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Professional Boundaries

The Case of Childcare Workers in Norway

PhD thesis Centre for the Study of Professions Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences

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Sammendrag

Denne avhandlingen undersøker profesjonalisme blant norske barnehagearbeidere ved å besvare to spørsmål: 1) uttrykker holdningene til barnehageansatte profesjonelle grenser? og 2) er det arbeidsdelinger blant barnehageansatte som kan bli beskrevet som profesjonelle grenser? Profesjonaliteten til barnehagearbeidere er lite undersøkt, og denne avhandlingen ønsker å korrigere det gjennom en analyse av fire artikler. De fire artiklene analyserer spørreskjemadata fra en omfattende undersøkelse blant norske barnehagearbeidere. De ulike artiklene fokuserer på bestemte aspekter ved arbeid i barnehagen og barnehagearbeidere. Disse partikulære analysene blir samlet under en analytisk paraply bestående av de teoretiske begrepene grenser og jurisdiksjon. I tillegg blir kjønn undersøkt som en potensielt grenseskapende dimensjon.

Artikkel 1 undersøker holdningene blant barnehagearbeidere til oppstarts alder og lengde på opphold for barna som går i barnehage. Funnene er at de profesjonelle aksepterer tidligere start og lenger opphold enn assistentene. Yngre ansatte er mer aksepterende for tidligere start og lenger opphold enn eldre ansatte. Av interesse her er det faktum at de to gruppene uttrykker forskjellige holdninger. Sett som arbeid langs jurisdiksjonens grenser, stemmer ikke de profesjonelles holdninger overens med et bilde av en profesjonell gruppe som kjemper for å utvide sin jurisdiksjon. I sine konkluderende kommentarer antyder forfatterne noen forklaringer på de observerte holdningene.

Artikkel 2 undersøker deling av arbeidsoppgaver og holdninger til deling av arbeidsoppgaver mellom profesjonelle og ikke-profesjonelle. I tillegg blir forskjeller langs dimensjoner som ansiennitet, alder og subjektive erfaringer av for eksempel kompetanse undersøkt. Funnene er at gruppene er enige om den generelle retningen; ingen oppgaver blir ansett som at passer best for de ikke-profesjonelle. Videre er det et avvik mellom uttrykte holdninger og selv-rapportert deltakelse i arbeidsoppgaver. Av hovedinteresse er at til tross for at det er observerbare forskjeller i hva de profesjonelle og de ikke-profesjonelle svarer at de gjør, benytter ikke de profesjonelle anledningen til å distansere seg fra de ikke-profesjonelle.

Artikkel 3 undersøker emosjonell utmattelse (EE) blant barnehageansatte. EE oppstår som en respons på langvarig jobbrelatert stress, og stammer fra faktorer som relasjoner til kollegaer, total arbeidsmengde og mangfold i arbeidsoppgaver. Funnene er at stilling – som profesjonell eller ikke-profesjonell – er positivt korrelert med EE til arbeidsoppgaver blir inkludert. Dette

indikerer at bestemte oppgaver, enten i seg selv eller fordi de henger sammen med andre oppgaver – er emosjonelt belastende for barnehagearbeidere. Identifiseringen av en slik effekt indikerer at profesjonelle har en annen emosjonell erfaring enn ikke-profesjonelle på grunn av at de har andre ansvarsområder.

Artikkel 4 undersøker om og hvordan kjønn er viktig i barnehagearbeid ved å spørre om barnehagearbeidere er kjønnstradisjonalister. Tidligere forskning har funnet at kjønn er viktig for organiseringen av arbeidet og at barnehagearbeidere rapporterer kjønnstradisjonelle holdninger. Disse funnene blir ikke reprodusert i denne analysen, som undersøker holdninger og deltakelse i arbeidsoppgaver blant barnehagearbeidere. Av interesse her er funnet at kjønn ikke fremstår som en sentral grense i barnehagearbeidet – på tross av en kjønnsskjev arbeidsstyrke.

Det empiriske bidraget av denne studien er at profesjonelle grenser ser ut til å eksistere i den norske barnehagesektoren. Ikke-profesjonelle antar ikke karakteristikker av å være en distinkt gruppe med likeverdig status som profesjonelle. Svaret på spørsmål 1, om holdningene til barnehagearbeidere uttrykker profesjonelle grenser, er at ja, det gjør de. Profesjonelle blir anerkjent som nettopp det, mens ikke-profesjonelle ikke blir ansett å ha egen jurisdiksjon og krever heller ikke å ha en slik.

Til det andre spørsmålet, om det er arbeidsdelinger blant barnehagearbeidere som kan bli beskrevet som profesjonelle grenser, er svaret også ja. Dette er imidlertid et spørsmål som må bli utforsket ytterligere i fremtidige studier, og da særlig med fokus på om det er et hierarki av profesjonalisme i gruppen av profesjonelle. Gruppen profesjonelle har særlige ansvarsoppgaver, og disse ansvarsoppgavene er iblant emosjonelt belastende.

Det teoretiske bidraget denne avhandlingen kommer med er en påpekning av at et generelt teoretisk rammeverk som tar utgangspunkt i kamp for å ekspandere jurisdiksjon ikke kaster lys over profesjonelle grenser eller grensedragninger som skjer i norske barnehager. For å forstå profesjonelle grenser i norske barnehager må vi se til sektorens historie og den spesifikke samfunnsmessige konteksten som barnehagen som institusjon befinner seg i dag.

Summary

This thesis explores professionalism among Norwegian daycare workers by two questions: 1) Do the attitudes of daycare workers express boundaries of professionalism? 2) Are there divisions of work among daycare workers that can be described as professional boundaries? The professionalism of daycare workers has received little attention, and this thesis seeks to correct that by four papers and an overarching analysis. All four papers analyze survey data from a comprehensive study of Norwegian daycare workers. The four papers focus on different aspects of daycare work and daycare workers. The different themes come together under an analytical umbrella consisting of the theoretical terms boundaries and jurisdiction, with an additional focus on gender as a potentially boundary-producing dimension.

Paper 1 investigates the attitudes of daycare workers on the best perceived enrollment age and daily length of stay of children enrolled in daycare. The findings are that professionals are more accepting of the children starting younger and staying more hours per day than nonprofessionals are. Likewise, younger workers are more accepting than older workers of an earlier start age and more hours of stay per day. Of main interest here is the fact that the two occupational groups differ in their expressed attitudes. Furthermore, seen through the lens of jurisdictional boundary work, the expressed attitudes of the professional group does not reconcile with a notion of a professional group struggling to expand its jurisdiction. In conclusion, the authors propose suggestions as to why the professionals express these attitudes.

Paper 2 explores divisions of work tasks and attitudes toward these tasks between professional daycare workers and nonprofessionals, in addition to differences on other dimensions – such as tenure, age and subjective experiences of e.g. competence. The findings are that the groups agree on the general direction – meaning which tasks are suited for whom - , that no tasks are considered better suited for nonprofessionals and that there is a discrepancy between expressed attitudes and self-reported work task participation frequency. In regard to boundary work, of main interest is the fact that despite differences in work tasks participation being apparent, the professionals do not seize this opportunity to distance their group from the nonprofessionals.

Paper 3 investigates emotional exhaustion (EE) among daycare workers. EE arises as a response to prolonged work related stress, originating from factors such as coworker relationships, total work load and diversity of work load. The findings are that position (as

professional or nonprofessional) is correlates with higher levels of EE until the inclusion of work tasks, indicating that certain tasks –either by themselves or by being interlinked with other work tasks – are emotionally taxing for the daycare workers. The identification of such an effect indicate that the professionals have a different emotional experience than the nonprofessionals due to their different work responsibilities.

Paper 4 examines if and how gender is important in daycare work by asking whether daycare workers are gender traditionalists. Previous literature often find that gender is of importance to the organization of work and that daycare workers report gender traditional attitudes. These findings are not reproduced in this analysis, where the attitudes and work task participation of daycare workers are investigated. Gender does not appear to be a prominent boundary in daycare work – despite a gender-skewed work force.

Empirically, the findings from these papers in sum indicate that professional boundaries do exists in the Norwegian daycare sector. The group of nonprofessionals does not appear as a distinct group of equal professional standing to that of those employed as such. The answer to the first question of whether the attitudes of the workers express boundaries of professionalism is that they do. The group of professionals is acknowledged as such. In contrast, the group of nonprofessionals is not considered as having distinctive jurisdictional responsibilities or claims of such.

The answer to the second question, whether there are divisions of work among daycare workers that can be described as professional boundaries or not, is also yes – although a question to be explored in future research is whether there is a hierarchy of professionalism within the group employed as professionals. The group of professionals does appear to have specific responsibilities, and these responsibilities are - to some extent - emotionally taxing.

Theoretically, the framework of jurisdictional boundaries developed in this analysis is one of synthesis. It has proved to be fruitful in the sense that the topic of interest – whether boundaries of professionalism exists in the attitudes or work task division of Norwegian daycare workers – has been explored. However, as the group of professionals does – at least in this analysis and in the factors investigated here – appear to take part in a jurisdictional struggle, the theoretical framework fail to capture how these jurisdictional boundaries came about or are maintained. For these factors, we need to look at the history of the sector and the societal context within which it is placed.

Forord

Arbeidet med denne avhandlingen har vært moro, frustrerende, men sjelden kjedelig. I oppog nedturene har jeg vært omgitt av gode folk, som har diskutert, trøstet, støttet og underholdt. Takk til dere alle sammen! Noen vil jeg trekke fram spesielt:

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Mette Løvgren 10. november 2014 Oslo

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1 Introduction

Daycare has been prioritized by politicians for decades in Norway. Recent years have seen a dramatic increase in the number of daycare institutions and hence, to the number of people working in daycare. Despite this, few Norwegian studies have examined professionalism among Norwegian daycare workers. This thesis seeks to correct that via four studies and an overarching analysis in the form of an extended introduction, using data from the most comprehensive survey that has been conducted among Norwegian daycare workers. In particular I ask the following two questions: 1) Do the attitudes of daycare workers express boundaries of professionalism? 2) Are there divisions of work among daycare workers that can be described as professional boundaries?

A concern of daycare work is that it is governed by traits other than professionalism. Rather than quality of daycare being achieved through division of work between those with and without formal training, everyone does everything — and a social category such as gender, rather than professionalism, is an organizing factor. This thesis focuses on boundaries among workers in the Norwegian daycare sector. By investigating attitudes and divisions of work, I seek to answer whether boundaries along the lines of professionalism exist and if so, how they are expressed. The term "boundaries" is used in its plural form because professionalism occurs in different arenas and to different extents.

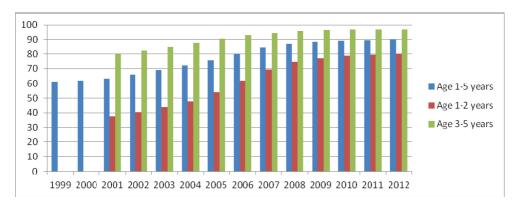
In this chapter, I outline the daycare sector in Norway today and the background in which it has evolved, and I discuss what professionalism is in the context of the daycare sector with special regard to the jurisdiction of the professional workers. First, however, some brief working definitions of much-used terms are in order. *Boundaries* are the differences that position groups of people, tasks or work (Liljegren, 2012). A *profession* is an occupational group whose members have a common education and the right to perform certain work tasks and who enjoy some level of autonomy in their work; *professionalism* is the performing, practice or act of being a professional; and its *jurisdiction* is those tasks that the profession controls and in their execution, enjoys a certain level of autonomy (Molander and Terum 2008). These concepts will be more thoroughly explored in Chapter 3.

The rest of this extended introduction is structured as follows: I begin with a description of the Norwegian context and background of the daycare sector in Norway. I present some pertinent studies (Chapter 2) and introduce the theoretical framework for the present analysis (Chapter 3). Then I describe the procedure of data collection and elaborate on some methodological issues

(Chapter 4), and present the papers that inform this analysis (Chapter 5). I discuss the findings in light of the presented theory and make my concluding remarks (Chapter 6).

1.1 Daycare: a societal institution of great scope and impact

In the past few decades, the Norwegian daycare sector has expanded vastly. The expansion was especially marked in the 2000s, leading some to label this decade as one of a "childcare revolution" (Ellingsæter 2014). Daycare today is a central societal institution; it is present in the everyday lives of children, their parents and those who work in the field. In 2012, approximately 91,200 people were employed in Norway in 6,400 daycare centers (Statistics Norway 2013).





Source: Statistics Norway 2013

Figure 1 shows the steady increase in the percentage of children enrolled in daycare from the late 1990s until 2012. In 2012, more than 96 percent of Norwegian children age three or older attended a daycare center. For children younger than three, the rate was 80 percent (Statistics Norway 2014). The age composition of the enrolled children has changed in recent years. The enrolment rate of the oldest children increased from 85 percent in 2000 to 96 percent in 2012, and of the youngest children, from 44 percent to 77 percent (Statistics Norway 2012). This greater increase in the enrollment of the youngest children has resulted in a shift in the share of children below the age of three compared to that of children older than three: In 2009, almost 33 percent of children attending a daycare center were younger than three years (Løvgren and Gulbrandsen 2012). Labor-market participation among Norwegian women is high, including those women who have children younger than school age. In 2010, the rate was 86 percent among women who have children aged three to

five (Moafi and Bjørkli 2010). The increase in women's labour-market participation has been identified as the primary driving force of both the expansion in the childcare sector and the decision of parents to enroll children in daycare (Korsvold 2005; Ellingsæter and Gulbrandsen 2007; Jacobsen and Vollset 2012).

In 2006, a maximum fee of 2,250 NOK per month was introduced. The second child from the same family would receive a 30 percent discount and the third and subsequent children, 50 percent. Low-income families would pay a lower or no fee (Jacobsen and Vollset, 2012). Capping the fees paid by the parents made daycare an affordable choice for more families and contributed to the increase in the use of daycare.

Early childhood education and childcare is accepted in Norway as a public good and receives high levels of public funding (Moss, 2010), ensuring the accessibility of affordable daycare. The effects of widely accessible and affordable daycare on society at large have been and still are debated, especially in the literature about the welfare state. While some conclude that daycare policies, for example, cement the structural inequalities of men and women in modern societies, others argue that such policies enable women with low education and few personal resources to enter the labour market and expand their agency and capabilities (for an overview of this debate, see Korpi, Ferrarini et al. 2013). Regardless of how different constellations of welfare-state policies and equality of men and women interact; in Norway the expanding daycare sector has been both a contributor to and a result of women's increased labour-market participation.

The availability of daycare in Norway today has its roots in a policy shift that occurred several decades earlier when expansion of public childcare became a political goal.

1.2 A new era of childcare since the 1970s

Universal childcare became a priority in policy making in the mid-1970s. The motivation for a new era of childcare was to ease women's entry into the labour market, to provide children with an environment favourable for their development and to offer relief for families (Havnes and Mogstad 2011). With increased funding accompanying the reform, childcare coverage increased from less than 10 percent in 1975 to greater than 20 percent in 1980 (Ellingsæter and Gulbrandsen, 2003).

The first national legislation regulating the Norwegian childcare sector, the Day Care Institution Act of 1975, served two purposes: to ensure that childcare centers stimulated the development of each

child, providing the children with activities, and also to encourage municipalities to expand the amount of childcare available to its citizens. Before the Act was passed, childcare institutions were subject to regulations that also applied to daycare and after-school care centers. Two distinct institutions providing care for children below preschool age existed before 1975. Daycare centers were available for eight to nine hours a day, were owned by municipalities, and had no educational requirements for their staff. On the other hand, childcare centers were only open for four hours a day, were privately owned, and were managed by childcare teachers with two years of formal training. Since 1975, childcare centers, daycare centers, and other pedagogical arrangements for children below school age were to be named "childcare" and would fall under the jurisdiction of the new law, which stated requirements that included the minimum size of the facilities, the ratio of children to employees, and the pedagogical material and practices (Greve 1995).

The new law also forged a link between one particular professional group and childcare, a link that is still evident today - judging by the share of pedagogical staff with this training.

1.3 The professional is a preschool teacher

In Norwegian daycare, two types of non-management positions are widespread: a position as a professional, called a pedagogical leader that requires formal training, and a position as nonprofessional, called an assistant that requires no formal training. While not explicitly specified as such, Norwegian staffing regulations result in a ratio of untrained staff to trained staff in Norwegian daycare institutions as two to one (Jacobsen and Vollset 2012). Most assistants working in Norwegian daycare centers have no education beyond upper secondary school (Gulbrandsen 2009). In comparison, Denmark has approximately 60 percent graduates (with no qualifications required for assistants), Sweden 50 percent (upper-secondary level training is required for assistants) and Finland around 30 percent (even though it is not required, the assistants often have post-secondary training in the health- or care professions) (Oberhuemer 2012). Of the Nordic countries, Norway rank lowest with regard to educational levels among daycare staff.

While there have been relatively large fluctuations in the share of those educated as preschool teachers who work in the daycare sector, there has been little fluctuation in the educational background of those who work as professionals in daycare. This has its roots in the 1975 law. In proposing the new law, a suggestion was made that educational requirements should be specified in full, either training as a preschool teacher or other education that places equal importance on the

central principles of the Norwegian childcare institution. In the final draft, however, "equal education" was never defined or specified, in practice rendering the preschool teachers' education the only qualifying education for professionals' positions in a daycare center (Greve 1995).

This was not the result of lobbying on the part of preschool teachers. Although the childcare workers of the pre-war era of the 1920s and 1930s were organized, it was not until after the Second World War that a labour union was established. Entry to the union was limited through educational qualifications; those who worked with children but were educated as social workers were excluded. Conventionally, the main purpose of a union is to advocate the interests of employees to their employers and to the State. That was not the case with the union of childcare workers, which foremost advocated the expansion of daycare. Its members were often of high social background and had a professional interest and training in the tradition of the Froebel Kindergarten. Having private resources, their main concern was convincing policymakers of the benefits of children attending such care (Greve 1995).

This informal monopoly of preschool teachers with regard to professional positions in daycare existed until the passing of the 2006 Childcare Act, which states that equal to training as a preschool teacher is other pedagogical training at college level with additional training in daycare pedagogies (Ministry of Education and Research 2006). Present-day preschool teachers are qualified to work in daycare and in first grade at elementary school; since 2005, the majority of those who graduated work in daycare. Before 2005, preschool teachers had worked in other occupations or, at least until the end of the 1980s, stayed at home with their own children. During the large expansion of the Norwegian daycare sector, preschool teachers increasingly took up work in daycare. Among those who completed training as preschool teachers prior to 2004, close to 80 percent of the age group 20 - 24 worked in childcare in 2007 (Gulbrandsen, 2009).

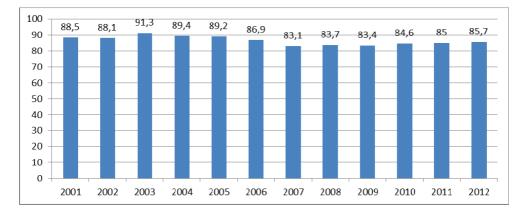


Figure 2 Share of managers and professionals that are trained as preschool teachers

Source: Statistics Norway 2013

In 2009, the year of the survey that is the source of the data for this thesis, approximately 82 percent of all pedagogical leaders were trained as preschool teachers (Statistics Norway 2012). As shown in figure 2, the share of managers and professionals who are educated as preschool teachers has varied, with a peak of 91.3 percent in 2003. Overall, however, a vast majority has this form of training. The new educational specifications in the childcare act of 2006 have left little if any impact. The share of employees working with an exemption from the requirement of formal training was approximately 4.5 percent in 2012 (Statistics Norway, 2014), indicating that only about 10 percent had an educational qualification other than that as a preschool teacher.

In addition to specifying alternative qualifications to education as preschool teacher, the new law and corresponding framework plan stated requirements for content, work methods, and the relationship between daycare, children and parents (Ministry of Education and Research 2006).

1.4 Mapping the jurisdiction

The current purpose and content of Norwegian daycare centers is stated in the Kindergarten Act of 2006 and the corresponding daycare center national framework plan. The plan specifies how the law is to be interpreted and serves as a guide to owners, employees and consumers of Norwegian daycare services. The law governing daycare applies to all daycare centers, so the differences in staffing and work forms among centers are minimal, despite differences in ownership (close to half of Norwegian daycare centers are privately owned, and these have various forms of ownership) and the regulations

are extensive and apply to all daycare providers, irrespective of whether they are privately or publicly owned (Jacobsen and Vollset 2012, Penn 2013). Of interest here is the role of the law and the framework plan as jurisdictional maps for the daycare workers, specifically for the professionals and the managers. Although the responsibilities and duties of the manager and the professionals (in the framework referred to by the most widespread title in use: "pedagogical leader") are clearly stated, the nonprofessionals are only implicitly referred to (as "remaining employees") (Ministry of Education and Research 2006), even though the nonprofessionals outnumber the professionals two to one.

Before we turn to the jurisdiction of the professionals, a brief outline of the purpose and content as described in the framework plan of the Norwegian daycare center is in order. According to the plan, the purpose and content can be summarized in four overarching subjects: caring, teaching, play, and development. The daycare center is to meet the children's needs for care and play and to promote learning to facilitate a versatile development. Under the umbrella of these four subjects, psychological, cultural and social aspects are mentioned, including the need for program modifications for individual children, physical activity, and stimulation of curiosity, diversity and equality (Ministry of Education and Research 2006).

As for jurisdiction, the nonprofessionals are not assigned any specific tasks or duties but are guided and supervised by the manager and the professionals. On the other hand, the manager and the professionals do have certain tasks and responsibilities. In addition to guiding the nonprofessionals, these tasks are the planning, execution, evaluation and development of all the tasks and content of the daycare center. The manager is responsible for the entire daycare center, and each professional, for their own division within the center. The nature of the guidance of nonprofessionals is to ensure that all employees are familiar with the aims of the daycare center. The manager and professionals are also responsible for informing parents of the activities of the daycare center (Ministry of Education and Research 2006).

Some points should be noted. The nonprofessionals are not given any particular tasks or responsibilities, and those assigned to the professionals are ambiguous; that is, their translation into specific work tasks and work practices depends either upon their pre-existing knowledge (e.g. from their education) or the established practices within their workplace.

1.5 The daycare professional

As stated, there is a link between education as a preschool teacher and a position as a professional in daycare. There are also mapped-out responsibilities and expectations of the professionals working in daycare, for the results they are expected to achieve and the methods they are to deploy. How well do these conditions and expectations translate into actual professionalism in the workplace? Is there, in fact, a division of labour between professionals and nonprofessionals, or are other boundaries present? Although research is sparse, opinions are many. Most parents report satisfaction with the quality of the performed work (Ministry of Education and Research 2008), but researchers and others express concern that work tasks are distributed not according to position, but according to time schedule. As a consequence, the professional is rendered invisible (Aasen 2000). That this view is presented — without any identifiable empirical basis — as fact in a 2008 journal article (Grimsæth, Nordvik et al. 2008), illustrates the resonance this point of view has with those who concern themselves with the sector.

Those who work in the sector give the impression of an egalitarian view of workers' competence regardless of qualifications. In 2009, a trade magazine reported that "child supervisor" is the new title for nonprofessionals in one Norwegian daycare center. The center's manager explains the motivating factors behind the change: because the assistants do not actually assist anyone, but work independently, child supervisor is a more accurate title. Also, the new title is one way of enhancing the status of the non-pedagogical staff whose work, she continues, is very important to the quality of the services rendered. One child supervisor, a former assistant, explains that her initial reaction was that she did not place much emphasis on the title of her job, but after giving it some thought, she considers that the new title may indeed raise the status of nonprofessionals and perhaps facilitate the recruitment of male workers (Barnehage.no 2009). Renaming this position was an attempt to elevate the nonprofessionals. Is the daycare sector inhabited, not by two occupational groups (professionals and nonprofessionals) in fierce jurisdictional struggle, but rather two groups who do not struggle at all?

A related common assumption is that of gendered daycare and daycare work. A striking feature of the childcare sector, not only in Norway but in most OECD countries, is that the workforce is predominantly female; it is greater than 90 percent women. Scandinavian welfare states have long been known for both women-friendly politics and high levels of both horizontal and vertical gender segregation in the labour market. In recent years, however, there has been a desegregation trend,

moving Norway from the group of European countries with high segregation to the group with medium segregation (Ellingsæter 2013), a trend that the daycare sector has so far proven resilient to.

One explanation for this female majority has been put forth in a pamphlet distributed to all Norwegian daycare centers: women face cultural expectations in which good motherhood equals *home* childcare. This cultural norm creates a dilemma for women who have children and who also work. The dilemma is solved by constructing similarities between a daycare center and a home, using visual cues such as candles, curtains and cozy sofa pillows. A working mother dropping off her child at a daycare center will meet women working in surroundings much like her own home, thereby experiencing less of a divergence between the ideal — home care — and the reality — daycare. The flipside to this "female culture" in daycare centers is the exclusion of male workers, who resent this association between home and workplace and who experience alienation. Also, the male workers lack male role models and therefore, lack a mold for their occupational or professional role. Or so the story goes in the text "Theme pamphlet: On men in the kindergarten, on recruiting and keeping men in the kindergarten", distributed to all Norwegian daycare centers from 2006 until the present day (Ministry of Education and Research, 2006:23–25). The analysis in this pamphlet of the working culture in the Norwegian daycare sector depicts the sector as operating along the boundaries of gender.

To sum up, a picture emerged of the daycare sector as one low on professionalism, high on gendering and with staff not committed to enforcing professional boundaries. When I began working on my thesis in 2009, these depictions of daycare work and workers seemed entirely plausible to me and I was determined to use the unique data at my disposal to investigate – amongst other things - the lack of professionalism in daycare work in Norway.

1.6 Research questions

This thesis explores the boundaries of professionalism among Norwegian daycare workers. By investigating attitudes and divisions of work, I intend to answer the question of whether boundaries exist along the lines of professionalism and if so, how they are expressed. I address these specific research questions:

• Do the attitudes of daycare workers express boundaries of professionalism?

• Are there divisions of work among daycare workers that can be described as professional boundaries?

These questions are analyzed by the use of three articles and one book chapter. Each text has its particular analytical focus, in addition to the common denominators that are attitudes and participation in work tasks.

Articles	Research question(s)	Main findings
Article 1 How early and how long?	What are the attitudes of childcare workers towards appropriate starting age and length of stay of the enrolled children? What factors explain differences in attitudes among workers?	Childcare workers display more conservative attitudes than what is the current practice among parents (as measured by agreed age of start and length of stay). Workers with education are more liberal than those without and younger workers are more liberal than older workers, a finding that points to different perceptions among the workers along the boundary of professionalism.
Article 2 I barnehagen er alle like	Are there divisions of labour among professionals and non-professionals? Do the professionals and non-professionals differ, or are they similar with regard to individual characteristics, work role and work values? What are their attitudes toward division of work?	The professionals spend significantly more time than the non- professionals doing administrative and management tasks, and the non-professionals spend more time working directly with the children – although both groups spend the majority of their working hours in direct contact with children. The workers consider some tasks to be better suited for professionals and no tasks to be better suited for non-professionals. As for work tasks participation, certain tasks are mainly performed by professionals, some by both groups and some more by the non- professionals. These findings indicate that some distinctions do exist between the two groups of workers.
Article 3 Emotional exhaustion among Norwegian childcare workers	What factors explain emotional exhaustion among Norwegian childcare workers?	Being a professional correlates positively with emotional exhaustion when including competence, work role, expectations and support variables. However, the correlation is no longer significant upon inclusion of work tasks. Communicating with parents and teaching-oriented tasks are positively and significantly correlated with emotional exhaustion among professionals but not non-professionals, pointing to professionals responding emotionally to doing tasks the nonprofessionals do not perform.
Article 4 Gender traditionalism at work?	Do Norwegian childcare workers express gender traditional attitudes? Do male and female workers perform different work tasks, and does the presence of male workers affect the work task participation of female workers?	The workers do not report gender traditional attitudes. Some differences are found between the work task participation of male and female workes. Presence of male workers does not affect the kind or extent of work tasks women report to perform. Gender does not appear to be a central organizing principle for division of work among Norwegian daycare workers.

Table 1 Articles, research	n question(s) and	main findings
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Analyzing these commonalities as expressing boundaries of professionalism, this thesis will add to the understanding of how and when professionalism occurs in the work of daycare employees. In addition to boundaries among the lines of the professional and the nonprofessional, the significance of gender will be explored as it concerns the workers' professionalism. If gender is highly significant (e.g. in work-task distribution), professionalism is less so. However, the opposite does not necessarily hold true: if gender is insignificant, professionalism is prominent. Gender, rather than e.g. age, is included because it is a salient social category in its own right but also because next to concerns about professionalism, concerns about the gender of workers and the work is frequently expressed by both scholars and policymakers (for references, see article four).

1.7 The MAFAL-project and this thesis

The articles and the book chapter analyze survey data consisting of responses from approximately 2,500 daycare workers and almost 600 daycare center managers in Norway, collected in the spring of 2009 as a part of the MAFAL (Meistring av førskulelærerrolla i eit arbeidsfelt med lekmannspreg [Managing the role of the preschool teacher in a field with layman characteristics]) project. This project is a collaborative study between the Centre for the Study of Professions at Oslo, Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, and Volda University College. The project was funded by the Research Council of Norway.

The aim of the MAFAL project is to explore how preschool teachers understand and handle their work role (and how they compare to the assistants) and what content and ways of working exist in Norwegian daycare centers. This is one of three PhD theses affiliated with the project. In the MAFAL-project plan, the aim of this thesis was described as a study of how pre-school teachers manage their roles as professionals in a field where professionalism is contested.

My entry into the project was after the idea of the project was conceived, put into an application and finally granted funding. Preceding my formal start date in the project, I was given the opportunity to participate in the design phase of the questionnaire, along with the other project members. My input in these meetings materialized in the inclusion of two variables; attitudes toward the division of work tasks between male and female workers, and attitudes toward division of work tasks between professionals and non-professionals. These variables, I thought, were of interest with regard to the aim of my particular part of the project and also to the MAFAL-project generally. Later, the MAFAL-team met at regular intervals, presenting and discussing ongoing work. The debates and exchanges of analytical reflection that took place at these meeting were of great value to me, especially as the group consisted of members with vast experience of the daycare field in multiple capacities (education, teaching, research and work).

To sum up, I started my project facing some pre-existing conditions. In addition to the analytical aim of the thesis, the most important of these was the methodology. My project was to utilize survey data in performing the analyses.

Investigating the role of the pre-school teacher was an intriguing ambition, but also a question too broad to answer within the scope of a single analysis. The question needed to be specified and to be broken down into smaller parts. More importantly, it became clear that the design of the data material excluded the possibility of an exploratory study of the role as pre-school teacher. This was because our focus in the questionnaires on comparability between two groups – professionals and non-professionals – meant that we did not collect data on aspects unique to the professionals (pre-school teachers). One example is the supervising responsibilities of professionals over non-professionals. This is most likely a responsibility that constitutes a significant part of the role as pre-school teacher and one that separates the two groups of employees. Even if this is not the case, we do not know because we did not ask. Therefore, the original aim of mapping the role of the professional in the Norwegian daycare sector had to be adjusted. Luckily, the data material was rich and novel and provided several other analytical avenues. Specific aspects of the work rather than the work role as such and divisions of work and similarities and differences between professionals and non-professionals along certain dimensions became the focus.

1.8 Terms

Institutions of childcare and education vary across countries, both in form and in name. The term "daycare" is used throughout this thesis and takes its definition from an EC survey, "Centre-based Early Education and Care for Children from Birth to School Starting Age" (ECEC) (Penn 2013). This definition excludes caring for children at home, a form of child care that was not sampled in the MAFAL survey. It does include education and care, two central concepts in the Norwegian national daycare framework plan. An alternative to the daycare is "kindergarten", which perhaps more accurately places the Norwegian daycare sector in the Froebel tradition from which it originated. I have chosen daycare over kindergarten, however, as a more generic, but still precise, term.

2 Previous studies

The need for more studies of daycare workers and daycare work has been put forth in two literature reviews of Norwegian daycare research (Dyblie Nilsen et al., 2002, Alvestad et al., 2009). In 2010, a database called Nordic Base of Early Childhood Education and Care was established. This database provides an overview of research on daycare in the Scandinavian countries (ECEC-NB 2014). Most of the research included concerns the children, but few studies focus upon daycare workers exclusively, indicating that the call for more knowledge has not yet been met.

This literature review presents previous studies related to the research questions at hand. While studies exist that indirectly address the issue of boundaries between professionals and non-professionals, none do so in a manner that allows for explicitly exploring the existence or nature of boundaries between professionals and nonprofessionals or whether the gender of the workers produce boundaries. This thesis intends to fill that gap by addressing boundaries between professionals and nonprofessionals as well as investigating the impact of gender. The studies included in this review relate to divisions of work in daycare settings, along the boundaries of either occupational groups or gender. Despite the common object of interest, the presented studies differ in their theoretical framing and analytical focus, resulting in diverse conclusions drawn from similar empirical findings. I have chosen to include studies that analyze both qualitative and quantitative data. Document analyses, however, are not included because such studies are often specific to a certain time and place and without similar analyses performed in a Norwegian context, I find it difficult to apply the findings of such studies to my empirical ones.

2.1 The professionalism of daycare work under scrutiny

Four decades ago, Nafstad (1976) analyzed data from the first large-scale survey (N=1,438) of Norwegian daycare workers. This survey addressed questions such as satisfaction with work conditions, but it was mainly concerned with how the workers combined parenting and working in daycare. This focus most likely arose because at that time daycare employment or education as a preschool teacher appeared, to many, to be preparation for stay-at-home motherhood. Among the findings from this study were the workers' expressed satisfaction with conditions such as co-worker relations and daily working hours, but they were less satisfied with salary levels (Nafstad 1976). The main focus of the study indicates that, at the time, daycare work was seen as an alternative to parenting, rather than other types of paid work. Present day, studies no longer contrast daycare work or daycare workers to home-care – even though some studies do find that such a comparison is still prevalent in the perceptions of people.

More recent studies of Norwegian daycare centers and workers investigate different dimensions of professionalism and boundaries between professionals and non-professionals. Of these, several studies use the same data material and originate from the same project as this thesis. One study analyzes the preschool teachers' transition from student to professional agent. An important point is made: professional status is attained and maintained on the notion that someone without the same training cannot perform the same tasks. But the number of exemptions from educational requirements (meaning that workers without formal training are employed as professionals in order to meet regulations) is high and still increasing, and this represents a threat to the monopoly of the professional over certain tasks. In conclusion, the author notes that preschool teachers do value the theoretical knowledge gained through training (Steinnes 2010). Another study by the same author investigates the division of work tasks, how the professionals and nonprofessionals distribute their work hours across their administrative duties, their work with children, their practical work without children - and how these two groups value different forms of competencies. The study finds that the division of labour is limited by a work culture that underemphasizes the value of professional knowledge and values practical skills - a work culture that is prevalent in Norwegian daycare centers (Steinnes 2013).

Others, however, question whether the knowledge base of the professionals is adequate in order for the professionals to maintain their position as such. In his study of the preschool teacher as a professional, Smeby (2011) asks whether the preschool teacher's education is merely a certifying exercise or whether it provides professional competence of value in the interactions and experiences of work life. Specifically, he investigates divisions of work tasks, sense of competence, and the extent to which the two groups – professionals and nonprofessionals - consider certain tasks to be better suited to one or both groups. His results are in accordance with both Steinnes' 2013 article and the book chapter (Løvgren 2012) presented in this thesis. In conclusion, Smeby notes that the divisions of labour that do exist and that are acknowledged by the two groups do not result from the recognition of the expertise of the professional but from what he refers to as organizational professionalism. The diffuse knowledge base of the preschool teachers hinders the preschool teachers in their forming a profession (Smeby 2011).

Most similar to the Norwegian daycare sector are the daycare sectors of the other Scandinavian countries, and some studies from Sweden and Denmark are included in this review. Using participant observation, Bent Olsen studied authority and divisions of work among Danish daycare workers. As in Norway, assistants in Denmark are given less attention than their professional co-workers in political documents concerning daycare staff. Olsen notes that this is in contrast to both the numerical majority the assistants constitute and to the experience of parents and children who interact with both trained and untrained staff; nor is the hierarchy of staff what one would expect based upon political documents visible in the everyday work life of Danish daycare centers. He finds that rather than knowledge or formal position as the organizing principle of division of work tasks and distribution of authority, the ability to maintain order is central. Those who can navigate the everyday chaos of a daycare institution are those who are in the position of control, and this form of competence is not directly linked to position or educational training (Olsen 2011).

A mixed methods study focusing upon the organization of daycare was published in 2011. In this study, managers responded to a questionnaire (N=825) and interviews were conducted with managers, professionals, nonprofessionals and representatives from parents' groups from six different daycare centers (N=24). The aim of the study was to investigate the impact of organizational features and size on the quality of daycare (Vassenden et al., 2011). The findings are that larger daycare centers appear more professional than smaller ones, as measured by education among staff (the number who have formal training and the length of their formal training). In larger daycare centers, professional staff benefit from working in close proximity to others with the same position and training they themselves possess. Fewer than half the daycare centers in the sample completely meet the regulations for pedagogical staffing. In smaller daycare centers, however, pedagogical staff spends more of their time in direct interaction with the children (Vassenden et al. 2011). The findings from this study indicate that the size of the daycare center may have an impact on the interaction that takes place between the workers – professionals and non-professionals, pointing to this as a variable of interest for future studies that will focus on the professional boundaries in daycare centers. Of equal interest is the finding that professional staff interact more with children in smaller daycare centers, an interaction that most likely is of importance when bearing in mind the goals set by the Kindergarten Act of 2006 and the corresponding daycare center national framework plan.

The link between those educated as preschool-teachers and the daycare sector has already been touched upon in the previous chapter, noting that this link is presently strong but has, historically, varied in strength. By use of register data, some trends have been identified both in the working methods of the daycare sector and among the employees. The daycare sector has had difficulties in recruiting new graduates, and as a result, less than half of the total population of preschool teachers used to be employed in daycare. This is no longer the case. An increasingly higher share of graduates now work in daycare (measured two years after graduation) - from 56 percent in 1998 to 77 percent in 2005. Another recent change is that preschool teachers now form the most stable group of employees, and that the turnover among male employees has sunk to the level of female employees (Gulbrandsen 2009). In 2012, the share of male employees did not increase, but the share of daycare centers that employ at least one male worker increased somewhat - from 16 percent in 2008 to 22 percent in 2012. There has also been an increase in the use of written procedures; such as informing new parents and new members of staff and on how to process parent communication. The share of daycare centers that conduct parental meeting at least twice a year has also increased, from a relatively high share of 88 percent in 2002 to 94 percent in 2012 (Gulbrandsen and Eliassen, 2013). Based on these findings, there appears to be a trend towards increased professionalization in the daycare sector and an even stronger bond between the education as preschool teacher and the daycare sector.

2.2 The impact of gender in daycare work

Another study published in 2011 examines the daycare workers' understanding of gender equality and how male daycare workers are perceived. The respondents express the view that male workers bring unique (male) qualities to the daycare center; however, the authors note that although the respondents report valuing gender equality, they fail to translate the meaning of the concept to their everyday work lives. In conclusion, the authors write that more male workers will not automatically lead to more gender equality in the work or among the workers (Kasin and Slåtten 2011).

A Swedish dissertation study investigated under which organizational conditions preschool teachers develop gender aware pedagogy. The agency and professionalism of workers was analyzed within the context of a gendered organization. A key finding from this study was that preschool teachers found their autonomy restricted because their professionalism was not recognized by employers or parents – to a large part explained by the gendered dimension of childcare work, in which care are perceived as feminine and motherly and the daycare care center resembles a home (Gilberg, 2009). Analyzing

the presence of male workers in daycare centers in Sweden, Havung (2005) finds that gendered stereotypes are prevalent and restrict male workers from forming a professional identity in ways that female workers escape. Male workers are required to affirm their own professional and personal gender identity as being masculine. Furthermore, the work-task distribution among male and female workers falls along the lines of traditional, gender-based household divisions of work; male workers are encouraged to be physically active while female workers are given the task of maintaining order. This is because both the task of caring and the environment in which this takes place are perceived as being female in nature (Havung, 2005).

Using the same theoretical perspective of gender as being socially constructed and performative, Nordberg (2005) analyzes interviews with male daycare workers conducted from 1996 - 1999. She found that there are diverse ways of addressing gender in daycare work, but to avoid social sanctions, some choose the route of traditional masculinity. Although some informants adhered to the description of the work environment as being feminine, they did not conceive this as negative (Nordberg 2005).

2.3 Boundaries of professionalism

Based on the studies presented here, what can we expect to find in the present analysis? On the one hand, some of these studies identify challenges to the professional in the Norwegian daycare sector, such as the use of exemptions, division of labour and the knowledge base of the professionals. On the other hand, we see that graduates with a bachelor degree as preschool-teachers increasingly work in daycare, thereby forging a link between an education and a position that corresponds with how many define professionalism (for more on defining professionalism, see Chapter 3). Other studies have focused upon a more indirect aspect of professionalism, namely gender. Previous studies suggest small differences across professionals and nonprofessionals but large differences across gender, and that other factors besides education and title affect work division. The common finding from these studies is that gender is a prominent category in daycare work in Norway but also in Sweden, informing both how the workers view themselves and also how the work tasks are divided. The present study will add to these by investigating a large sample and by searching for multiple professional boundaries. Also, in the present study, gender is a dimension of professionalism. This in combination with a large sample will allow for examining the relative importance of gender, an important supplement to the (qualitative) studies that explore the meaning of gender and the sometimes subtle ways in which gender is made important.

3 Theoretical framework

3.1 Different but similar

The papers that form the basis of the present analysis are both similar and different. The differences are their theoretical framing; some – such as Paper 1 and Paper 2 – are primarily empirical explorations of central questions raised within the field of daycare practice and policy. In Paper 3 and Paper 4 I test hypotheses formulated on previous research and theory in the fields as these are defined within the scope of each analysis.

Still, the papers share several fundamental similarities. Most notably are the analytical units; the individual responses from men and women working as professionals or non-professionals form the basis in each paper. In addition to the analyses of responses from the same subjects are their shared context. This shared context opens up the possibility for an analysis addressing issues of interest that were outside the scope of each individual paper – which is the aim of this extended introduction.

This analysis calls for a theoretical framing beyond that available in each paper. Based on what I consider to be the dimensions of interest – such as the interplay between actors inhabiting formal positions (as professional or non-professional) and work tasks – I look to theories of the professions to inform the analysis. Investigating the daycare sector, professionals and its other agents presents a challenge in theoretical terms; there are few – if any – other occupational or professional groups who make claim to the work tasks of the sector (care and/or education of children under school age¹), a central tenet in many theories of the professions. In his thorough and wide-reaching account of the theoretical development in the study of professions, Fauske (2008) describe the present state – despite disagreements regarding definitions and their importance - as one of synthesis. Today, the autonomy of the professionals is central and professions are empirically analyzed within their structural and institutional contexts (Fauske 2008). The present analysis falls into this category of theoretical synthesis.

3.2 Landscape or hierarchy?

Theory of the professions can be divided as centering on two metaphors, that of professions as a landscape or professions as a hierarchy. In the latter, professions are either below, above or next to

 $^{^{1}}$ In a study from Finland the daycare profession is analyzed in terms of professional struggle, agents being the state, education system and trade unions (Kinos, 2008). Present day status of the sector, although resulting from historical struggles, does not in my opinion conform to a theoretical perspective as the one adopted in the Finnish study – at least not in a Norwegian context.

each other, constantly struggling for upward movement and/or against downward movement (Liljegren, 2012). In the former metaphor, boundaries are what constitute a profession – and of boundaries, the jurisdictional is central: what is done, and by whom (Liljegren, 2012)? The theoretical perspectives utilized in the present analysis is identified as centering on the landscape metaphor. Before I expand on why I chose this particular path, I will elaborate on some of the main points in these two different strands of theory.

An example of the hierarchy metaphor is the theory of professions proposed by Larson (1977) who emphasized that the core of a professional project is the links formed between certain knowledge and the application of such knowledge. Furthermore, she writes, professions attempt to monopolize positions and resources and do so by demonstrating the superiority of both the knowledge and its application. The context in which this takes place is a hierarchy of professions or occupations, where downward or upward mobility are the available options (Larson, 1977).

In the tradition identified as centering on a landscape metaphor, the foci are on boundaries, which and how boundaries distinguish the turf of one profession from that of others. Boundaries exist in plural for any given profession and in different forms; e.g. as fixed, permeable, weak or strong (Liljegren, 2012).

When looking at the history of daycare we can detect trends that fit into both of the perspectives mentioned above – landscape and hierarchy. Daycare work was performed by both pedagogues and social workers, ending with daycare becoming the turf of pedagogy rather than social work in the 1970s. Also, in addition to the basis of daycare being contested, other forms of childcare arrangements besides daycare centers have been in use. In its peak year 1989, the market of unregistered childminders was estimated to have consisted of so many as 35,000 people (Ellingsæter and Gulbrandsen, 2003). In this period, an analysis of daycare work and workers could – and should - probably be conducted using the hierarchy-tradition of the theories of the professions.

Today, daycare – in form of a daycare center, large or small - is well-established and has all but a monopoly on childcare. This is evident both by enrolment rates and expressed preferences: In 2010, parents responded that, if free to choose, they would like their child to attend daycare (66 percent) or a combination of daycare and care at home by a parent (27 percent) – in total more than 90 percent. Only 1 percent reports that they would prefer a childminder (Moafi and Bjørkli 2011). The task of childcare is very much in the hands of daycare workers, rendering the professional boundaries within

the daycare sector a pressing concern – and one which occupies many. In a sector that employs one group of professionals and a much larger group of nonprofessionals, what is done and by whom are central questions. The present analysis will explore the boundaries between the two groups of employees.

3.3 Defining profession, professionalism and jurisdiction

The research questions of this extended introduction address the boundaries between two groups of workers. These two groups are labelled professionals and non-professionals, and in the following we will see why this is. First, however, I will underline that the present analysis is an investigation of boundaries rather than group status. If the analysis concludes that no such boundaries exists, there is cause to ask whether the group employed as professionals are indeed that. But to determine whether daycare professionals are indeed professionals or not is outside the scope of the present study. As will be explained in more detail in Chapter 4, the data material is not easily accessible for such determination.

In Chapter 1, we saw some brief definitions of profession, professionalism and jurisdiction. As the field of studies of the professions has evolved, definitions has been contested. One frequently recurring argument is that rather than seeking a definition that is valid across time and cultural context, a pragmatic working definition will suffice (Fauske 2008; Evetts 2013). This argument is supported either by reference to the fact that most studies of the professions are case-studies (Fauske, 2008) or because such endeavors are time-consuming and inevitably fail; generic definitions have proved not to capture the idiosyncratic aspects of professional evolutions (Evetts, 2013). How then, is profession defined here? One definition is that professions are "somewhat exclusive groups of individuals applying somewhat abstract knowledge to particulars cases" (Abbott 1988:318), another is that professionalism occurs when an occupational group — not the consumers or managers — control the work; that is, the group decides who can perform the work, what is needed to perform it, and how it should be evaluated (Freidson, 2001). Torgersen (1971) highlights the importance of its purpose in order for any definition to be meaningful, adequate and sufficient. He thereby embrace the pragmatic approach to defining a profession. His definition of a profession is as a relationship between a particular education and employment position; a formal education acquired by persons motivated for and aiming at certain occupations that according to pertaining norms require such education (Torgersen, 1971). For the analysis at hand, where the aim is to investigate the boundaries of professionalism in the daycare sector, the following characteristic is of interest when

defining the profession. The group employed as professionals has the same type of educational background, and most have identical educational backgrounds. As part of their education they have acquired what Abbott labels "abstract knowledge" (Abbott 1988:318). Their responsibilities – as opposed to those of the non-professionals - are mapped out (see section 1.4). In this context, a profession is therefore defined as a group with common educational background that controls certain tasks (Molander and Terum, 2008).

On the same note, is the profession the group of people who have completed training as preschool teachers or is it the group of professional daycare workers (most of whom are trained as preschool teachers)? As we have seen, these two groups do not overlap perfectly. Also, some of those who are employed as professionals do not have the required training, meaning that their employment is subject to exemption from regulations. The group referred to as professionals in this is the group of people employed as such. Furthermore, we will hang on to the distinction between profession and professionalism as a role and the acting of these roles that was introduced in chapter 1.

3.4 Boundaries, jurisdiction and gender

Being without contenders in the form of other professional groups, the question remains if the daycare professionals are sovereign in their work or if the professional and non-professional workers are indeed interchangeable. This will be analyzed by answering two questions; 1) Do the attitudes of daycare workers express boundaries of professionalism, and 2) Are there divisions of work among daycare workers that can be described as professional boundaries. To achieve this, we need to know more about what boundaries are, how the turf of a professional group materializes and what other dimensions can be pertinent instead of or in addition to professionalism.

3.4.1 Boundaries

How are boundaries in work formed, maintained and identified? Boundaries are a versatile concept, a concept that informs a wide range of macro- and micro empirical research, as well as theoretical endeavors. Boundaries are defined as the differences that position groups of people, tasks or work (Liljegren, 2012), and as social and cultural differences that disrupt interaction and action (Akkerman and Bakker, 2011). Because of increased specialization, boundaries and the need to interact with them, bridge or maintain them, become more widespread (Akkerman and Bakker, 2011). This development also calls for boundaries as an object of study.

Writing about ethnic groups and boundaries, Barth (1969) emphasized that the construction of boundaries occurs in the meeting of two entities; boundaries do not happen in a vacuum. What is defined as the content that a boundary encompasses is to a large part made and negotiated in the meeting between two or more groups. What one group is perceived to be influences how other groups are defined and define themselves (Barth, 1969). For the present analysis, this means that professional boundaries are no more fixed than they are singular, but rather resulting from ongoing and unconcluded negotiations. The fact that the jurisdiction of one occupational group – the professionals – are outlined in detail does not mean that the professional boundaries of the profession are cemented. Second, that boundaries arise in the meeting of different entities. Hence, boundaries may have an entity affirming effect. The same affirming effect on boundaries, Akkerman and Bakker (2011) portray such positions as running the risk of being marginalized. The privilege of being able to adopt or introduce different practices across boundaries is countered by the risk of never belonging to either side. However, Akkerman and Bakker (2011) note that bridging boundaries is at the same time a manifestation of the division that exists in the first place.

So far the forming of boundaries has been detailed, but how do they manifest? One way is in cognition: the aim of boundary work is for the boundary to appear as natural in the minds of those it affect (Liljegren, 2012). The cognitive dimension of boundaries Another way is in actions, or, in the term we will employ here, jurisdiction.

3.4.2 Jurisdictional boundaries

Cited less often than his 1988 book on professions is Abbott's article "Things of boundaries", published in 1995, in which he addresses some assumptions made in his theory of professions. Boundaries were where the conflict was located, thus what separated professions. Professions then were entities, capable of action, separated by boundaries. Abbott revises these assumptions and writes that the boundaries come first, then the entities. A profession is, therefore, the connecting of different boundaries (Abbott, 1995). For this analysis, refocusing from one professional entity to multiple boundaries of professionalism means that professionalism in the daycare sector is not a question of "yes" or "no", but rather "when" and "how".

A central boundary generating feature – or in other words a difference that positions and disrupts people and actions - of daycare and other work is jurisdiction. Jurisdiction is defined as the link between a profession and its work. Rather than focusing on the structure of any profession, an

analysis of a profession is better informed by focusing on the control of work and differences in types of work because professional development takes place through these links of work and profession (Abbott, 1988). The concept of jurisdiction enables us to ask what is done and by whom, which is the focus of the present analysis. Jurisdictional boundaries therefore are different links between groups of people, work tasks and attitudes.

These links are forged in different ways in different realms. The claims for jurisdiction can be made in three arenas: the public arena, the legal system, and the workplace. The claim for control over certain tasks needs to have legitimacy in the eyes of the public or the State. To achieve jurisdiction in the eyes of the public it is important that the public perception of the professionals is that of a homogenous group. The (presumed or present) similarities in characteristics among members of the group, not the internal differences, are communicated. Furthermore, the tasks over which the profession claims control need to appear as objective, rather than constructed by a professional group, as often is the case. Such public perceptions of a profession evolve over a long time and are robust to change. Achieving public jurisdiction precedes the achievement of legal jurisdiction. In the legal system, the claim for jurisdiction is more specific and the character of homogeneity that a profession takes on in the public arena is even more distinct when it comes to the law and the courts (Abbott, 1988).

Of main interest here is jurisdiction in the workplace. I focus upon the kind of organization in which different occupational groups interact over tasks on a day-to-day basis. This is one that fits well with the daycare center as a workplace. Jurisdictional boundaries in the workplace are often blurred, largely due to individual differences. When a competent nonprofessional exceeds the productive capacities of a less competent professional the result is dissolving of professional jurisdiction. Workplace assimilation occurs partly because of learning on the job. Although the theoretical foundation that qualifies one for entry to the professional group is not learned, the craft quality of the performed job is, partly because of the subjective quality of any task. Any given work task is, at least in part, a subjective construction that is given its meaning within the reference system of a profession, leaving it vulnerable to the impingement of other professions (Abbott, 1988).

A question worth asking is whether the outcome of local negotiations - about control over different tasks or over the link between one group and certain tasks - is decided by the productive capacities of workers irrespective of the formal position of the same workers. Can we assume that both groups,

professionals or nonprofessionals, agree on the productive goals and the nature of these goals? Furthermore, that they place the achievement of these goals higher than maintaining their own status derived from occupational or professional position? Not entirely, is the answer to that. One way in which boundaries are maintained or crossed is by the inclusive or distancing behavior of those who navigate at the borders. In addition to creating groups, boundaries can produce inequality. This is because boundaries are also mediums for acquiring resources, monopolies and status – among others (Lamont, 1992).Those in superordinate positions maintain jurisdictional boundaries while subordinates emphasize assimilation (Abbott, 1988), meaning that the power to include or distance is not necessarely evenly distributed. Professional and nonprofessional daycare workers do not necessarily have the same accessibility to maintain, blur or obliterate professional boundaries.

The image of a profession needs to be maintained. In order for a profession to maintain legitimacy in its claim for jurisdiction, it must be reproduced and corroborated in the interaction between professional agents and their clients (Eriksen and Molander, 2008). The assimilation occurring at the (informal) workplace contradicts the claims for jurisdiction and legitimacy made in the (formal) public and legal arenas. In the workplace, the maintenance of the public image is made, in part, horizontally and in one direction. While subordinates embrace assimilation through emphasizing shared function and knowledge, those higher up in the occupational hierarchy invoke their public professional image in their dealings with those in subordinate positions. The methods by which this is carried out differ — from possession of theoretical knowledge to language and clothing. Workplaces which are overly assimilated are regarded with suspicion by the professionals who do not themselves work there. This distinction, made by professionals of workplaces along the axis of assimilation, is a manifestation of the need to maintain professional jurisdiction (Abbott 1988).

The nature of the boundaries one profession draws towards other occupations or professions may affect the ability of the profession to expand or maintain its jurisdiction. While a firmly drawn boundary provides a barrier against the intrusion of other groups onto the turf of a profession, it may at the same time leave the profession vulnerable to absorption. An example put forth by Abbott (1988), is the case of hydrologists in the United States. With their firmly drawn boundaries, this group became subordinate to a closely related professional group with more vaguely defined and thereby broader drawn boundaries (Abbott, 1988:56).

3.4.3 Professional boundaries and gender

The workplace negotiations of jurisdictional or professional boundaries described so far are seen through the lens of position and professional credentials. Gender is frequently claimed to be an organizing factor within the daycare sector. In their 2002 literature review, Lamont and Molnár state that although the concept of boundaries has not been subject to a systematic integration, one distinction is prominent in the literature: symbolic versus social boundaries. Symbolic boundaries are forms of organizing social phenomena or units made by social actors; social boundaries exist independent of shared or individual subjective definitions as "objectified forms of social differences" (Lamont and Molnár, 2002:168). For symbolic boundaries to become social boundaries, they must be widely agreed upon (Lamont and Molnár, 2002). The implication for this analysis is that we can look for boundaries of professionalism along the lines of gender as well as position: Is gender a symbolic boundary that has become a social boundary within the daycare sector?

Another way of analyzing gender is that presented by Anne Witz. In her 1992 book *Professions and Patriarchy,* she developed concepts of closure to analyze strategies of exclusion and demarcation among professional groups. Witz writes that historically, access to sites of professional struggle have been the privilege of men; men inhabited universities, politics, the law. The exclusionary practices applied against women are entrenched in modern-day professional structure, evident by the uneven distribution of gender across different professions and uneven access to resources and rewards among professions according to their gender dominance (Witz, 1992).

Against this backdrop, Witz constructed a framework to analyze the agency of women workers in modern labour markets. Of interest here is the concept of dual closure, which occurs when an occupational group excluded from upward mobility by dominant groups reacts, not by seeking to be included in the dominant groups, but by deploying exclusionary strategies themselves. As stated, understanding the system in which a profession is located is essential to understanding its strategies and options. Unlike many other female-dominated occupations or professions, daycare work is not close to a male-dominated profession (such as nurses and doctors). Witz's theory enables a gender analysis of a profession that is largely isolated in a system of professions, at least in Norway.

Applying Witz's theory to the childcare sector, we get a notion of a profession with low status and rewards, with a high share of female workers who deploy exclusionary strategies towards male workers to secure their own position within the existing division of labour. The challenge is in order to introduce the concept of dual closure, we need to accept the premise of daycare as an occupation

subjected to demarcation strategies and that the society in which this occurs is a patriarchal society — an empirical question too big to answer satisfactorily within the current analysis. The relevant contribution here is that of gender as a main organizing principle of daycare work, a notion held by some in regard to this particular sector.

3.5 What to expect?

Deciding whether boundaries create entities (Abbott, 1995) or if entities create boundaries (Barth, 1969) is outside the scope of the present analysis. The present analysis aims at investigating boundaries of professionalism among daycare workers. Based on the literature review and the theories presented in this Chapter, some expectations are formed.

To the first question of whether the attitudes of the workers will express boundaries of professionalism, the expectation is that they will. In particular by the professionals, and in lesser extent by the nonprofessionals. This difference is expected because of the antagonistic desires of either group to maintain or cross such boundaries and because the nature of professional boundaries are understood differently by the different agents, according to their positions. This expectation is strengthened by the finding from previous studies, in which the professionals are found to value their professional knowledge.

The second question asks if there are divisions of work among daycare workers that can be described as professional boundaries. To this question, the expectation is more unclear. Previous studies find some divisions of labour, while the theoretical framework deployed here emphasize the mobility of such boundaries. Therefore, the expectation is that particular boundaries will be found rather than a firm distinction across tasks between professionals and nonprofessionals.

3.6 A glint of one stage in a process

The theoretical concepts outlined above share the characteristics of describing processes; taking time, several actions and negotiations, movement back and forth. What is the contribution that cross-sectional data can make in understanding workings such as these in the daycare sector of Norway? Why not use other data – such as observational or interview data?

Asking many people the same questions does not deprive the answers of meaning, nor does face-toface interaction or observation guarantee the spectator a complete grasp of all the inner workings of the observed individuals. Giving due consideration to the question of validity is essential in all research. Asking a representative sample of people questions of interest in regard to the population they represent allows for generalizing and detecting patterns. An immediate example is that of gender and work tasks; previous studies – in Norway and other countries – have found gender to be of significance in the distribution of work tasks. When examining the self-reported work task participation of a large and representative number of Norwegian daycare workers, these results are not reproduced. Does that mean that what previous studies have found are e.g. the inner reflections, preferences, or perceptions of daycare workers – rather than what, if any, impact the gender of the workers have on their work task participation, or that of their colleagues? While the questions – or rather answer categories – deployed in these questionnaires are vulnerable to measurement errors (see Chapter four), we do get a picture of patterns – or lack thereof. Furthermore, we can draw conclusions as to frequency. This is the contribution of survey data in addressing questions as those raised in this extended introduction.

Ideally, however, longitudinal data could better capture both process and frequency. In the event that no or little change occurred in between times of measurement, a non-finding would be immensely interesting in terms of theoretical analysis (and, of course, empirically as well). Such data were not available in this project.

Placed on the historical and organizational backdrop outlined in the first chapter of this introduction, it is my ambition and hope that the present analysis will provide a glint of one stage in a process – allowing in conclusion my voicing some expectations as to the future of the professional boundaries in Norwegian daycare centers.

4 Data material and procedure for collection

The data for this thesis is a 2009 survey conducted in Norway among childcare center managers and employees in which 1,000 childcare centers were randomly selected from a national database. Family daycare and walk-in centers were excluded from the sample pool (see table 1 for an overview of the share of children in centers with different ownership and organization). The sample pool was limited because the research questions in the MAFAL project were concerned with workers in conventional daycare centers, not walk-in centers or family daycare. Such daycare arrangements either employ only one or two adults or depend on the participation of one parent or caretaker throughout the child's stay. 94.1 percent of the children who are enrolled in or attend daycare attend daycare of the included organizational forms.

Included in sample pool	Percent	Ν
Children in daycare, municipal ownership	50.3	143,454
Children in daycare, private ownership	43.8	124,995
Children in daycare, county council/State ownership	0.6	1,592
Not included in sample pool		
Children in daycare, family daycare	2.9	8,308
Children in daycare, walk-in centers	2.4	6,958
Total	100	285,307

Table 2 Share and number of children, daycare ownership/organization, 2009

Source: Statistics Norway (2013)

Of the 1,000 centers invited to participate, 588 did so. The managers of each center were asked to distribute the questionnaire to 1 to 3 professionals and 1 to 3 nonprofessionals. (See Limitations of the study for a detailed discussion of this method of selection and its implication for the validity of the study.) Each manager completed a questionnaire regarding characteristics of their daycare center. In total, 588 managers, 1357 nonprofessionals and 1192 professionals completed and returned the questionnaire: The response rate among daycare centers, represented by a manager, was 58.8 percent. The response rate among workers is not known, because we do not know how many were asked to participate.

4.1 Population, sample and representativeness

With a response rate below 60 percent, does the group of respondents constitute a representative selection of the population it is drawn from? This question is important because the generalization of the findings in all papers rest on the assumption that it is. The data material consists of two samples: the sample of individual workers and the sample of daycare centers in which these individuals are employed. Therefore, to cast light over the question of representativeness, we need to look at both the daycare center sample and the individual sample.

In 2009, the year of the survey, the total number of employees in Norwegian daycare centers was 84,843 people. The total number of daycare centers (owned by a municipality, in private ownership or owned by the county council/state) was 6,672. Table 2 lists the characteristics of the daycare centers as reported by the manager at each center and the same characteristics across all daycare centers in Norway. The population is, however, not restricted in the same way as the sample: that is, N includes employees at family daycare and walk-in centers (the ratio child-adult is the same across all daycare centers, so an estimated 5 - 6 percent of employees work in such centers).

	Sample	Population
Share of employees trained as preschool teachers	33.5	32
Share of managers and professionals trained as preschool teachers	93.7	83.4
Share of managers that have other pedagogical training	3.8	6.3
Male share of employees	7.2	7.9
Ownership daycare centers		
County council/State ¹	N/A	0.5
Municipality	60.3	45.9
Private	39.7	53.6

Source: MAFAL and Statistics Norway (2013)

¹ In the questionnaire, the options of ownership listed are *municipality* and *private*.

The most notable difference between the daycare center sample and the population is form of ownership. In the sample, more than 60 percent of the centers are owned by their municipality (46 percent in the population). This is because family daycare, which is privately owned, is excluded. As we recall from chapter 2, tight restrictions apply to any Norwegian daycare center, rendering little

variation in content or organization depending on form of ownership. Still, the ownership of the daycare center was included in the pre-analysis performed in working with Paper 3, but did not affect the results. As the number of independent variables needed to be limited, this variable was excluded – in part because it provided no additional understanding and in part because it was not a salient question in the literature.

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative
No pedagogical training	50	4.2	4.2
Preschool teacher education	998	83.7	87.9
Other pedagogical training	36	3	90.9
Vocational training	28	2.4	93.3
Other	15	1.3	94.6
Unanswered	65	5.5	
Total	1,192	100.00	100.00

Table 4 Type of pedagogical education or training among professionals (those employed as "pedagogical leaders")

Source: MAFAL

Turning to the representativeness of the individuals participating in the survey, educational background among the respondents is of particular interest in the present analysis. Table 3 shows that the majority of those working as professionals were educated as preschool-teachers - close to 84 percent state that they have this particular education. This share corresponds with the share of workers in the same position with the same type of education at the national level, (as presented in Chapter 1) indicating that the individual sample is representative in this respect.

4.2 Validity

Validity is the extent to which we measure what we think we measure (Babbie, 2013). Content validity is a pressing issue in analyses such as those in the present thesis because different groups are being compared on their responses to the same variables. How are we to say that any specific variable contains the same meaning for members of different groups?

An example is how important respondents rate learning in their work with children. This term may entail a very different meaning for people who have a bachelor's degree that include developmental psychology and pedagogy from those who do not. To put it pointedly, the former group might consider learning to be an omnipresent state of mind and of outmost importance and the latter might form an image of rehearsing and reciting situations that bring no joy to young children.

Another variable sensitive to different meanings for different groups is work-task participation. Nonprofessionals who know that parental meetings are the task of professionals might tick the box "very often" if they have conducted one or two such meetings the previous year. The phrasing of the answer categories (rarely to often) might invoke an implicit comparison between actual frequency and expected frequency, and these frequencies (presumably) differ for professionals and nonprofessionals.

I have been careful to keep such validity considerations in mind when working on this project. Still, the strength and uniqueness of the data material is precisely its positioning within the shared landscape of daily activities, values and relations of daycare professionals and nonprofessionals.

A related concern is the contradiction of measuring similarity to identify differences. To allow for comparative analyses, the questionnaire was designed to be meaningful for both professionals and nonprofessionals. The focus upon similarity means that we have failed to ask about tasks that are unique for one group, masking the differences that do exist. One example that we can be certain about is administration and management tasks. Professionals report spending significantly more of their time doing such tasks, but this is only measured by one variable and not followed up further. As a result, the groups may appear more similar than they would have if we had asked more detailed questions about similar or other tasks.

In the following, I will account for the questionnaires, the construction of the variables and the content of central variables in order to address the issue of validity in more detail.

4.2.1 The questionnaires

Three questionnaires were developed and used in the MAFAL-survey. One was addressed to managers, and collected information about specific daycare center characteristics that might have a bearing on the analytical interests of the MAFAL-project. Such characteristics were – to name a few – the number of employees, the number and age of enrolled children, the sex of workers and the type and frequency of educational qualifications among staff (see Appendix 3 for the full questionnaire).

The other two questionnaires were addressed to the daycare staff. These questionnaires addressed topics such as information about personal and professional background, sense of competence, participation in work tasks, attitudes towards, and perceptions of, different aspects of work in daycare. One questionnaire was addressed to professionals and one to non-professionals, the difference between them being the inclusion of position specific questions to the professionals and the different phrasing of some variables. These two questionnaires were however mostly similar – all but a handful variables were identical. Appendix 1 and 2 show the full questionnaires and as seen there is one question (5b in Appendix 1) concerning whether the pedagogical leaders had any students during the year and one question (16 in Appendix 1) concerning the preschool profession that is only asked of the pedagogical leaders. In addition, there is a question only asked of the assistants whether they are currently studying and a follow up question about whether that education is a preschool education (28a and 28b in Appendix 2). The question wording differs between the two questionnaires on one question regarding education where the assistants are asked if they have any education while the pedagogical leaders are asked what education they have.

4.2.2 The variables

The range of topics covered in these questionnaires is satisfyingly extensive in the sense that it allows a range of topics to be explored.

The included variables raise some concerns, however. As part of my research, I investigated the variables that were intended to measure some aspect of perception or attitude. I did not extend the analysis of the variables to include the background questions, such as variable 2 or 2X.

The reason I started this work was that I wanted know more about the validity and reliability of each variable. Would the variable measure the same phenomena in a different context? Indeed, did the questions of competency measure competency, or something else? How were these variables to be interpreted theoretically? What I found was that, even though most variables were previously used in another survey, they had not been subject to repeated testing. Furthermore, most variables were neither constructed on the basis of a theoretical, nor empirica, lanalysis. This procedure is common, but nonetheless draw questions as to the credibility of the research findings (Kelley, Clark et al. 2003). Furthermore, the findings from this survey are not directly comparable to most other surveys.

Despite caveats such as these, the variables do provide the possibility of insight into unexplored areas of interest concerning the work and workers in the Norwegian daycare sector. Due caution is however necessary in the use and interpretation of the variables in this data set.

4.2.3 Attitudes versus action

How can the attitude variables be interpreted – as predictors of behavior or merely as social phenomena in their own right? Reviewing the literature on attitudes and behavior or action that has accumulated during the 20th century, Ajzen and Fishbein (2005) make the case that general attitudes predict behavior patterns rather than specific behaviors. In order to predict specific behaviors or actions, compatible and specific attitudes must be measured (Ajzen and Fishbein 2005). The attitude items included in the questionnaires are specific and therefore may very well predict behavior according to the findings presented by Ajzen and Fshbein (200). It is however not possible, in my opinion, to compare the attitudes reported in variable 19 (Appendix 1) to the work task variable 8. This is because while the work tasks do aim at measuring actions, we have no information as to who initiated this action; the respondent or something or someone in their surroundings. As is the case at most work places, work tasks in the daycare center are most likely distributed according to other factors besides the attitudes of the individual employee, and even though the professionals are likely to at least contribute to the allocation of work tasks, we do not know if this applies to all professionals, only some or to what extent. While the link between attitudes and actions is pertinent it is not an area that these data open for discussion beyond reflections on how the workers would act were they to operate without restrictions external to their own attitudes.

Another important note to make is that while the measuring of attitudes are vulnerable to measurement error, in the present analysis the variables are used for comparison between groups of respondents. Therefore, unevenly distributed measurement error is also of interest. Is a specific variable prone to be interpreted differently in e.g. male and female respondents, thereby measuring different phenomena in the two groups that are compared? One study reviewing the literature on survey methodology states that while answers vary between different demographic subgroups, no testing has been done to determine whether e.g. phrasing of questions elicits different responses in different groups (Rooney et al 2005).

A related important issue in the relationship between attitudes and behavior is adaptive preferences (e.g. Bruckner 2009). This is particularly important in survey research in trying to tease out the direction in the attitude-behavior nexus as it is possible that the stated preferences of the

respondents about what they want to do are shaped by what they actually do. In general, such issues are hard to resolve but in our survey the problem is perhaps made unnecessarily salient since we remind the respondents about what they actually do before we ask them what they would like to do (as in the case with the age of the children they work with in questions 7a and 7b) or who they think is best suited for some tasks (as in the case of work tasks in questions 8 and then 19 and 20). A more satisfactory approach would have been to reverse the ordering, or a random order of the questions (meaning that the order of the variables differed randomly in each questionnaire).

More generally, there may be many issues of priming due to the ordering of the questions. In particular, previous studies have shown that simply asking people about their gender (Steele et al. 2006) affects how they respond to questions about gendered tasks such as mathematics or arts and asking respondents to record their race on a demographic questionnaire before taking a test affects how well they perform (e.g. Steele et al. 1995). In that sense it is good that our questions about demographic characteristics are at the end of the survey but there may of course be other sources of biased priming. The only general safeguard against the phenomenon is to order the questions randomly (see e.g. Warner 1965), which was not done.

Besides the order and phrasing of variables, the answer categories influence the results. In the questionnaires used in the MAFAL-survey, the number of response categories varies across items in the survey. In general it is a good idea to have a neutral mid-point on questions where it is not explicitly warranted to make the respondents take an active choice (see e.g. Garland 1991 for an early discussion). This is so, because if the respondents do not have an opinion or are indifferent it is of analytical interest to allow them to express this rather than forcing them into taking a stance they do not feel represents their opinion. In our survey we have for instance a mid-point alternative for questions about work tasks but no mid-point on the questions where the respondents are asked to agree or disagree on statements about their work. The latter type of question is a typical Likert question and the most common number of categories in Likert scales is 5 or 7 where the neutral option is often "neither agree nor disagree" (e.g. Dawes 2008).

4.3 Analytical techniques

Choice of analytical method is guided by the research question and possibilities and limitations provided by the available data material. This was also the case here. Having access to cross-sectional survey data presented some limitations as well as possibilities in exploring the questions of interest. Many of the variables used as dependent variables in my analyses are categorical. This means that they are limited and in my case also fixed in the number of possible values. I often treat these variables as continuous for simplicity (except in paper 1). This is increasingly common (see the discussion in Angrist and Pischke 2009) but it requires a discussion as it has some drawbacks as well. In paper 2 I present the mean and standard deviation of categorical variables even though such variables are difficult to interpret the mean of.

The most used analytical approach in the papers is the linear regression. In the chapter on emotional exhaustion the dependent variable is continuous so there it is straightforward to use linear regression. For the variables in the paper on gender essentialism (paper 4), one of the dependent variables (work tasks) is ordered. That is, the variable measures frequency of participation and it ranges from 1=Never to 5=Often. In the analysis I have treated this variable as linear. The main disadvantage of this model is that it forces me to assume that the distances between the categories are all equal (Peel et al. 1998). Hence I implicitly assume that moving from 1 to 2 involves a similar "distance" as moving from e.g. 4 to 5. This need of course not be the case. Another problem with using linear regression is that the standard errors are heteroscedastic, implying that the variability of the dependent variable is unequal across the range of the independent variables. This, however, is controlled for in my analysis as I use clustered standard errors which deals with heterescedasticity as well as clustering of the variable at a higher level. A final problem of using linear regression in the case of ordered variables is that the estimates become attenuated due to measurement error. This tends to bias the results toward zero. The attenuation of the estimates reduces as the number of categories increase and 5 categories are not that few in that sense.

A way to deal with all these problems is to use an ordered logit model instead. The main disadvantage of using an ordered logit model is that the coefficients are not as easy to interpret directly and the calculated marginal effects involves assumptions that are not always met in the case where there are interaction terms in the model (see e.g. Mood 2010 and Karaca-Mandic 2012). Hence I have chosen to present the results that are most easily interpretable. Nonetheless, I have estimated all regressions for the work tasks with an ordered model as well and the interpretation of the results and all conclusions remain unchanged, both in terms of magnitude and statistical significance of the results. The operationalization of the attitude variable in paper 4 is as expressing gender traditional attitudes. The departure point was however very different. I began exploring the variable as expressing a continuum with gender essentialism in each end and gender egalitarianism in the middle. Soon it became clear that as gender essentialism is a more complex term than what the variable measure, this operationalization did not hold. I therefore added each end of the variable, so that the range of values was 1-3 – 1 being best suited for men or women, and 3 being best suited for either men or women. The ambition was to create a continuum of gender egalitarianism. However, the problem was that in doing so there were no longer possible to distinguish male bias from female bias. Furthermore, the coefficients became more difficult to interpret. Therefore the dependent variable remain as is, and the conclusion is that I rephrase the operationalization of the variable to one that are less theoretical but more in keeping with the gist of the question.

Another avenue I explored was multi-level analysis. Two levels are already included in the material, namely individual and daycare center. In addition I have the municipality of each daycare center, making it possible for me to add information about the context in which the daycare center operates. For multi-level analyses to provide additional information, there needs to be a certain degree of variance at the different levels. This was not the case here, and hence, the level of daycare center or municipality was excluded (other than as a control in the third and fourth paper). This is not to say that daycare centers do not differ across municipalities, they most likely do – and daycare centers differ. But such differences were not identified in regard to the dependent and independent variables of interest here.

4.4 Ethics

In carrying out survey research, the stages of collecting, analyzing and presenting results present different ethical considerations.

Participation in research must be voluntary, despite this not being most researchers' preference, because generalization of results depends upon both high and unbiased participation rates (Babbie, 2013). Furthermore, participation in survey research should not cause harm to those who do so. These two principles are often formalized in the concept of informed consent; those who are asked to participate should receive information about the intent of the study and should only agree to participate after receiving such information (Babbie, 2013). The 2009 survey questionnaires were distributed by daycare center managers, so this might have limited the sense of volunteerism felt by

the workers who were requested to participate. Furthermore, the workers must have trusted their manager not to pry the envelope open to look at their answers.

Finally, a researcher's ethical obligations extend to other researchers. Honesty and openness are central principles; for example, reporting negative findings is as important as reporting positive ones. This also applies to the limitations of a study (Babbie, 2013). This study's limitations are presented in the next section.

4.5 Limitations of the study

In addition to the limitations explored in the previous sections of this chapter, some further limitations arise as a result of the selection procedure. The final selection of respondents was in the hands of the manager of each daycare center, and the applied selection criteria are unknown. A worst-case scenario is one in which an unknown recruiting principle had been systematically and universally deployed by the managers. For example, if only loyal workers were recruited, the answers about the support of colleagues might be more positive and homogenous than they otherwise would have been. Likewise, burned out workers may have been excluded from the selection pool. For Paper 3, this may have resulted in a more conservative estimation of levels of emotional exhaustion than what is the case in the population. However unlikely it is that 588 managers applied identical criteria by accident, potential limitations arising as a result of a selection procedure such as this are worth bearing in mind in interpreting the results.

5 Papers and findings

This extended introduction rests on four empirical analyses, each presented in a paper. I present these papers in the following, highlighting how each analysis contributes to answering the research questions posed in this extended introduction.

Paper 1 How early and how long?

First author: Mette Løvgren; second author: Lars Gulbrandsen

Published in Nordisk Barnehageforskning, 2012.

In this paper, we investigate the attitudes of daycare workers toward the children's starting age for day care and their length of stay each day. We discuss different sources of the discrepancy between the attitudes of the workers and the current practices.

The analysis uses a linear probability model, the dependent variable is either zero or one. The dependent variable is constructed from two questions: What do the respondents consider an appropriate age for enrolment? and How many hours per day should a child attend a daycare center?

As expected, we found that younger employees were more accepting of an earlier start and longer stay than older employees. Professionals were more accepting than non-professionals (the employment status indicates educational background; professionals have high relevant education, whilst the non-professionals have not). Contrary to expectations, social background (measured by the parents' highest education attained) correlates negatively with the dependent variable. Having children of one's own correlates with accepting an earlier starting age and longer stay, as does increased tenure (the correlation between age and tenure is 0.64, below the recommended exclusion threshold of 0.7 [Tabachnick & Fidell 1996]). Reporting mainly working with children aged three to five years correlates negatively with the dependent variable. At the level of the daycare center, we find that size correlates positively and significantly with the dependent variable.

In sum, employees in Norwegian daycare centers express more conservative attitudes than the actual enrollment rates; in other words, they respond that children should start at a later age and stay for fewer hours per day than is currently practiced. The available variables do not permit us to identify the mechanisms at work. We propose that the observed correlation between attitudes and age is a cohort effect rather than a life-cycle effect and that education increases the workers' sense of

competence in regard to the youngest children. Furthermore, working in day care might lead employees to observe that the available resources and competence meet the needs of the youngest children, explaining the correlation between tenure and liberal attitudes. Still, there is a discrepancy between the reported attitudes of the professional staff and the current childcare practice. In light of these findings, we interpret this discrepancy as a reservation on behalf of the professionals about whether the current quality (for example, the manning, resources, and competency) of Norwegian daycare centers is of such a standard as to adequately meet the need of the youngest children on a full-day basis.

For the present analysis, the main points of interest is the differences identified between professionals and nonprofessionals in their attitudes toward stay and start age. The professionals are more accepting than the nonprofessionals. Furthermore, the fact that the professionals does not express a wish to expand the current practice (i.e. that children below the age of 12 months or that children should stay the maximum number of hours) indicate that they, at least in regard to this topic, does not seize the chance to expand their turf.

Paper 2 I barnehagen er alle like? Om arbeidsdeling blant norske barnehageansatte

(Everyone's equal in daycare? On division of labor among Norwegian daycare center employees)

Author: Mette Løvgren

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This analaysis takes as its starting point the fact that the organization of labor in the Norwegian childcare sector has been questioned. This organization is believed to revolve around the principle of rotation rather than along the lines of non-professional or professional. In this book chapter, I address the questions of division of labor between professional and non-professional staff in Norwegian childcare centers, their work roles, and the distribution of working hours.

On the topic of subjective and common experiences across groups, the groups are similar. They differ however with regard to which kind of competencies they rate highly; the professionals rate social and linguistic competence somewhat higher than the non-professionals do. In regard to other

aspects of the work, such as caring, upbringing, play and teaching, there are no differences between the groups (the respondents place high importance on all these aspects, with little in-group variation).

The division of work tasks between professionals and non-professionals in daycare centers interests policymakers and scholars. Before focusing on what the workers report doing, we will address what they think each group should do. Specific work tasks were listed, and the respondents were asked to rate whether they considered each task to be best suited for assistants (non-professionals) or preschool teachers (professionals), or both equally. The listed tasks ranged from addressing parents with sensitive topics and teaching the children letters and numbers to dressing them for indoors and outdoors and changing diapers.

The analysis reveals three points of interest: Professionals and non-professionals agree on the general direction; on no tasks do they disagree (for example, professionals considering a task suited for non-professionals and non-professionals considering the same tasks suited only for professionals). The mean of the professionals is more polarized (closer to the end of the scale) than that of the non-professionals. And no task is considered to be best suited for non-professionals; tasks such as addressing parents or conducting parent meetings are considered to be best suited for professionals, while other tasks (such as changing diapers, dressing the children, and reading to the children) are considered equally suited for both. The tasks where the means are centered at the middle are the ones with the lowest standard deviation in both groups, meaning that there is little variation within the groups.

The two groups differ in how they spend their working hours. The professionals report that administration and management tasks take up to 20 percent of their time, while non-professionals report spending only 5 percent of their time on such tasks. The non-professionals spend more time working directly with children: 81 percent to 66 percent of the professional's time. The professionals spend the least amount of their work time in contact with the children. However, both groups respond that the majority of their working hours are spent working directly with children.

The findings of main interest concerning the research questions of this extended introduction is; 1) the professionals does not take this opportunity to put distance between themselves and the competing occupational group – e.g. by responding that certain tasks are exclusively the domain of either group, and 2) this discrepancy is not to be interpreted as providing the "true" preferences of either group as we do not know how work tasks are distributed; by lottery, assignment, choice or

other means. Lastly, the difference in how they report to spend their working hours indicate that the design of the questionnaires – as previously stated – fail at capturing features that distinguish the two groups.

Paper 3 Emotional exhaustion in daycare workers

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The third paper utilizes a psychometric variable that is at the center of a vast literature. One challenge in conducting an analysis using this particular variable is the lack of independent variables representative of the conditions examined in other studies. However, some communalities do exist and as the emotional well-being of daycare employees is a topic of great interest to policymakers, parents and children and not least the workers themselves, this paper aims at illuminating some aspects of what brings forth such well-being and what hinders it.

Emotional exhaustion (EE) is one of three dimensions of burnout measured by the Maslach Burnout Inventory (the other two are depersonalization (cynicism) and personal detachment). EE measures feeling empty and worn out and is assumed to arise after prolonged exposure to work-related stress. The EE dimension is often considered the primary dimension of burnout that precedes the other two.

The first hypothesis is that preschool teachers will be more emotionally exhausted than assistants, that is, they will report higher levels of EE. Of particular interest is the finding from previous studies that having a greater workload and more diverse tasks is found to elevate levels of EE. Therefore, reporting to spend more time on administrative tasks is expected to correlate positively with EE.

Being a professional correlates positively with EE until the inclusion of work tasks. Upon the inclusion of these tasks, position is no longer correlated with EE – meaning that most likely the initial difference between the two groups of workers are explained by the workload of one of the groups; either its nature, its extent or a combination. Parent- and teaching tasks are positively and significantly correlated with EE. Contrary to expectations, doing administrative tasks is not significantly correlated with EE. These results indicate that the nature of some tasks renders them taxing on the emotional reservoir of the workers. The model was also split by sample in order to investigate whether the independent variables differed between the two groups – e.g. tenure impacts

differently on preschool teachers and assistants - and the differences between professionals and nonprofessionals were tested using interaction variables. Using this method, a positive and significant correlation between parent- and teaching-oriented tasks and EE were found for professionals but not non-professionals. This might indicate that interacting with parents does not hold the same weight in the two groups.

The main finding is the correlation between work role, expectations, and coworker support, which in the present analysis had the largest impact on EE as measured by the size of the coefficients. Put differently, fostering factors such as these in the work environment of Norwegian daycare centers may serve to protect workers against the emotional toll daycare work can take. Furthermore, work tasks account for the difference between professionals and non-professionals. That certain work tasks correlate with higher levels of EE is taken as an indication that in addition to these tasks being emotionally exhausting in themselves, they are most often performed by workers who have an additional work load. Total work load in addition to the separate effects of these particular tasks is emotionally exhausting.

The promise of this analysis in shedding light upon the research questions at hand, is the assumption that emotional exhaustion arises partly as a consequence of what one does at work; type of work as well as diversity of work tasks. The main contribution of these findings with regard to the analysis at hand is therefore the difference between professionals and nonprofessionals in EE due to work tasks. This goes to the heart of the question of professional boundaries in work tasks. Professionals have different emotional experiences than the assistants due to differences in their work responsibilities.

Paper 4 Gender Traditionalism at Work? The case of Norwegian Childcare Workers

Author: Mette Løvgren

Are childcare workers gender traditionalists? Earlier studies have found that childcare workers express gender-traditional beliefs about the skills and abilities of their male and female colleagues. Childcare workers have also reported that male and female workers participate with different frequencies in work tasks. This paper studies attitudes and work-task distribution among Norwegian daycare center employees, both professionals and non-professionals. In addition, this paper investigates whether there are any differences in attitudes or work-task participation between women workers with and without male colleagues.

In this analysis, gender traditionalism is operationalized as the workers responding either men or women to be best suited for any work task. The category "equally suited" is interpreted as genderegalitarian attitudes. Group- means comparisons do not indicate any gender-traditional attitudes on the part of the workers. Regressing attitudes on individual characteristics and position does not alter the picture of the workers having gender-egalitarian attitudes. This also holds true among women working with and without male colleagues.

As for work tasks, we start by looking at mean-group comparison of self-reported work-task participation. The only task that men report doing more often than women is physical activities with the children. Tasks women report doing significantly more often than men are practical tasks with the children, changing diapers, teaching the children letters and numbers and conducting parent meetings.

When regressing work tasks on individual characteristics, a similar pattern emerges. However, an interaction term is included: gender and position. Male assistants participate in practical tasks with the children less often than female assistants; the men change diapers and teach the children letters and numbers less often, but participate in physical activities more often. Like male assistants, female professionals participate in physical activities with the children and change diapers less often than female assistants, and they address parents with sensitive topics more often. Unlike male assistants, female professionals significantly conduct parental meetings more often. The interaction term of gender and position is not significant, meaning that male professionals do not differ from female professionals.

As for work-task participation among women workers with and without male colleagues, based on previous results, we would expect women to participate in physical activities less often and change diapers more often when they have male colleagues than when they do not. That is not the case here. The only significant differences are in teaching the children letters and numbers, addressing parents with sensitive topics, and conducting parent meetings. However, the size of the coefficients are minute, rendering any substantial interpretation meaningless.

In conclusion, daycare workers do not express gender-traditional attitudes. Nor are there large differences in work-task participation. Women who work in daycare centers without any male colleagues report neither different attitudes nor different work-task participation than women workers in daycare centers that also employ men.

The main points of interest concerning the research questions is the findings along the dimensions of gender and position. As we recall from previous studies, gender is frequently found to be a boundary of significance in daycare work. This paper add to the understanding of gender as a boundary generating feature by investigating the relationship between attitudes, work task, position and gender. As opposed to expectations formulated on the basis of previous studies, this paper does not support the notion of gender as a prominent boundary in daycare work.

6 Discussion

This thesis began with the outline of concerns regarding the Norwegian daycare sector. The large majority of nonprofessionals and women has inspired concerns about whether daycare work in Norway is under the jurisdiction of professionals. There seem to be little question as to the location of the jurisdiction of care and education to children below school age; as demonstrated in figure 1 this task has steadily become the sole jurisdiction of the daycare sector. However, this thesis focuses upon the work and workers within the sector, and asks whether boundaries of professionalism exist and if so, how they are expressed. Specifically, two questions were raised: Do the attitudes of daycare workers that can be described as professional boundaries? Furthermore, some expectations were formulated on the basis of previous studies and also theoretical framing. To the first question of whether the attitudes of the workers will express boundaries of professionalism, the expectation is that they will - in particular by the professionals, and to a lesser extent by the nonprofessionals. The expectations to the second question is less clear, the expectation being that particular boundaries will be found concerning specific tasks rather than a firm distinction across all tasks between professionals and nonprofessionals.

I will discuss these two questions using the findings from the three papers and one book chapter and from what we know about the sector and profession from chapter 1.

6.1 Professional boundaries in attitudes

The image of a profession and professional boundaries are preserved or dissembled in part by the inclusive or distancing behavior of those positioned at the border, expressed attitudes being one example of such behavior in this thesis. Different groups have opposing interests; while those in subordinate positions are more inclined to emphasize assimilation, it is in the interest of those in professional positions to accent a professional image. Also, the subjective quality of tasks means that tasks are, at least in part, constructions that render their meaning from a professional point of view (Abbott, 1988). Thus, for this analysis, we can expect some differences in reported attitudes between professionals and nonprofessionals, with the professionals more than the nonprofessionals judging professionals and professionals take on the characteristics of a professional group, in the attitudes expressed by them or in the attitudes expressed by the other group.

Paper 2 shows that some tasks are considered to be better suited to professionals, and the professionals express this even more so. Also, no tasks are considered to be best suited for non-professionals, which clearly indicates that those employed as nonprofessionals are not considered an occupational or professional group with a jurisdiction of their own. Hence, there is some degree of support for the notion that those in superordinate positions maintain jurisdictional boundaries more than those in subordinate positions as suggested by Abbott (1988). On the other hand, it is not the case that the subordinate emphasize total assimilation.

Paper 4 examines the attitudes toward distribution of tasks between male and female workers. Recalling Witz (1992), a project of dual closure would lead us to expect to find female workers excluding male workers. Similarly, following Lamont and Molnár (2002), we would expect a clear delineation of work tasks across male and female workers if gender is a social boundary in Norwegian daycare centers. This is not the case, at least not when examining self-reported attitudes. Male and female workers largely claim that men and women are equally suited to perform all tasks. It is worth noting that studies quoted in Paper 4 and in this extended introduction have other results. The explanation may in part be what Deutsch phrases as "Doing gender has become a theory of conformity and gender conventionality" (Deutsch, 2007:108). Despite a theory of gender as being constructed and therefore having the possibility of deconstruction, most studies that apply such gender theories find conformity (Deutsch, 2007). A study from the Netherlands compares characteristics of childcare workers as reported in media with the self-reported notions of professional identities among childcare workers. The findings are that rather than gender stereotypical conceptions of the work being prominent, professional orientation is. One conclution drawn is that by reducing childcare work to gender - more specifically female stereotypical traits and behaviours - the emerging professionalism within the sector is suppressed (Timmerman and Schreuder, 2008). In conclusion, gender has not taken on the properties of a social boundary within Norwegian daycare centers nor can we identify a pattern indicating a strategy of dual closure, at least when we examine attitudes.

So far, attitude have been treated as reporting on the percieved professionalism of two groups, the professionals and nonprofessionals. Another way of interpreting expressed attitudes is via claims of jurisdiction. An indication of whether professional claims are being made is demonstrated in Paper 1 where we see that daycare workers express more conservative attitudes towards starting age and hours per day than is currently the practice. Recalling Abbott (1988), this is not in accordance with a

professional group struggling for expansion of their professional jurisdiction; if it were, we would expect the professionals in particular to express the view that childcare long and early is the preferred norm.

To sum up, we find that when investigating attitudes, the group of professionals is acknowledged as such, by both the professionals themselves and by the nonprofessionals. The nonprofessionals do not appear to have any jurisdictional claims nor are any of the work tasks mentioned considered to be primarily the domain of the nonprofessionals. The answer to the question raised in Chapter 1 is that the daycare sector is inhabited by two groups who do not struggle but largely express agreement on professional boundaries and where they are to be drawn. The nuances of the picture of professionalism include the lack of claim on part of the professionals with respect to expanding their jurisdiction to more children for a longer period of time. This will be addressed in the concluding remarks.

6.2 Professional boundaries in the division of work

What is done and by whom is central to the question of jurisdictional boundaries in the workplace. While the expressed attitudes investigated so far maintain an image of the professionals as just that, do the tasks that are performed, and more importantly by whom, blur the boundaries?

Turning to participation in work tasks, some of the attitudinal patterns are repeated and others changed, demonstrating that boundaries are not fixed entities. Paper 2 shows that there are some differences in what professionals and nonprofessionals do, indicating that professional boundaries exist in the daycare sector. Most notable is the question of how much of their time they spend doing three distinct categories of tasks. Professionals spend a larger portion of their time doing administrative or management tasks, although both groups report spending the majority of their time interacting with children. When investigating whether the professionals and nonprofessionals perform certain work tasks and the frequency of work-task participation, we see some differences. Still, looking at participation in work tasks does merit the question of whether professional boundaries are prominent in daycare and if so, where. "Administration and management" is unfortunately too vague to link back to the framework plan, which means that although we can say the professionals have jurisdiction, we cannot conclude whether the jurisdiction of the professionals is as intended.

A hypothesis raised in Paper 2 is, that although professionals and nonprofessionals perform the same tasks, they perform them differently — their subjective meanings differ. More important is that not all work tasks are equal in their symbolic value. As a means of analyzing workplace jurisdiction, Bechky (2003) explores the ways in which different professional and occupational groups control specific tools that are essential for the operation of the organization. Specifically, architectural drawings and machines are seen as artefacts around which boundary negotiations are held. Control of such artifacts represents professional jurisdiction, and knowledge of them and their uses lends legitimacy to a profession (Bechky 2003). Work tasks such as administrative and management tasks, conducting parental meetings and school preparation activities for five-year-olds might have the same function. The monopoly to perform certain tasks cements the role of the professional and lends legitimacy to this role, in addition to communicating a professional image to parents, employers and nonprofessionals – interaction in which the claim for jurisdiction needs to be maintained and corroborated in order to ensure its legitimacy.

Paper 3 suggests that some individuals among the professionals have a cluster of responsibilities (which together create work stress). If this is the case, the role of the professional might not be given to every individual who inhabits a professional position but rather to those who are responsible for token tasks. Another threat to the legitimacy of professionals is identified by Steinnes (2010), who (like Abbott) emphasizes the necessity of the link between work tasks and professionals being perceived as objective and firm; the extensive use of exemptions from formal education undermines this link. Following Akkerman and Bakker (2011), a consequence of such exemptions might also be a reaffirmation of the existing boundary. Circling back to the consequences of exemptions from the requirements of formal training, is this a practice that threatens to undermine or reaffirm the status of the professional daycare worker? Most likely the effect differs at different levels. At the policy level, the symbolic reaffirmation of boundaries takes place. At the level of the workplace, the effect might depend upon the individual performance of the person employed in such a position, but most likely Steinnes' concerns are justified: workplace assimilation rather than symbolic maintenance of boundaries are the result.

Freidson writes that an empirical definition of a specialist must phrased in relative terms (Freidson, 2001). This exercise leaves the daycare center with very few specialists when strictly examining the division of labour because the distribution is more equal than divided. The assumption is that if there were specialist daycare workers, there would be a stricter division of labor. This analysis reveals that

although some aspects of work clearly fall under the jurisdiction of professional childcare workers, other aspects of work are distributed equally among both groups and some tasks appear to be the jurisdiction of nonprofessionals. We do not know, however, if the observed distribution departs from or equals an ideal distribution of responsibility of work tasks between professionals and nonprofessionals when fulfilling the requirements placed upon the childcare sector by law and the framework plan.

Professionals in daycare have the formality of position and education to negotiate and maintain their status and jurisdiction. With the distinction between professional and nonprofessional, the question is whether social boundaries had either lost their meaning or had been reversed. The workings of gendered boundaries are different. Has gender taken on the properties of a social boundary within the daycare sector? The results from paper 4 indicate that this is not the case. Despite gender being significantly correlated with participation in some tasks, the main conclusion in this paper is that gender is not a prominent boundary or organizing principle of work in Norwegian daycare centers, at least not when considering the tasks in question.

To sum up, we find that the group of nonprofessional not has taken on the properties of a professional group in the workplace. There appear to be some professional boundaries in play that constitute a professional group of employees, although this may be some of those in a professional position rather than all who have such a position and with regard to some work tasks rather than all work tasks. Earlier we noted that one validity issue is the measuring of similarity when the focus is on differences. This is particularly pertinent to work tasks. Some of the tasks listed appear to be the jurisdiction of professionals, such as tasks that involve contact with parents. These are tasks, however, that nonprofessionals also perform, although to a lesser extent. Tasks that are exclusively the turf of professionals were not included, such as management tasks. This is important to keep in mind to avoid inflating the similarity between professionals and nonprofessionals. Non-measured differences probably exist.

7 Concluding remarks

The main contribution of this thesis is the finding that professional boundaries do exist – at least with regard to attitudes and certain work tasks. Also investigated was the possibility of gender as an organizing factor. If this was the case, professional boundaries would be less likely to be present. Some differences have been found in the work task participation of male and female workers, but in conclusion gender does not appear to be the main organizing principle in Norwegian daycare center.

In theories of professions, a profession is presumed to have a great deal of agency (e.g. Abbott, 1988; Weeden, 2002). Abbott (1988) states that the boundaries of any profession result from ongoing struggles, and that the agency to claim jurisdiction is located within the profession by individual professionals, representatives of the union, or other associated members. Weeden (2002) makes the same agency assumption clear in the introduction of his paper. Based on the history of Norwegian childcare workers, the location of agency is not necessarily within or in close proximity to the profession itself. In Norway and elsewhere, succinct elected governments have set the goals of locating childcare within the jurisdiction of the daycare sector and ensuring the required share of professionals as a mean of ensuring quality childcare. While regulations and laws that govern the content and goals of daycare exist, there are few control mechanisms to ensure that they are met. This means that the autonomy of the daycare professional has been substantial; the specific content of daycare has been an area for the profession to decide upon. As the extent of daycare increases, other voices regarding quality of content have been raised.

The lack of agency on the part of the profession has become apparent. In addition to the findings from paper 1, we notice that despite protests from professional representatives, the content of daycare is increasingly being shifted in the direction of education and testing and to large daycare centers. The lack of agency on the part of the profession about the relocation of jurisdiction of childcare from the home and family to daycare centers and daycare workers does not change the fact that this relocation has occurred. But the theoretical notion that this has been a change driven by the profession does not hold. Other forces have driven this, and their motivation has to some degree overlapped with that of the profession, but separate goals have been central as well (e.g. enabling women to participate in paid labor has not been a goal for the childcare professionals).

As demonstrated in the historical account of preschool teachers in Norway, we have a case of a profession which is given not claiming jurisdiction. Lessons learned from other professions, such as

physiotherapy and nursing, illustrate that this state-led expansion of jurisdiction can be both a blessing and a curse. The physiotherapists are currently at their jurisdictional peak (Kjølsrød and Thornquist, 2004), while the nursing profession experiences an ongoing process of deprofessionalization (Andrews and Wærness, 2011). The lesson to be learned from this is that if professional daycare workers want to shape the future of their profession and the daycare sector, they must claim jurisdiction in the workplace and in the public and legal arenas.

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PAPER I

HOW EARLY AND HOW LONG?

METTE LØVGREN AND LARS GULBRANDSEN

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How early and how long?

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Title: How early and how long?

Abstract: Day care centres have become a normal part of Norwegian childhood, even among quite small children. In 1970 less than 3 per cent of Norwegian children of pre-school were enrolled. At the end of 2009 as much as 70 per cent of children aged 12 to 24 months were enrolled and for 90 per cent of them a full day stay had been arranged. Norwegian children with small children opt for an early start at a day care centre. However, the day care centre employees do not share the same views as the users of the services they provide. Only one third of them express the opinion that children may start at the age of one and have a full day stay at this age. The article discusses this discrepancy between the users and providers of public financed day care.

Keywords: Toddlers; Employees in child care centres; Attitudes to early start in ECEC

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Over the past 40 years attending the day care centre has become a normal part of Norwegian childhood. In 1970 less than three per cent of Norwegian children of pre-school age were enrolled in day care centres. In 2009 the coverage rate for children aged 1 to 5 was close to 90 per cent. Successive governments, not least the present one, have made great efforts to meet an ever increasing demand for day care centre places, introducing for instance a statutory entitlement to a place from the age of one. At the end of 2009 as much as 70 per cent of children aged 12 to 24 months were enrolled, and for 90 per cent of them a full day stay had been arranged. A great majority of Norwegian parents choose to send their toddlers to a day care centre on a full day basis.

With a guaranteed supply of public day care from the age of one, the right to decide if and when a child should start at a day care centre rests with the parents alone. The decision made is likely to be the result of a mix of interests, knowledge and normative attitudes and cultural beliefs. Gender equalisation gives rise to labour market participation issues that necessitate nonparental care of children. Parents are influenced by normative attitudes and cultural beliefs which impart to them ideals and models for family life and child care. They may also have a more or less secure knowledge of the effects of day care centre enrolment on a child's early development and later achievements.

However, since the attendance rate is 70 per cent at the age of one and 85 per cent at the age of two, the majority of Norwegian families with small children apparently opt for an early start at a day care centre. A centre principally delivers care and educational services, provided by the centre's educationally trained staff and assistants. The question this paper seeks to answer is whether or not day care centre staff share the same views as the users of the services they provide. Do they applaud or are they sceptical of the substantial increase in toddlers at the centres? We expect the ideas and attitudes described above to be reflected among the employees. In addition, as employees, they will have expectations with regard to the impact of the huge increase in the number of very small children on their working conditions. As employees they might oppose changes, not least if they feel that such changes are not fully compensated for or if

they feel that the centres are not prepared or equipped to meet the new situation. They may also feel a lack of competence in caring for and educating very small children. In a recent evaluation, Norwegian pre-school teacher education was criticised for not giving enough attention to the needs of the youngest children (NOKUT, 2010).

In the following we describe the development towards almost universal public child care (2). In (3) we describe and discuss changing attitudes towards day care centre attendance both among parents and among day care centre employees. In (4) we present our new data on day care centre staff and their views on the appropriate starting age and length of daily stay. In (5) we present and analyse a model to explore if and to what degree the expected variables explain the variation of attitudes. In the final section (6) we discuss our findings.

THE ROAD TO UNIVERSALISTIC EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AND CARE Table 1 sums up the development since 1970, when public day care was a rather marginal phenomenon, and up to the end of 2009. The table shows that the expansion started with children close to school age. In 2000 almost 80 per cent of children between 3 and 5 were enrolled in a centre. In recent years growth has been strongest among children aged one or two. In 2000 slightly more than one third of this age group attended a day care centre. Nine years later 77.1 per cent of children in this age group were enrolled (table 1).

Table 1.Day care centres : Children enrolled and coverage by age, 1970–2009. Source: Gulbrandsen 2007, Statistics Norway

Year	Children in day care centres	Coverage 1–2	Coverage 3–6*
1970	12 711	0.9%	4.3%
1980	78 189	6.8%	32.0%
1990	139 350	15.4%	57.9%
2000	189 837	37.1%	78.1%
2003	205 172	43.9%	85.1%
2009	270 041	77.1%	96.2%

* From 2000: 3-5

The entry of small children has changed the daily life of day care centres (table 2). At the outset Norwegian day care centres were closely tied to the child welfare system, and a child's age had little bearing on whether or not assistance was received from the child welfare authorities. In 1970 almost 11 per cent of enrolled children were below the age of three. In the 1970s, however, the expansion of day care centres was primarily based on children close to school starting age. In 1980 only 3.7 per cent of enrolled children were below the age of three. Since that time the attendance rate among the youngest children has increased. At the end of 2009 more than one out of three children at day care centres had not yet reached the age of three .

Table 2. Per cent of children in child day ca	are centres below the age of 3. 1970–2009
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Year	1970	1980	1990	2000	2003	2009
Percent children	10.8	3.7	13.6	22.6	25.0	35.8

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THE APPROPRIATE AGE FOR ENROLMENT IN A DAY CARE CENTRE

In tandem with this growth there has been a public debate about day care centres. In the early phase much of the debate focused on whether or not day care centres should exist at all. In the 1950s the view that spending every day at a day care might be harmful for children was fairly widely held. The few day care centres that existed were a part of the preventive child welfare system. Home based care by the mother was seen both as the preferred and the normal form of care. Gradually the debate and the arguments moved towards greater acceptance of child day care centres. In contrast to contemporary attendance practice, this acceptance was confined to the eldest pre-school children and only for a few hours per day. However, the debate in Norway continues, and has recently focused on the attendance of children of the age of one. While day care for children aged 3-5 is almost universally accepted, concern is being expressed about attendance of the youngest children. Some highly articulate spokespersons in the public debate have advocated the view that attending day care centres may be harmful for children in their early stage of life (see for instance Tveitereid, 2008). Such arguments are based both on psychological research rooted in attachment theory and on brain research. A central point in attachment theory is that an early start at a day care centres might jeopardise the child's attachment to its main care giver (Foss & Klette, 2010). However, a leading European representative of this research tradition, Lieselotte Ahnert, has concluded that out-of-home care, even for infants and toddlers, has no developmental consequences if the day care centre meets standards of high quality (Lamb & Ahnert, 2006). Staff with high and relevant competence, with high work stability and free from overwork, appear to be a necessary condition for quality child care according to this research.

The huge increase in enrolment of very small children in day care centres shown in table 1 is a result both of increasing supply and increasing demand in the child care sector. In Norway mothers were highly instrumental in the expansion of publicly financed day care (Ellingsæter & Gulbrandsen, 2007). Moreover, the increased demand for places at day care centres surfaced fairly recently. According to a survey carried out in autumn 1992, only 13 per cent of parents with children below school age considered day care centres to offer the best type of care for children between 1 and 3. Even for children between 3 and 6 only 47 per cent viewed day care centres as the best option. A majority of the same parents answered that children should reach at least the age of three before enrolment in a day care centre (Blix & Gulbrandsen 1993, s. 33). As recently as 2002 only 23 per cent of parents with children under six answered that a place in an ordinary day care centre was the best day care for children at the age of one. 53 per cent expressed the same opinion about children at the age of two, while a huge majority preferred day care centres for elder children (Ellingsæter & Gulbrandsen 2003, s. 62). At the same time the actual rates of enrolment were almost the same in the two age groups. However, parents had applied for a place for another third of each of the two youngest age groups (Ellingsæter & Gulbrandsen 2003, s. 64). From 2009 onwards Norwegian children have been entitled to the offer of a place in a day care centre at the age of twelve months, or more correctly, if they are born before the end of August the year before the new enrolment.

Surveys of staff members' attitudes are far less usual than surveys among parents. In a nationwide survey from the early 70s staff members were asked how many hours' daily attendance was best for children at different ages (Nafstad, 1976). Table 3 is based on a table from the main report from this research project. If we interpret the unanswered category as non-attendance, a clear majority of the staff members believed that children under two should not attend a day care centre at all. This share was reduced to a third for children between two and three, but the majority preferred a very short daily stay for this age group. Almost all considered that day care centres were the best for children close to school age, but even here those in favour of a full day stay were in the minority. For children between one and two, with one exception, a majority of all groups of employees were against day care centres. The only exception was children's nurses with a small majority in favour of day care centres. Among assistants, centre managers, educationally trained staff and trainees a majority considered that the best solution for children at this age was to be kept away from such centres.

We have found no similar survey prior to our own survey which we carried out in 2009 and to which we devote the remainder of this paper. However, indirect evidence from studies of educationally trained staff indicates that the em-

Age	Unanswered	0 hours	1 to 5 hours	6 hours or more
0–1 years	19	52	26	3
1–2 years	18	38	41	3
2–3 years	16	16	63	5
6–7 years	11	0	57	32

Table 3. Attitudes to day care attendance based on the age of the child (How many hours per day are best for the child). Employees in Norwegian day care centres 1972. Per cent. Source: Nafstad 1976:24

ployment rate among mothers educated as preschool teachers has throughout been lower than among all mothers (Gulbrandsen 2005, s. 13). Is it still the case that providers of this service more often prefer to offer less of the service than the users actually demand?

DATA: THE MAFAL-STUDY

The Mafal-project is an ongoing research project focusing on day care centre staff. Mafal is an acronym derived from the name of the project which translates into *Managing the role of preschool teacher in a field where professionalisation is contested*. The study is not, however, restricted to trained day care centre staff. Since the latter's relationship to staff members with no educational training presumably makes a significant contribution to their forming of a profes*sional role, data from day care centre assistants* have also been collected. The data were collected in spring 2009.

The study is designed as a questionnaire distributed to staff members at a nationwide sample of 1,000 day care centres. Managers at the selected centres were asked to deliver the questionnaires to staff members with and without educational training. They were asked to return to us at least one, and at most three, questionnaires from staff members employed as senior educational staff and the same number from assistants. The managers were also asked to complete a short questionnaire regarding the day care centre, e.g. the number of children enrolled, ownership etc. We received answers from almost 60 per cent of the selected centres. 1357 assistants and 1192 pedagogical leaders completed the questionnaire. The latter group is overrepresented in our data. For many years educationally trained staff have been in a minority position in numerical terms. In 1970 the proportion of staff

educated as pre-school teachers (barnehagelærer) was 31.4 per cent. In 2000 the rate was the same (31.3 per cent). In 2007 the rate had shown little change (31.7 per cent). Even this figure seems to be a little high. Analysis based on data from Statistics Norway indicates that some centres report as pre-school teachers staff members who have not completed their educational training. In 2007 the pre-school teacher rate computed from register data was 27.1 per cent (Gulbrandsen 2008, 2009).

As a dependent variable we combine two questions from this survey. The first question measures what staff members consider to be the appropriate age for enrolment in a day care centre. The second measures what staff members consider to be a suitable duration of stay in a day care centre for children at different ages.

For the employees the question regarding appropriate starting age for children is at least twofold. They may have an opinion based on what they as parents and citizens have of personal interests and feelings about what is best and right from a social and political vantage point. But this huge increase in very small children will also concern them strongly by changing their working conditions. To elicit their attitudes to the enrolment of small children in daycare centres, we asked the following question: How old do you think a child should normally be before it starts at a day care centre? The six pre-coded alternatives are shown in table 4. No-one chose the last alternative: older/never. A slight majority, 53 per cent of the employees, answered that children should start at the age of 12 months or earlier. 46 per cent answered that children should be older before they started. The remainder, between 1 and 2 per cent, did not answer this question. We also posed a question about how long children should normally stay in a day care centre per day. The employees were first asked about

Proper age			12 months					Number
Percent	0.3	5	47	25	17	4	2	2549

Table 4. Opinions among staff members about the appropriate age of enrolment in day care centres. Per cent. Source: The Mafal survey 2009

children below three and then about children above three. The distributions of answers on these two pre-coded questions are shown in table 5. For the eldest children a clear majority of employees prefer to offer a full day stay. For children younger than three, a full day stay is the preference of a minority.

Table 5. Staff members distributed by their opinion on how many hours per day children at different ages normally should stay in a day care centre. Per cent. Source: The Mafal survey

Hours per day	None at all	Less than 4 hours	4–6 hours	6–8 hours	More than 8 hours	No answer
Under 3	1	2	52	42	0.4	3
Over 3	_	-	16	79	2	2

As already mentioned, a full day stay is very common in Norwegian day care centres. It is impossible to estimate the exact length of stay for children under three from the data available on the home page of Statistics Norway (KOSTRA). The statistics tell us how long stay centres and parents have agreed on, not how many hours children actually stay in the centres. However, for all children between one and five enrolled in centres at the end of 2009, 90.6 per cent of the parents had entered into an agreement of 33 or more hours per week. Thus a great majority of children under three have the opportunity to stay longer than the number of hours two-thirds of the staff say they think children at this age should stay.

Our focus here is on the combination of early start and long days. We therefore construct our dependent variable by including staff members who answered that normally children can start at the age of one year and stay 6 hours or more per day in a day care centre. This combination of answers was reported by 30 per cent of the staff members. Employees are apparently more sceptical of the present supply of day care than the parents are as users of their services.

ANALYSIS

We analyse the variation in our dependent variable by using a model which includes independent variables describing permanent characteristics of the employees, their work situation and characteristics of the centres where they are employed. In the following multivariate analysis we have chosen to rely on linear binary regression. We use this analysis model instead of the more often used logistic regression due to the fact that when variables have distributions like our dependent variable the results will be the same as when using logistic regression. The coefficients in binary linear regression will also intuitively have more meaningfulness and be simpler to interpret (Hellevik, 2009). It is probably even more important that we strictly cannot compare log-odds ratios or odds ratios for similar models across groups or across models with different independent variables in a sample (Mood, 2010). The following independent variables are included.

Age of the employee: Since the increase in toddler enrolment has taken place rather recently we expect to find increasing scepticism of an early start and long stay with increasing age.

Own children: We wish to include respondents' own experience as parents. Taking care of one's own children may provide experience different from that of caring for other children. However, we have no expectation regarding the effects of such experiences on attitudes.

Social background: Earlier research has shown that social background is an important variable for explaining attitudes towards and practice regarding day care centre attendance. More than 25 years ago (Gulbrandsen & Tønnessen, 1988). at the turn of the century (Ellingsæter & Gulbrandsen, 2003) as well as later on (Stefansen & Farstad, 2008), well-educated middle class parents have shown stronger demand for places in day care centres than parents with lower education. Among the staff, educational differences will normally be reflected in the type of job. However, we expect social background may play an important part irrespectively of type of job. We have therefore constructed a variable intended to measure social background by means of questions regarding the education of the employees' mother and father. A low educational background is defined here as parental education limited to compulsory schooling. Employees with at least one parent with a university or university college level education are assigned to the category high educational background. The remainder are classified as having a medium educational background. The two latter values are used as dichotomies in the model. We expect high education background to increase the probability of preferring an early start and long stay.

Own education: Both the amount and the type of education an employee has completed will normally be described by the job title. A pedagogical leader will normally have completed a longer education than an assistant. Where classbased preferences regarding enrolment age and length of stay in a day care centre are concerned, we expect educationally trained staff to be more likely than assistants to accept enrolment at an earlier age and to be more inclined to favour a long stay. Their training will also inform their view as to the potential benefits of early enrolment and length of stay at a day care centre.

Experience of working with different age groups: We also investigate whether the employees' own experience of working with different age groups affects their attitudes with regard to appropriate starting age and length of stay. The employees were given three alternatives: work primarily involving the under-threes, the over-threes and children across the entire age range of 0 to 5 years. We expect experience of working

with toddlers to have a positive net effect on preference for an early start and long stay.

Experience from employment in day care centres: Normally the time an employee has worked in a day care centre will correlate positively with age. However, increasing experience may produce increased competence and confidence in own work performance. We therefore expect to find a positive net effect of the length of employment in a day care centre.

Day care centre size: Structural quality of Norwegian day care centres is positively correlated with the size of the centres (Winsvold & Gulbrandsen, 2009). Assuming that high structural quality may increase the capacity to take care of small children, we expect to find that with increasing size of the centre, employees would be more likely to accept an early start and long days.

Organisation of the centres: Traditionally day care centres, if they are big enough, are organised in two or more distinct sections. 80 per cent of the centres are organised in this way (Winsvold & Gulbrandsen 2009, s. 94). However, recently ever more centres are organised without such strict division into sections and rely instead on so-called bases. Since the introduction of bases, and toddler expansion, are both a rather recent phenomenon, we expect employees in base-organised centres to have a greater preference for an early start and long stay than other employees.

Ownership: Half of Norway's day care centres are privately owned. At least some types of privately owned centres are expected to be more eager than municipally owned centres to engage in inter-centre competition. Managing the toddler expansion in the best way might be one element of such competition. We therefore expect to find higher acceptance of early start and long stay among employees in the private day care sector than in the municipal.

Density of pre-school teachers: In line with our expectation of higher acceptance of early start among pedagogical leaders than among assistants, we expect the presence of many pre-school teachers in a centre to have a positive effect on employees' assessment of the capacity of a centre to meet a toddler increase. We therefore expect to find preference for early start and long stay to increase with increasing density of educationally trained staff in the centres.

Table 6 presents the results of linear binary regression on the dependent variable. The tablel

	Start at the age of 12 months and full day stay
Age	004**
Having one's own children (Ref group: no)	.089**
Level of parental education (Ref group: low level)	
Medium education	025
High education	073*
Type of job: (Ref group: assistant)	
Pre-school teacher	.111**
Job experience: (Ref group: working normally with children at all ages)	
Working normally with children under 3	006
Working normally with children 3–5	052*
Number of years employed in a day care centre	.005**
Size of the day care centre (number of children enrolled)	.001**
Ownership: (Ref group: privately owned)	063**
Organisation of the centre (Ref group: organised in distinct sections)	
Base organisation	.066*
Per cent of employees educated as pre-school teachers	.000
Constant	.295
R2	.051

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* p < .05 ** p < .01

shows the regression coefficients for each of the independent variables. The model shows a modest fit by explaining only 5.1 per cent of the variation in the dependent variable. However, many of our expectations materialised, demonstrated by significant regression coefficients. Some expectations, however, failed. As regards employee characteristics, we found, as expected, a negative net effect of age and a positive effect of educational training. Social background, measured by parent's level of education, had the opposite effect to that expected. We note that having children has a positive effect on acceptance

of an early start and long stay. With regard to work related experience we find, as expected, that increasing ength of employment in a centre increases the likelihood of acceptance of an early start while own experience of working with toddlers does not. However, working with the oldest children makes for significant lower acceptance of early start. Of the variables describing the centres, the density of educationally trained staff had no effect. However, centre size, organisational type and ownership showed significant net effects in the expected direction.

DISCUSSION

Over a very short period of time Norwegian parents have increasingly chosen day care centres as their main child care option. A rate of enrolment of 70 per cent at age one and 85 per cent at age two show the attractiveness of this type of care among parents. Politicians from all political parties have supported the expansion of this sector. The providers at the local level, the day care centre employees, have been somewhat less enthusiastic. A great majority of them consider that children should start later and should have a shorter day at the centre than the great majority of toddlers actually have.

With the variables at hand we are not able to explain very much of the variation in employees' attitudes. Since attitudes have changed widely since a research project similar to ours was carried out in 1972, we would expect older employees to express more conservative views than their younger counterparts, which proves to be the case. Besides this, work experience from a day care centre increases the likelihood of accepting long days for the smallest children. Even if preschool teacher education has recently been criticised for insufficient focus on toddlers, educationally trained staff show a higher acceptance of realities in present-day centres compared to assistants. This may be due to a positive assessment of their own capacity to cope with a rather new situation. But we must not forget that even among the educationally trained staff a fairly clear majority do not express satisfaction with the situation that has come about in the day care sector.

Another important factor may be employees' assessment of the centre's capacity to meet the toddler invasion. With increasing size of centre we find an increasing likelihood of accepting an early start and long stay. The same is true if the centre has a base organisation as opposed to the traditional type with distinct units. Moreover, employees at privately owned centres accept, more often than employees in municipally owned centres, an early start and long stay. We expected the density of educationally trained staff to positively affect the appreciation of a centre's capacity to give care to small children. Contrary to our expectation, the density of educationally trained centre staff had no unique effect.

With reference to parents' self-reported attitudes in the 1992 and 2002 studies, it seems that practice precedes attitudes as regards the appropriate starting age and amount of time spent in a day care centre. This may also be the case with staff members' attitudes regarding these issues as toddler enrolment is increasingly viewed as the norm at day care centres. In view of the place toddlers have so far been assigned in pre-school teacher education, one might expect that the expansion of toddlers would pave the way for lay knowledge based on experience of caring for one's own children. We do find such an effect in our data, but what might be termed the new world of day care centres is most often accepted by the best educated employees. The fact that so many of them meet the new situation with some reservations may be a result of uncertainty about what pre-school teachers have learned and know about really small children. In the light of Lise Lotte Ahnert's conclusion that the effects of out-of-home care for infants and toddlers heavily depend on the way day care centres meet standards of high quality, their reservations are likely to be a result of sound doubts about the adequacy of their professional training to meet the challenges posed by the toddler invasion. In that way we may interpret the reservations as a knowledge-based professional attitude which calls for more knowledge and possibly other, new types of knowledge to do a good job in the day care centres of tomorrow.

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Gjennomføre foreldresamtaler							
Delta i av- og påkledning							
Ha ansvar for gjennomføring av spesialpedagogiske tiltak							
9 Omtrent hvor mange prosent av stillingen din bruker du vanligvis på Skriv inn cirka andel i rubrikkene. Pass på at de summeres til 100 prosent. Ett siffer i hver rute							
Administrasjon og ledelse (inkludert møtevirksomhet)?						%	
Arbeid direkte med barn?						%	
Praktisk arbeid uten barn?						%	
Annet?						%	
				SUM: 1	0 0	%	
10 Hvor enig eller uenig er du i følgende utsagn om ditt a Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.	rbeid?						
	Helt uenig 0	1	2	3	4	Helt enig 5	
Jeg er i stand til å etablere gode samarbeidsforhold med foreldrene til barna i barnehagen.							
Jeg synes det er vanskelig å samarbeide med foreldre/foresatte.							
Jeg er sikker på at mine kunnskaper om foreldresamarbeid er				_			
tilstrekkelige for å få til et godt samarbeid							
Jeg oppfatter at foreldre har tillit til at jeg gir god omsorg til barna							
Jeg er sikker på at jeg gir god omsorg til barna							
Jeg er dyktig i arbeid med barn under 3 år Jeg er sikker på at jeg har de nødvendige pedagogiske							
ferdighetene for å arbeide i barnehagen							
Jeg er sikker på at mine kunnskaper er tilstrekkelige for arbeidet							
med barna							
Jeg er trygg på at barna vil lære av meg. Jeg har tilstrekkelige kunnskaper i rammeplanens fagområder for	r 🗆						
innhold i barnehagen							
Jeg mestrer å legge til rette rammeplanens fagområder for barna							
Jeg vet nøyaktig hva som forventes av meg i jobben.							
Jeg opplever at jeg får brukt kompetansen min i barnehagen							

11 Her er noen spørsmål om hvordan du opplever din faglige kompetanse. Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.

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	Slett ikke 0	1	2	3	4	I meget stor grad 5
Hvor trygg er du i din yrkesrolle?						
Hvor god er din teoretiske forståelse?						
Hvor godt mestrer du de metodiske sidene av arbeidet?						
Hvor dyktig er du til å arbeide målrettet?						

12 I hvor stor grad legger du vekt på disse områdene i det praktiske arbeidet med barna i barnehagen? Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.

	l liten grad				l stor grad
	1	2	3	4	5
Omsorg					
Oppdragelse					
Lek					
Læring					
Sosial kompetanse					
Språklig kompetanse					
Barnehagen som kulturarena					
Barnehagens verdigrunnlag					
Barns medvirkning					
Inkluderende fellesskap					
Kommunikasjon, språk og tekst					
Kropp, bevegelse og helse					
Kunst, kultur og kreativitet					
Natur, miljø og teknikk					
Etikk, religion og filosofi					
Nærmiljø og samfunn					
Antall, rom og form					
Dokumentasjon som grunnlag for refleksjon og læring					

13 Fagkunnskaper, praktiske ferdigheter, verdier/holdninger og personlige evner kan alle sies å være viktige kompetanseområder når en jobber i barnehage. Hvor viktig mener du hvert av disse områdene er for å gjøre en god jobb i barnehagen?

Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.

	Ikke viktig i det hele tatt				Svært viktig	
	1	2	3	4	5	Vet ikke
Fagkunnskaper						
Praktiske ferdigheter						
Verdier og holdninger						
Personlige evner						

Т

I hvilken grad opplever du at du har følgende former for kompetanse? Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.

	l meget stor grad 1	2	3	4	lkke i det hele tatt 5
Bred, generell kunnskap					
Yrkesspesifikk kunnskap					
Kunnskap om planlegging og organisering					
Innsikt i regler og bestemmelser					
Evne til kritisk refleksjon og vurdering av eget arbeid					
Kreativitet					
Evne til å arbeide under press					
Praktiske ferdigheter					
Evne til å jobbe selvstendig					
Samarbeidsevner					
Evne til å ta initiativ					
Muntlig kommunikasjonsevne					
Skriftlig kommunikasjonsevne					
Toleranse, evne til å verdsette ulike synspunkter					
Lederevne					
Evne til å ta ansvar og fatte beslutninger					
Etisk vurderingsevne					
Evne til innlevelse i andre menneskers situasjon					
Kunnskap om veiledning					

Hvor enig eller uenig er du i følgende påstander? Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.

	Helt uenig 1	2	3	4	Helt enig 5	Vet ikke
Jeg får veiledning fra noen i barnehagen på mitt arbeid med barna.						
Jeg får veiledning fra noen utenfor barnehagen (PPT, høgskoler osv.).						
Jeg får veiledning på hvordan jeg gjennomfører voksenstyrte aktiviteter med barna						
Jeg har tilstrekkelig tid til å veilede assistenter og andre ansatte.						
Jeg får systematisk opplæring for å kunne videreutvikle meg som førskolelærer						
Jeg mottar ofte gode råd fra assistenter						
Jeg får for lite opplæring i arbeidet mitt						
Jeg spør gjerne kolleger om tips eller råd						
Jeg kan stole på at mine kolleger vil hjelpe meg dersom jeg har behov for det.						

3	I hvilken grad vil du si deg enig eller uenig i følgende påstander om førskolelæreryrket og ditt forhold til det?
	Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.

	Helt enig 1	2	3	4	Helt uenig 5	Vet ikke	
Jeg leser regelmessig fagblader eller tidsskrifter rettet mot førskolelærere.							
For meg er det en helt opplagt sak at jeg skal være medlem i en organisasjon som arbeider for førskolelærernes profesjonsinteresser.							
Jeg er stolt over å kunne fortelle andre at jeg er førskolelærer.							
Det er viktig at førskolelærerne støtter opp om yrkesorganisasjonene sine.							
Jeg kan ikke tenke meg noe annet yrke enn å arbeide som førskolelærer.							
Dersom jeg skulle gjøre yrkesvalget om igjen, ville jeg ikke satse på å bli førskolelærer.							
Jeg føler liten tilknytning til førskolelæreryrket.							
Omtrent hvor gammel mener du et barn vanligvis bør være før det begynner i barnehage?							

Merk: Sett ett kryss.

6 måneder	9 måneder	12 måneder	Halvannet år	2 år	3 år	Eldre/aldri

18 Hvor lenge mener du barn vanligvis bør være i barnehage per dag?

Merk. Sett ett kryss på hver inge.									
	Ikke i det hele tatt	Under 4 timer	4-6 timer	6-8 timer	8 timer eller mer				
Under 3 år:									
	Ikke i det hele tatt	Under 4 timer	4-6 timer	6-8 timer	8 timer eller mer				
Over 3 år:									

19 Under nevnes noen arbeidsoppgaver som kan utføres i barnehagen. Synes du disse passer best for assistenter, for ansatte med førskolelærerutdanning eller like godt for begge? Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.

	Passer best for assistenter	Passer litt bedre for assistenter	Passer begge like godt	Passer litt bedre for førskolelærere	Passer best for førskolelærere
Lede femårsklubb					
Lede samlingsstund eller barnemøte					
Delta aktivt i frilek					
Lede formings-, musikk- og dramaaktiviteter					
Lese for barna					
Utføre praktisk arbeid sammen med barn (husarbeid, brødbaking, rydding, vasking o.s.v)					
Delta i fysiske aktiviteter (springe, ballspill, klatre osv).					
Skifte bleier					
Lære barna tall og bokstaver					
Ta opp vanskelige eller følsomme temaer med et barns foreldre					
Gjennomføre foreldresamtaler					
Delta i av- og påkledning					
Ha ansvar for gjennomføring av spesialpedagogiske tiltak					

20 Under nevnes igjen noen arbeidsoppgaver som kan utføres i barnehagen. Synes du disse passer best for menn, for kvinner eller like godt for begge? Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.

	Passer best for kvinner	Passer litt bedre for kvinner	Passer begge like godt	Passer litt bedre for menn	Passer best for menn
Kontakt med foreldre gjennom hente- og bringesituasjonen					
Veilede/støtte barn i konfliktsituasjoner					
Utføre praktisk arbeid sammen med barn (husarbeid, brødbaking, rydding, vasking o.s.v)					
Utføre praktisk arbeid uten barn (forberede måltider, rydde etter måltid osv.)					
Delta i fysiske aktiviteter (springe, ballspill, klatre osv.).					
Skifte bleier					
Trøste barn som gråter					
Lære barna tall og bokstaver					
Ta opp vanskelige eller følsomme temaer med et barns foreldre					
Gjennomføre foreldresamtaler					
 I hvilken grad bruker du revidert ram 06) i ditt daglige arbeid med barna? Merk: Kun ett kryss mulig Bruker ikke 	nmeplan (R-	av revie	deltatt på kurs dert rammepla in ett kryss mulig	i forbindelse m n?	ed innføring
Bruker i liten grad		🗌 Nei			
Bruker i noen grad					
Bruker i stor grad					
☐ Kjenner ikke til.					
23 I hvilken grad bruker du temaheften Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.	e som følger m	ied Rammeplan	en?		
Temahefte om:	Bruker ikke	Bruker i liten grad	Bruker i noen grad	Bruker i stor grad	Kjenner ikke til
Barn med nedsatt funksjonsevne i barnehagen					
Antall, rom og form i barnehagen					
Barns medvirkning					
Samisk kultur					
De minste barna i barnehagen					

arnenagen IKT i barnehagen Språklig og kulturelt mangfold Natur og miljø Menn i barnehagen, om å rekruttere og beholde menn i barnehagen

Likestilling i barnehagen

Г

1

1

Vet ikke

 \square

Helt enig

5

3

4

I hvilken grad er du enig eller uenig i følgende påstander? Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje. Helt uenig 2 1 Innføring av revidert rammeplan har medført endringer i

barnehagens pedagogiske praksis
Temaheftene i tilknytning til rammeplanen har medført endringer i barnehagens pedagogiske praksis
Jeg opplever at det har blitt mer fokus på læringsaspektet i barnehagen som følge av innføring av revidert rammeplan

Rammeplanen er tilpasset barn under tre år

 \bot

Noon bakaruppeopplycpipgor:

Noen bakgrunnsopplysninger:	
25 Jeg er	²⁸ C Hvor mange studiepoeng?
Merk: Kun ett kryss mulig	
Mann	
	(1 semester = 30 studiepoeng = 10 vekttall.)
25 Jeg er født i	
Oppgi fødselsår – 4 siffer. Merk: Ett siffer i hver rute.	
	²⁹ Hva er (var) din mors og din fars høyeste utdan-
	ningsnivå? Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver kolonne.
67	
27a Hva slags pedagogisk utdanning har du? Merk: Sett ett kryss. Sett kryss ved den utdanningen som best	Mor Far
beskriver din utdanningsbakgrunn:	Grunnskolenivå (inkludert folkeskole, framhaldsskole)
Ingen pedagogisk utdanning	Realskole
Førskolelærerutdanning	Ett – eller toårig yrkesfaglig
Annen pedagogisk utdanning	videregående skole eller yrkesskole
Fagarbeider-utdanning	Treårig videregående skole eller
	gymnas L L
Annet - Spesifiser:	lavere grad
	Høgskole/ universitetsutdanning
Kode	høyere grad
Kode	Vet ikke Line Vet ikke lar seg plassere ovenfor, i så fall hva:
27h Lluis formula la la manutal a spinor	oldanning som ikke tal seg plassere oventor, i så tall tiva.
 Hvis førskolelærerutdanning: Hvilket årstall avsluttet du utdanningen som 	Mor:
førskolelærer?	Fair
Merk: Ett siffer i hver rute.	Far:
28a Har du tatt noen form for tilleggsutdanning etter	_
fullført førskolelærerutdanning?	30 Har du selv barn?
Merk: Sett ett kryss	Merk: Kun ett kryss mulig
☐ Ja → Hvis ja, gå til ^{28b}	∐ Ja
□ Ja → Hvis ja, ga til →	L Nei
28b Hva slags utdanning?	31 Har du annen erfaring med barn? (korleder, spei-
	derleder, fotballtrener, musikklærer o.l) Merk: Kun ett kryss mulig
	Ja
Kode	🗆 Nei
tnsgallup	7 625741 T

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32 I det følgende presenteres 27 utsagn om følelser du kan ha i forhold til jobben din. For hvert utsagn skal du ta stilling til hvor ofte du føler deg slik det er beskrevet. Kryss av for det tallet på skalaen som best beskriver dine følelser.

Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.

	Aldri i det siste året 0	Noen ganger det siste året 1	Månedlig 2	Noen ganger i måneden 3	Ukentlig 4	Noen ganger i uken 5	Daglig 6
Jeg føler meg følelsesmessig uttømt av arbeidet mitt							
Jeg føler meg oppbrukt ved slutten av arbeidsdagen							
Jeg føler meg trett når jeg står opp om morgenen og må se en ny arbeidsdag foran meg							
Jeg kan lett forstår hvordan barna opplever forskjellige ting.							
Jeg føler at jeg behandler noen barn på en helt upersonlig måte.							
Det er virkelig en belastning å arbeide med andre mennesker hele dagen							
Jeg tar meg av barnas problemer på en effektiv måte.							
Jeg føler meg utbrent av arbeidet mitt							
Jeg føler at jeg har en positiv innvirkning på andre menneskers liv gjennom arbeidet mitt							
Jeg er blitt mer ufølsom overfor andre mennesker etter at jeg begynte i denne jobben							
Jeg er bekymret for at denne jobben gjør meg hardere rent følelsesmessig							
Jeg føler meg full av overskudd							
Jobben frustrerer meg							
Jeg føler at jeg arbeider for hardt på jobben							
Jeg bryr meg faktisk ikke om hva som skjer med enkelte av barna.							
Å arbeide direkte med mennesker legger for mye stress på meg							
Det er lett for meg å skape en avslappet stemning for barna.							
Jeg føler meg oppløftet når jeg har jobbet nært med barna.							
Jeg har oppnådd mange verdifulle ting i denne jobben							
Jeg føler det som om «strikken er tøyd til bristepunktet»							
I arbeidet håndterer jeg følelsesmessige problemer med stor ro							
Jeg føler at barna og/eller foreldrene gir meg skylden for en del av sine problemer.							
Jeg er blitt mindre interessert i arbeidet mitt etter at jeg startet i denne jobben							
Jeg er blitt mindre begeistret for arbeidet mitt							
Jeg ønsker bare å gjøre jobben min i fred uten innblanding fra andre							
Jeg er blitt mer kynisk i min vurdering av om arbeidet mitt bidrar med noe som helst							
leg tviler på hvor viktig arheidet mitt er							

Takk for hjelpen!



SPØRRESKJEMA TIL ASSISTENTER

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	ID-nummer
Dette skjema skal leses maskinelt, det må derfor ikke brettes.	
Bruk blå/ svart penn	
Kryss settes slik: Kode Kode	Tallene skal se slik ut: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0
Hvor mange år har du vært ansatt i denne barnehagen? Oppgi antall år (ett siffer i hver rute).	5 Om du tenker to år frem i tid, tror du at du da vil arbeide i Merk: Sett ett kryss
Âr	Barnehage Skole Annet
Hvor mange år har du jobbet i barnehage? Oppgi antall år (ett siffer i hver rute).	 Ditt arbeid i barnehagen: Er noen av funksjonene nedenfor lagt til stillingen din? Merk: Sett ett kryss
Hvor mange år har du hatt en annen type jobb med barn tidligere? Oppgi antall år (ett siffer i hver rute).	 Pedagogisk leder Pedagog 2 Styrer
Ar 4 Hya er din stillingsprosent?	 Annet 7a Hvilken aldersgruppe jobber du vanligvis med? Dersom du jobber like mye med alle aldersgruppene, kryss av i kategorien barn 0-5 år. Merk: Sett ett kryss
4 Hva er din stillingsprosent? Oppgi i hele prosent (ett siffer i hver rute).	 □ Barn under 3 år □ Barn 3-5 år
%	 Barn 0-5 år Hvilken aldersgruppe ønsker du primært å jobbe med? Dersom du ikke har noen klare ønsker, kryss av i kategorien barn 0-5 år. Merk: Sett ett kryss Barn under 3 år Barn 3-5 år Barn 0-5 år

Г						Г
I hvilken grad er du involvert i følgende arbeidsoppgav Hvis du er usikker, velg det alternativet som du synes passer best.			ver linje.			
	ldri	2	3	4		Ofte
Lede femårsklubb	1 つ			4		5
Lede samlingsstund eller barnemøte]					
Delta aktivt i frilek	-					
Lede formings-, musikk- og dramaaktiviteter	7					
Lese for barna	-					
Utføre praktisk arbeid sammen med barn (husarbeid, brødbaking, rydding, vasking osv).	_					
Delta i fysiske aktiviteter (springe, ballspill, klatre osv).						
Skifte bleier						
Lære barna tall og bokstaver						
Ta opp vanskelige eller følsomme temaer med et barns foreldre						
Gjennomføre foreldresamtaler						
Delta i av- og påkledning						
Ha ansvar for gjennomføring av spesialpedagogiske tiltak						
Omtrent hvor mange prosent av stillingen din bruker du vanligvis på Skriv inn cirka andel i rubrikkene. Pass på at de summeres til 100 prosent. Ett siffer i hver rute						
Administrasjon og ledelse (inkludert møtevirksomhet)?						%
Arbeid direkte med barn?						%
Praktisk arbeid uten barn?						%
Annet?						%
				SUM: 1	0 0	%
10 Hvor enig eller uenig er du i følgende utsagn om ditt a Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.	rbeid?					
	Helt uenig 0	1	2	3	4	Helt enig 5
Jeg er i stand til å etablere gode samarbeidsforhold med foreldrene til barna i barnehagen.						
Jeg synes det er vanskelig å samarbeide med foreldre/foresatte.						
Jeg er sikker på at mine kunnskaper om foreldresamarbeid er				_	_	
tilstrekkelige for å få til et godt samarbeid						
Jeg oppfatter at foreldre har tillit til at jeg gir god omsorg til barna						
Jeg er sikker på at jeg gir god omsorg til barna						
Jeg er dyktig i arbeid med barn under 3 år Jeg er sikker på at jeg har de nødvendige pedagogiske						
ferdighetene for å arbeide i barnehagen						
Jeg er sikker på at mine kunnskaper er tilstrekkelige for arbeidet						
med barna						
Jeg er trygg på at barna vil lære av meg. Jeg har tilstrekkelige kunnskaper i rammeplanens fagområder for	r 🗆					
innhold i barnehagen						
Jeg mestrer å legge til rette rammeplanens fagområder for barna						
Jeg vet nøyaktig hva som forventes av meg i jobben.						
Jeg opplever at jeg får brukt kompetansen min i barnehagen						

11 Her er noen spørsmål om hvordan du opplever din faglige kompetanse. Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.

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	Slett ikke 0	1	2	3	4	I meget stor grad 5
Hvor trygg er du i din yrkesrolle?						
Hvor god er din teoretiske forståelse?						
Hvor godt mestrer du de metodiske sidene av arbeidet?						
Hvor dyktig er du til å arbeide målrettet?						

12 I hvor stor grad legger du vekt på disse områdene i det praktiske arbeidet med barna i barnehagen? Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.

	l liten grad				l stor grad
	1	2	3	4	5
Omsorg					
Oppdragelse					
Lek					
Læring					
Sosial kompetanse					
Språklig kompetanse					
Barnehagen som kulturarena					
Barnehagens verdigrunnlag					
Barns medvirkning					
Inkluderende fellesskap					
Kommunikasjon, språk og tekst					
Kropp, bevegelse og helse					
Kunst, kultur og kreativitet					
Natur, miljø og teknikk					
Etikk, religion og filosofi					
Nærmiljø og samfunn					
Antall, rom og form					
Dokumentasjon som grunnlag for refleksjon og læring					

13 Fagkunnskaper, praktiske ferdigheter, verdier/holdninger og personlige evner kan alle sies å være viktige kompetanseområder når en jobber i barnehage. Hvor viktig mener du hvert av disse områdene er for å gjøre en god jobb i barnehagen?

Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.

	Ikke viktig i det hele tatt				Svært viktig	
	1	2	3	4	5	Vet ikke
Fagkunnskaper						
Praktiske ferdigheter						
Verdier og holdninger						
Personlige evner						

14 I hvilken grad opplever du at du har følgende former for kompetanse? Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.

	l meget stor grad 1	2	3	4	lkke i det hele tatt 5
Bred, generell kunnskap					
Yrkesspesifikk kunnskap					
Kunnskap om planlegging og organisering					
Innsikt i regler og bestemmelser					
Evne til kritisk refleksjon og vurdering av eget arbeid					
Kreativitet					
Evne til å arbeide under press					
Praktiske ferdigheter					
Evne til å jobbe selvstendig					
Samarbeidsevner					
Evne til å ta initiativ					
Muntlig kommunikasjonsevne					
Skriftlig kommunikasjonsevne					
Toleranse, evne til å verdsette ulike synspunkter					
Lederevne					
Evne til å ta ansvar og fatte beslutninger					
Etisk vurderingsevne					
Evne til innlevelse i andre menneskers situasjon					
Kunnskap om veiledning					

15 Hvor enig eller uenig er du i følgende påstander?

Monte odd odd hygoo pa moor ingo.						
	Helt uenig 1	2	3	4	Helt enig 5	Vet ikke
Jeg får veiledning fra noen i barnehagen på mitt arbeid med barna.						
Jeg får veiledning fra noen utenfor barnehagen (PPT, høgskoler osv.).						
Jeg får veiledning på hvordan jeg gjennomfører voksenstyrte aktiviteter med barna						
Jeg får systematisk opplæring for å kunne videreutvikle meg som assistent.						
Jeg mottar ofte gode råd fra andre assistenter						
Jeg får for lite opplæring i arbeidet mitt						
Jeg spør gjerne kolleger om tips eller råd						
Jeg kan stole på at mine kolleger vil hjelpe meg dersom jeg har behov for det.						
16 Omtrent hvor gammel mener du et barn vanligv	vis bør være	før det be	egynner i b	arnehage	?	

Merk: Sett ett kryss

6 måneder	9 måneder	12 måneder	Halvannet år	2 år	3 år	Eldre/aldri

tns gallup

17 Hvor lenge mener du barn vanligvis bør være i barnehage per dag? Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.							
	lkke i det hele tatt	Under 4 timer	4-6 timer	6-8 timer	8 timer eller mer		
Under 3 år:							
	Ikke i det hele tatt	Under 4 timer	4-6 timer	6-8 timer	8 timer eller mer		
Over 3 år:							

Under nevnes noen arbeidsoppgaver som kan utføres i barnehagen. Synes du disse passer best for assistenter, for ansatte med førskolelærerutdanning eller like godt for begge? Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.

	Passer best for assistenter	Passer litt bedre for assistenter	Passer begge like godt	Passer litt bedre for førskolelærere	Passer best for førskolelærere
Lede femårsklubb					
Lede samlingsstund eller barnemøte					
Delta aktivt i frilek					
Lede formings-, musikk- og dramaaktiviteter					
Lese for barna					
Utføre praktisk arbeid sammen med barn (husarbeid, brødbaking, rydding, vasking o.s.v)					
Delta i fysiske aktiviteter (springe, ballspill, klatre osv).					
Skifte bleier					
Lære barna tall og bokstaver					
Ta opp vanskelige eller følsomme temaer med et barns foreldre					
Gjennomføre foreldresamtaler					
Delta i av- og påkledning					
Ha ansvar for gjennomføring av spesialpedagogiske tiltak					

Under nevnes igjen noen arbeidsoppgaver som kan utføres i barnehagen. Synes du disse passer best for menn, for kvinner eller like godt for begge?

Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.

	Passer best for kvinner	Passer litt bedre for kvinner	Passer begge like godt	Passer litt bedre for menn	Passer best for menn
Kontakt med foreldre gjennom hente- og bringesituasjonen					
Veilede/støtte barn i konfliktsituasjoner					
Utføre praktisk arbeid sammen med barn (husarbeid, brødbaking, rydding, vasking o.s.v)					
Utføre praktisk arbeid uten barn (forberede måltider, rydde etter måltid osv.)					
Delta i fysiske aktiviteter (springe, ballspill, klatre osv.).					
Skifte bleier					
Trøste barn som gråter					
Lære barna tall og bokstaver					
Ta opp vanskelige eller følsomme temaer med et barns foreldre					
Gjennomføre foreldresamtaler					

tns gallup

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 I hvilken grad bruker du revidert ramm 06) i ditt daglige arbeid med barna? Merk: Kun ett kryss mulig 	neplan (R-	21	av revid	leltatt på kurs ert rammepla ett kryss mulig		se med ir	nnføring
Bruker ikke			Ja				
Bruker i liten grad			Nei				
Bruker i noen grad							
Bruker i stor grad							
☐ Kjenner ikke til.							
22 I hvilken grad bruker du temaheftene Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.	som følger n				Destaurist		
Temahefte om:	Bruker ikke	Bruł liten		Bruker i noen grad	Bruker i st grad		nner ikke til
Barn med nedsatt funksjonsevne i barnehagen		C					
Antall, rom og form i barnehagen							
Barns medvirkning							
Samisk kultur							
De minste barna i barnehagen							
IKT i barnehagen							
Språklig og kulturelt mangfold							
Natur og miljø							
Menn i barnehagen, om å rekruttere og beholde menn i barnehagen		C]				
Likestilling i barnehagen							
23 I hvilken grad er du enig eller uenig i Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.	følgende pås	tander?					
	Н	lelt uenig 1	2	3	4	Helt enig 5	Vet ikke
Innføring av revidert rammeplan har medført e barnehagens pedagogiske praksis	ndringer i						
Temaheftene i tilknytning til rammeplanen har endringer i barnehagens pedagogiske praksis	medført						
Jeg opplever at det har blitt mer fokus på læringsaspektet i barnehagen som følge av inr revidert rammeplan	nføring av						
Rammeplanen er tilpasset barn under tre år							
Noen bakgrunnsopplysninger:							
24 Jeg er Merk: Kun ett kryss mulig Kvinne		26	høyeste	n vil du beskri utdanning)? n ett kryss mulig	ve ditt utda	nningsni	vå (din
Mann			Folkesk	ole/ungdomsko	le		
·			Realsko	le/yrkesskole			
25 Jeg er født i			Viderega	ående skole			
Oppgi fødselsår – 4 siffer. Merk: Ett siffer i hve	r rute.		Påbegy	nt utdanning på	høgskole e	ller univer	sitet
			Fullført	utdanning på h	øgskole elle	r universit	et

	Har du noen form for pedagogisk utdanning? Merk: Sett ett kryss. Sett kryss ved den <u>utdanningen</u> som best beskriver din utdanningsbakgrunn:	Hva er (var) din mors og din fars ningsnivå? Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver kolonne.	s høyeste i	utdan-
	Ingen pedagogisk utdanning		Mor	Far
	Førskolelærerutdanning	Grunnskolenivå (inkludert folkeskole,		
	Annen pedagogisk utdanning Fagarbeider-utdanning	framhaldsskole)		
	r agai beider-didanning	Realskole Ett – eller toårig yrkesfaglig		
	Annet - Spesifiser:	videregående skole eller yrkesskole		
		Treårig videregående skole eller gymnas		
	Kode	Høgskole/ universitetsutdanning lavere grad		
27h		Høgskole/ universitetsutdanning høyere grad		
270	Hvis førskolelærerutdanning: Hvilket årstall avsluttet du utdanningen som	Vet ikke		
	førskolelærer?	Utdanning som ikke lar seg plassere ovenfor,	i så fall hva:	
	Merk: Ett siffer i hver rute.	Mar		
		Mor:		
28a	Tar du for tiden noen utdanning?	30 Har du selv barn? Merk: Kun ett kryss mulig		
	Merk: Sett ett kryss	□ Ja		
	Nei	🗌 Nei		
	Ja —> Hvis ja, gå til 28b	_		
28b	Tar du førskolelærerutdanning? Merk: Sett ett kryss	31 Har du annen erfaring med barn derleder, fotballtrener, musikklæ Merk: Kun ett kryss mulig		r, spei-
	Nei	└ Ja		
	Ja	L Nei		
	nei, beskriv hvilken utdanning du er i ferd med å ta: jesekretær", "Mastergrad i historie", "Politihøgskolen")			

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32 I det følgende presenteres 27 utsagn om følelser du kan ha i forhold til jobben din. For hvert utsagn skal du ta stilling til hvor ofte du føler deg slik det er beskrevet. Kryss av for det tallet på skalaen som best beskriver dine følelser.

Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje.

	Aldri i det siste året 0	Noen ganger det siste året 1	Månedlig 2	Noen ganger i måneden 3	Ukentlig 4	Noen ganger i uken 5	Daglig 6
Jeg føler meg følelsesmessig uttømt av arbeidet mitt							
Jeg føler meg oppbrukt ved slutten av arbeidsdagen							
Jeg føler meg trett når jeg står opp om morgenen og må se en ny arbeidsdag foran meg							
Jeg kan lett forstår hvordan barna opplever forskjellige ting.							
Jeg føler at jeg behandler noen barn på en helt upersonlig måte.							
Det er virkelig en belastning å arbeide med andre mennesker hele dagen							
Jeg tar meg av barnas problemer på en effektiv måte.							
Jeg føler meg utbrent av arbeidet mitt							
Jeg føler at jeg har en positiv innvirkning på andre menneskers liv gjennom arbeidet mitt							
Jeg er blitt mer ufølsom overfor andre mennesker etter at jeg begynte i denne jobben							
Jeg er bekymret for at denne jobben gjør meg hardere rent følelsesmessig							
Jeg føler meg full av overskudd							
Jobben frustrerer meg							
Jeg føler at jeg arbeider for hardt på jobben							
Jeg bryr meg faktisk ikke om hva som skjer med enkelte av barna.							
Å arbeide direkte med mennesker legger for mye stress på meg							
Det er lett for meg å skape en avslappet stemning for barna.							
Jeg føler meg oppløftet når jeg har jobbet nært med barna.							
Jeg har oppnådd mange verdifulle ting i denne jobben							
Jeg føler det som om «strikken er tøyd til bristepunktet»							
I arbeidet håndterer jeg følelsesmessige problemer med stor ro							
Jeg føler at barna og/eller foreldrene gir meg skylden for en del av sine problemer.							
Jeg er blitt mindre interessert i arbeidet mitt etter at jeg startet i denne jobben							
Jeg er blitt mindre begeistret for arbeidet mitt							
Jeg ønsker bare å gjøre jobben min i fred uten innblanding fra andre							
Jeg er blitt mer kynisk i min vurdering av om arbeidet mitt bidrar med noe som helst							
leg tviler på hvor viktig arbeidet mitt er							

Takk for hjelpen!



SPØRRESKJEMA TIL STYRER/DAGLIG LEDER

	ID-nummer
Dette skjema skal leses maskinelt, det må derfor ikke brettes.	
Bruk blå/ svart penn	
Kryss settes slik: 🛛 Ikke skriv i felt merket:	
	Tallene skal se slik ut:
Eliminere slik:	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0
—	
-	-
Hvor mange barn er det i barnehagen? Fyll inn antall barn i rubrikkene. Sett 0 hvis "ingen" (ett siffer i	4 Hvor mange pedagogiske ledere er det i
hver rute).	barnehagen? Merk: Ett siffer i hver rute
barn	
Antall barn født i 2006 eller senere?	Antall
Antall barn født i 2005 eller før?	-
	5 Hvor mange pedagog 2 er det i barnehagen?
Antall barn totalt?	Merk: Ett siffer i hver rute
-	Antall
2 Er barnehagen privat eller kommunal?	
Kommunalt eid	6 Hvor mange av de ansatte i barnehagen,
Privat eid	inkludert styrer, har førskolelærerutdanning?
Dersom barnehagen er privat, er eier:	Merk: Ett siffer i hver rute
Meninghet/trossamfunn	Antall
Pedagogisk/ideologisk organisasjon	
Foreldreeiet	7 Hvor mange dispensasjoner fra kravet om
Bedrift	godkjent førskolelæreutdanning er det i
Enkeltperson	barnehagen? Merk: Ett siffer i hver rute
Annet, noter:	
	Antall
Kode	-
	8 Hvor mange assistenter/fagarbeidere er det i
-	barnehagen? Merk: Ett siffer i hver rute
3 Har styrer førskolelærerutdanning? Merk: Sett ett kryss	
Førskolelærerutdanning	Antall
Annen godkjent pedagogisk utdanning	
Nei	

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9 Hvor mange av de ansatte i barnehagen er menn?	Hvis nei, hvor mange avdelinger? Merk: Ett siffer i hver rute
Merk: Ett siffer i hver rute	
Antall	Antall
_	13 Foregår det øvingsopplæring for
Hvor mange ansatte er det i barnehagen totalt? Merk: Ett siffer i hver rute	førskolelærerstudenter i din barnehage? Merk: Sett ett kryss
	🗌 Ja
Antall	□ Nei
	-
	14 Har barnehagen en plan for den enkelte ansattes
11 Hvor mange årsverk utføres av de ansatte i	utvikling? Merk: Sett ett kryss
barnehagen? Merk: Ett siffer i hver rute	☐ Ja
	Nei
Antall	
Er barnehagen avdelingsfri? Merk: Sett ett kryss	
🗆 Ja	
Nei	

Takk for hjelpen!



Ph.d.-graden i profesjonsstudier

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