Despite these weaknesses, I believe I accomplished my aims, which were to shed light on love as a complex, critical and defining aspect of ECE, and to contribute a foundation from which future studies could build on. I suggest this thesis has contributed to our knowledge basis regarding love in ECE in four ways:

- through the broad literature review of concepts of love and the resulting clarifying and nuancing analysis of love seen in light of pedagogic practice
- with an analysis of love in ECE in a historic perspective
- through using kindergarten teachers' practice stories as data and the resulting insights into the location of love experiences within pedagogic practices
- by providing groundwork for future in-depth studies regarding love as an aspect of pedagogic practice in ECE

Writing this thesis has been an enriching, demanding and eye-opening experience. At the outset of this project, love seemed to me to be a shining light that was rarely seen, and that I wanted to draw attention to. Now, it seems that love is the very backbone of the work we do in kindergarten- not the work we should do, but the work we *do* do. Talking about it is like blowing dust off an old piece of sheet music. The music's been there all along.

EPILOGUE

It's nearly a year since I quit my job at the kindergarten to focus on my studies. Some of the children from my infant classroom take a dance class held at my son's elementary school. As I was picking him up one day, I recognized one of the children from my class, now about three-feet high in her dance costume. Then I saw her mother who greeted me with a smile. Soon two more girls from our class appeared along with their mothers- they were all gazing at me with smiles. I was so happy to see their faces, suddenly I blurted out "The whole family is here!". After some hugs and strokes, I went in to pick up my son and they continued their conversations and play. I left with my son, a stranger to them once again.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS Norwegian social science data services

> Inger Marie Lindboe Institutt for førskolelærerutdanning Høgskolen i Oslo og Akershus Postboks 4 St. Olavs plass 0130 OSLO

> > Vår ref: 35394 / 2 / IB

Vår dato: 24.09.2013

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 06.09.2013. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

35394 Bebandlingsansvarlig Daglig ansvarlig Student Perspectives on Love in Early Childbood Education Høgskolen i Oslo og Akersbus, ved institusjonens øverste leder Inger Marie Lindboe Teresa Katberine Aslanian

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

Etter gjennomgang av opplysninger gitt i meldeskjemaet og øvrig dokumentasjon, finner vi at prosjektet ikke medfører meldeplikt eller konsesjonsplikt etter personopplysningslovens §§ 31 og 33.

Dersom prosjektopplegget endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for vår vurdering, skal prosjektet meldes på nytt. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/skjema.html.

Vedlagt følger vår begrunnelse for hvorfor prosjektet ikke er meldepliktig.

Vennlig hilsen

Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim

Inga Brautaset

Kontaktperson: Inga Brautaset tlf: 55 58 26 35 Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering Kopi: Teresa Katherine Aslanian Hulda Garborgs vei 32 1384 ASKER

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

Avdelingskontorer / District Offices OSLO. NSD. Universitetet i Oslo, Postbolks 1055 Blindern, 0316 Oslo. Tel. +47-22 85 52 11. nsd@uio no TRONDHEIM NSD. Norges teknsk-naturvitenskepeligie universitet, 7491 Tondheim. Tel. +47-73 59 19 07. kyrre svarva@svt.ntnu.no TRONDHEIM NSD. NSD. SVF, Universitetet i Tromsø, 9037 Tromsø. Tel. +47-77 64 43 36. nsdmaa@sv.uit.no



APPENDIX B

Personvernombudet for forskning



Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektnr: 35394

Det vises til meldeskjema og telefonsamtale 24.09.13. Basert på de opplysninger vi har fått om prosjektet, kan personvernombudet ikke se at det skal behandles personopplysninger med elektroniske hjelpemidler, eller at det opprettes manuelt personregister som inneholder sensitive personopplysninger. Prosjektet vil dermed ikke omfattes av meldeplikten etter personopplysningsloven.

Utvalget vil bestå av førskolelærere ved ulike barnehager, og data innhentes ved flere metoder.

 Praksisfortellinger skrevet av førskolelærere. Det er barnehagestyrer som oversender disse til forsker.
 Fortellingene sendes i utgangspunktet pr epost. Unntaket er i de barnehager der det kun er ansatt 1-2 førskolelærere - der skal fortellingen sendes pr post (slik at ikke styrers epostadresse kan bidra til å identifisere informanten i materialet).

2) Det kan bli aktuelt å foreta intervju. Data registreres ved lydopptak og transkripsjoner. Det skal kun registreres anonyme opplysninger.

3) Videre kan det bli aktuelt å observere i barnehagen. Data skal da registreres kun i form av anonyme notater (ingen opptak).

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at alle opplysninger som behandles elektronisk i forbindelse med prosjektet er anonyme.

Med anonyme opplysninger forstås opplysninger som ikke på noe vis kan identifisere enkeltpersoner i et datamateriale, verken:

- direkte gjennom personentydige kjennetegn (som navn eller personnummer),

- indirekte gjennom bakgrunnsvariabler (som navn på skole/geografisk sted, alder, kjønn, stilling osv.),

- eller gjennom kode og koblingsnøkkel (som navneliste).

APPENDIX C

Forespørsel om deltagelse i forskningsprosjekt

«Kjærlighet i pedagogisk praksis»

Kjære førskolelærer,

Jeg heter Teresa Aslanian og er førskolelærer med 13 års erfaring i barnehagen. Nå er jeg masterstudent i barnehagepedagogikk ved HiOA. Jeg skriver masteroppgave om temaet *kjærlighet i barnehagepedagogisk praksis*. I den forbindelse ønsker jeg å lære noe om hvordan førskolelærere opplever kjærlighet i sin pedagogiske praksis. For å få informasjon om dette, ønsker jeg å gi ordet til førskolelærere selv.

Jeg ber om praksisfortellinger fra førskolelærere om:

Hvordan opplever du kjærlighet i din pedagogiske praksis?

Det finnes ingen riktig eller gale svar på spørsmålet. Dette er et tema som snakkes lite om og som jeg ønsker å løfte frem. Fortellingene kan inneholde for eksempel hendelser, refleksjoner eller tanker. Lengden bestemmer du selv. Mer informasjon om praksisfortellinger finnes for eksempel her http://no.wikibooks.org/wiki/Praksisfortellinger.

Jeg vil understreke at det dere skriver er fullstendig anonymt. Jeg ønsker ikke personopplysninger og kommer ikke til å registere informasjon angående skribenter eller skribentens arbeidsplass.

Prosjektet planlegges avsluttet innen mai 2014. Praksisfortellingene makuleres når prosjektet er avsluttet. For å kunne formidle videre det som kommer fram med oppgaven, ønsker jeg å be om tillatelse å bruke de anonyme praksisfortellingene i senere artikler og forskning.

Dersom du ønsker å delta eller har spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med meg, enten per post, telefon eller mail: telefon xxxxxxx eller mail: xxxxxxx

Ferdige praksisfortellinger kan sendes via barnehagestyreren så snart som mulig, men helst innen 1. november.

Jeg håper du ønsker å bidra og jeg setter stor pris på din deltagelse!

Med vennlig hilsen,

Teresa Aslanian

(addresse)

APPENDIX D

Intervju spørsmål

«Kjærlighet i pedagogisk praksis»

1.) I *Rammeplanen for barnehagens innhold og oppgaver* er nestekjærlighet nevnt som en av barnehagens grunnverdier. I verdigrunnlaget står det :

«I barnehagen er det av stor betydning at barna får oppleve varme og kjærlighet.»

Kan du fortelle meg noe om hvordan du som pedagog sorger for at barn opplever kjærlighet i din barnehage?

2.) Kjærlighet defineres ulikt av ulike mennesker og i ulike sammenhenger. Hvordan ville du beskrive den type kjærligheten som du opplever i møte med barn i barnehagen?