Shades of Globalization in Three Early Childhood Settings

Views from India, South Africa, and Canada

Ailie Cleghorn and Larry Prochner

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Dedication

To the children of the world
in the hope
that they may stay local
while going global

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

AHS	Aboriginal Head Start (Canada)
AHSOR	Aboriginal Head Start On Reserve
AHSUNC	Aboriginal Head Start Urban and Northern Communities
AIHS	American Indian Head Start
ANHS	Alaska Native Head Start
AWC	Anganwadi centre
AWH	Anganwadi helper
AWW	Anganwadi worker
DoE	Department of Education
EC	early childhood
ECCE	early childhood care and education
ECD	early childhood development
ECE	early childhood education
FNMI	First Nations, Métis, and Inuit (Canada)
Grade R	Reception Year (South Africa)
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Services (India)
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
INAC	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada
L1	First Language
LoI	Language of Instruction
MoE	Ministry of Education
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OBE	Outcomes-Based Education
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

PREFACE

This book has been written for those who are interested in the diversity of children's lives and preschool experiences throughout the world. In addition to comparative and international education researchers, many readers are included: education and social policy makers, teacher educators, teachers, pre-service student teachers, daycare and preschool workers, parents, community leaders, governmental and nongovernmental organizations and consultants, early childhood program planners and evaluators, community development workers, university lecturers, developmental psychologists—the list goes on. As chapter 1 outlines, each of the eight chapters touches on a different aspect of the three case study preschools, one each in India, South Africa, and Canada.

When a book is authored by more than one person, often the reader has no idea as to the actual contributions of each author. This book was most definitely a joint enterprise, thus to locate one author's name before the other on the cover is quite misleading. Larry and Ailie contributed equally to chapter 1, while Larry took the lead on chapters 3, 5 and 6, and Ailie took the lead on chapters 2, 4, 7 and 8. Dr. Prerana Mohite and Namita Bhatt at the M.S. University of Baroda in India were contributing authors on chapters 2 and 3, and in addition provided factual input on the other chapters whenever needed. Dr. Nkidi Phatudi at the University of Pretoria provided details for sections of chapter 2, as well as factual data concerning South Africa's many policies in early childhood education and other areas. Chapter 5 is an adaptation of an article jointly written by Larry, Ailie, and Nicole Green, first published in the *International Journal of Early Years Education*. Nicole was then at the National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University in Singapore, and is now on the faculty of the University of New England in Australia.

THREE PRESCHOOLS: THREE COUNTRIES

INTRODUCTION

This book casts a socio-cultural and critical eye on early childhood policy and practice in three very different semi-rural settings, in India, South Africa, and a First Nations (Aboriginal) community in Canada. Our primary aim is to throw light on the myriad of ways in which two major trends intersect and play out in diverse ECCE settings. On the one hand, there is increased world-wide recognition of the validity of local, indigenous ways of knowing about, and working with, children. This is evident, for example, in the goals for quality education formulated by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's Education for All initiative. On the other hand, the forces of globalization, coupled with the legacy of colonialism, appear to militate against the inclusion of local knowledge and activities in early childhood programs.

In the following chapters, we draw on the policy analysis and ethnographic fieldwork of a triple case study that we carried out between 2004 and 2008 in the three countries. The intention is to illuminate the ways in which apparent differences in practice reflect common societal concerns: past and present political injustices; changes in the social meaning attached to racial, ethnic, and linguistic difference; strategies for preparing children for school in a changing world. Although policy documents tend to obscure differences in early childhood education, we suggest that differentiation at the local, cultural level persists, sometimes subtly, sometimes intentionally, in day-to-day practice.

Another purpose of this book is to raise questions and to give the reader pause. Although we do not specifically take a post-modern stance, from time to time, and especially in chapter 8, we will cast a critical eye back to some of the issues that the chapters touch on, using straightforward, clear language to do so. Thus the following chapters will be of interest to readers who are concerned with policy-practice issues, inclined to question universal prescriptions for best practice in education in general and in early childhood education in particular, and apt to think through some of the prevailing taken-for-granted assumptions about how early childhood environments should be organized and how the activities within them should be carried out.

In each country, the research was carried out within formal early childhood settings, organized by communities and sponsored by their governments to promote early childhood development and early learning. Although each setting provided various services, their predominant identity was as a preschool. Chapter 2 describes the physical and other features of the case study preschools, including a description of a typical day in each, and draws on historical data to show how the preschools

arrived at the point where we began our study.[1] The following chapters then take up a particular theme, examining it from the perspectives of the authors' observations and those of our collaborators and the participants in each setting. Chapter 3 outlines the policy and curriculum contexts, homing in, for example, on policy-practice accord or discord as the case may be, with particular regard to the theme of preparing children for school and for a changing world. An analysis of curriculum policy documents illuminates not only ideas that have been imported from the West, but also each country's vision of the kind of adult that schooling, starting at the preschool level, is intended to produce. Chapter 4 talks about the children, teachers, parents, and other adults, how they interact and relate to each other in the various situations and contexts, and what language or languages they use for what purposes. In chapter 5, we turn to the topic of the preschool spaces, how they are organized, and how materials are used and displayed within them. Chapter 6 takes a close look at the interplay between care and formal teaching, what we refer to as the paediatric-pedagogical dimension, as suggested in the work of Robert LeVine and others (1994).

Chapter 7 shifts to an analytical reflection on the foregoing chapters, picking up some of the recurrent themes of difference across the three early childhood settings. The intention here is to show how overt differences may hide similarities in attitude, for example, while superficial similarities may conceal deeply rooted cultural differences. In addition to a further examination of the preschools' spaces, indoors and out, we take a comparative look at the daily schedules, especially for the proportions of time allotted to care as contrasted to teaching activities. Following this, the chapter returns to the topic of possible policy-practice gaps and a discussion of indigenous and western influences on practice.

Finally, in chapter 8 we take a critical look at some of the global issues that the previous chapters have implicitly or explicitly raised. In particular we ask: What do these three settings tell us about the current global academic discourse about quality in early childhood settings? What do they tell us about increasingly global prescriptions regarding curricula, and about transitions from preschool to regular school? That is, what do these chapters suggest about how best to prepare children in some of the majority world's less developed communities to move from one cultural and linguistic context, the home and preschool, to the cultural and linguistic context of the school? Then, in the concluding part of this chapter, the reader will find a few ideas as to how early childhood policy makers and educators might stay local while going global—by identifying and then integrating those aspects of the global that will best enhance the local. We suggest that the verdict is not yet in as to the direction early childhood care and education is moving: towards greater uniformity of practice due to the spread of western ideas through teacher education, through policy borrowing and through access to and use of westernized curriculum materials, towards a greater celebration of the local and of local identities, or a hybrid of both.

Before moving on to chapter 2, it is necessary to define our terms, the key concepts, and the theoretical and other considerations that this book concerns.

WHAT DOES GLOBALIZATION MEAN?

This book explores the extent to which and in what ways globalization is affecting early childhood policy and practice in diverse settings. To research this question with regard to policy was a fairly straightforward matter: we gathered as many policy documents as possible about education in general and about early childhood care and education (ECCE), sometimes going back several decades. As chapter 3 describes, these were analysed thematically and comparatively as well as in the light of historical trends in each setting. This analysis served to highlight such matters as cultural values, conceptions of the child and childhood, the goals of education, visions of the kind of adult citizen that the education system aims to produce, ideas about the role of the teacher in preschools and in school communities, and so on.

Practice, however, is quite a different and more complex research matter. In order to obtain a reading on the multiple influences on teachers' actions within classroom settings, a researcher could conceivably administer a survey questionnaire to thousands of teachers. We believe, however, that the reasons underlying much of what teachers do, when, how, and why, lie outside the realm of consciousness. That is, teachers are products of the culture that they have been raised and educated in and this has formed deeply rooted beliefs in the teacher about how children are to be raised, how they learn, how they are to behave, when they may play, how adults and children are to interact, and what it means to be a teacher. A better way to obtain insight into this complex issue is to use ethnographic techniques to observe in and out of classrooms over a long period of time, and to talk informally with teachers on many occasions. In such ways, the researcher arrives at an understanding of what has been observed that includes the perspective of the participants, the teachers. This was essentially how we carried out our study.

Globalization Defined

Globalization has many meanings. Anthony Giddens (1990) defines globalization as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (p. 64). Stated differently, McGrew and Lewis (1992) view globalization as a process in which events, decisions, activities, and products in one part of the world can significantly affect communities and individuals in other parts of the world. Globalization thus involves a change in the way we understand geography and experience localness. Many of the activities that previously involved face-to-face interaction at the local level are now conducted across great distances, due to the ease of telecommunications, at least for those living in the industrialized, minority parts of the world. Globalization thus has integrative as well as divisive dimensions. On the one hand, there is the possibility of the emergence of larger, collective identities and shared meanings; on the other hand, there is bound to be persistence of local identities and meanings, due to the apparent human need for face-to-face interaction in familiar situations, for a sense of belonging and personal identity. It was in this sense that we considered globalization in the study that informed the writing of this book.

There are, however, many aspects to globalization, thus it touches the educational domain in many ways; these include educational policy borrowing and formation, the influence of technology in the classroom, the content of the textbooks used in teacher education, teaching practice, the content of the curriculum, and the selection and use of available teaching materials. The influence of globalization thus creates considerable grounds for debate, for example, about what the view of the child should be, and what constitutes quality in early childhood settings. What should be the priorities, school readiness with the emphasis on behavioural norms as well as pre-reading and pre-math, or care, play, socialization, and healthy development? Globalization may have serious implications for the content of the curriculum in teacher education, especially if the curriculum and texts have been imported from the West. To the extent that such content may be at odds with indigenous (local) views of the child and how children develop and learn, the impact on classroom practice may be great.

To ask if globalization is a good thing or not, is not the point; globalization has had an impact, and is certain to continue to influence the experience of teachers and learners in unpredictable and sometimes conflicting ways. In this regard, we see the three case study settings engaged in a process of social change, each in their own way. For example, over the last 25 to 30 years, Canada's First Nations (Aboriginal) peoples have received wide recognition with regard to the harsh assimilative schooling conditions that previous generations suffered during a process of internal colonization (Battiste, 2000; Blauner, 1972; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2003).[2] In South Africa, along with the end of apartheid in 1994 came the start of major changes in education policy, curricular reforms, the racial integration of schools, and the deployment of black teachers to formerly white schools, and white teachers to formerly all black schools. In India, relatively recent economic development has brought a plethora of technological changes to many communities and people's lives in the form of new media and communications.

Globalization, then, is often a code word for westernization and modernization, a phenomenon captured in the terms Disneyfication and McDonaldization (cf. Ritzer, 1993). As such, it has economic, social, cultural, and political elements. Of particular relevance here is the notion of universalization, a socio-cultural and economic process of spreading various objects, experiences, ideas and policies worldwide (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). Thus values and attitudes associated with capitalism and free enterprise, competition and individualism, are thought to spread the world over, undermining pre-existing cultures and local self-determination in the process, in a kind of neo-colonialization (Apple, 2003). One of the central questions in our study asked to what extent we find evidence of this in the case study preschools in India, South Africa, and Canada. For instance, we had our eyes open for cultural shifts from a communal orientation in which individual identity is tied directly to membership in the extended family and community group, to an individualistic orientation as evidenced by an emphasis on individual achievement, competition, and ideas of getting ahead, of social mobility. Certainly, as the reader will find in chapter 3, the analysis of policy documents clearly tied investments in early childhood education with nation-building, progress, and competing on the world stage.

Globalization involves the spread of the corporate brand across the world so that products are developed and then marketed in Toronto, Mumbai, and Johannesburg, as well as in small Inuit communities in Canada's North and rural villages in Africa. Brands like Coca-Cola, Nike, Sony, Nestlé and a host of others have become part of the fabric of people's lives almost everywhere, sometimes with seemingly benign results and sometimes with disastrous results (Klein, 2003, as cited in Barakett & Cleghorn, 2007). It was not long ago, for instance, in several parts of the majority world and in Africa especially, that Nestlé marketed its baby formula so successfully that mothers abandoned breastfeeding in favour of bottle-feeding, but often the only water that was available to mix the formula was contaminated; the infant death rate rose dramatically (WHO, Nov. 24, 2001). Another example is found in Canada's Native (Aboriginal) communities, where the incidence of child diabetes has skyrocketed along with the consumption of soft drinks such as Coca-Cola (Aboriginal Health Newsletter, 2008). Further, with the influence of popular culture, there has been an increased commercial effort to condition children and young people to construct their identities around brands. In our triple case study these aspects of globalization were mainly evident in the Canadian and South African settings, in the kinds of materials that were available to decorate classrooms, as well as in the ways they were displayed in relation to the available space. The reader will find more about this topic in chapter 5.

Globalization Influences Teachers

Globalization has the potential to influence teachers and how they work with young children in many ways. For example, western-generated theories about child development often form the basis of teacher training courses, the assumption being that these theories are universally applicable (Nsamenang, 2007). Teachers are also influenced by the recommended use of a specific EC approach, such as High/Scope or Montessori, through imported learning materials, including children's storybooks, puzzles, and plastic blocks, donated by a foreign non-governmental organization, and by being required to use a foreign language with children. In addition, teachers themselves are increasingly exposed via the media to the commercial trappings of western culture.

It is not only teachers who are affected directly by globalization; they must also deal with children who come to the classroom with visions of a very different world than that of the parents. Gupta (2008, p. 18) reports the experience of a teacher in an urban preschool in India:

> Children are being exposed to a lot of animated media (games), which is making them more aggressive and their interest in reading books is being affected. With the western culture being brought to India, the value system of respect and thoughtfulness is gradually disappearing … They try to copy that culture and parents are pressurized in this whole process.

Globalization also comes to educational settings through the remnants of the colonial era, post-colonialism, in India and South Africa. The experience of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, as just stated, has been one of internal colonization,

with significantly different effects which will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Post-colonial may be defined as "a juxtaposition, a continuing and complex interplay of ideas and practices between the colonizer and the colonized, between the West and the non-West, between the traditional and the modern, between the dominant and the marginalized" (Gupta, 2008, p. 13-14). Again with regard to her research of early childhood and primary school settings in urban India, Gupta notes the hybridity with which "teachers were interweaving elements of an ancient cultural philosophy that was still actively practiced, with elements of British colonial and American progressive educational perspectives" (p. 22).

Globalization Affects Families

Globalization directly affects the lives of families with young children. Myers (2001), for example, notes that programs for child care are nested in local, community, national, and cultural environments that affect the way children are cared for through various policies and laws, as well as through sets of beliefs about the ways children are to be raised. Majority world national and cultural contexts are in turn immersed in and influenced by globalization, through aid programs sponsored by international organizations such as UNICEF, the World Bank, and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). Globalization thus stands to have an impact at the local level on the preschools and other institutions that are established for the care and early education of children. These were but a few of the issues that we cast our ethnographic eyes upon in the early childhood settings that this book discusses.

In sum, globalization is a favourite catchword of journalists and politicians, used mainly as a shorthand way of describing the spread and connectedness of production (Smith & Smith, 2002). It is not a new phenomenon; rather, it has been present and increasing for centuries, linked to industrialization, migration, and urbanization, as well as advances in technology and communication, all of which are trends that are continuing across the world. The situation today is significantly changed, however, due to the volume of international trade and the speed of communication and technological developments, particularly those associated with transportation and the media. Globalization is promoted and stimulated by these trends and, in turn, reinforces and has an impact on them.

POLICY

A detailed comparative description of early childhood policy in India, South Africa, and Canada will be found in chapter 3 and further discussed in chapter 7. For the moment we need to be clear about what is meant by policy. A policy is a statement, plan or guide for action; it is not a law, however policies can become laws. Policies set out the position that a governing body, such as a government, school board or parent organization, has decided to take on a particular matter, often a controversial one. At the national level, a policy sets out the goals, objectives and guiding principles for action to which it will commit resources. National policies may take the form of frameworks that provide a context for coordination and inter-sectoral

priority setting, in a kind of top down/bottom up integration. In contrast, one finds stand-alone policies, especially in countries where social issues facing women and children are in urgent need of attention. In such cases policy development would be based, for instance, on studies of the situation of vulnerable children, on urban and rural differences in cultures and practice. In countries where economic constraints are severe, in the face of competition for scarce resources, it is sometimes a major challenge to garner the political will and to assign priority in the distribution of resources to the needs of young children, their care and early education.

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE

The word 'indigenous' is used in the following chapters interchangeably with the word 'local' when the reference is to local knowledge or local culture. Our understanding of the term comes mainly from the field of anthropology; it is also of considerable interest to comparative educators. There are several definitions of indigenous knowledge. Below are two with which we concur. Indigenous knowledge refers to

> A body of knowledge associated with long-term occupancy of a certain place … to traditional norms and social values as well as to mental constructs that guide, organize, and regulate the people's way of living. (Dei, Hall, & Rosenberg, 2000, p. 6)

> Indigenous knowledge reflects the dynamic way in which the residents of an area have come to understand themselves in relationship to their natural environment and how they organize that folk knowledge of flora, fauna, cultural beliefs and history to enhance their lives. (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999, p. 3)

Two concepts that facilitate our understanding of the way in which indigenous knowledge enters into teaching practice and teachers' work with children are surface culture and deep culture (Kuper, 1999). Surface culture refers to those aspects of culture that people are aware of and point to when asked what is particular about what they do or their way of life—language, symbols, stated beliefs, clothing, formal religion, rituals, holidays, artefacts, art, etcetera. Deep culture refers to the embedded meanings that are attached to surface culture elements through long-established attitudes, beliefs, values, procedures, patterns of behaviour, and norms. Deep culture may explain behaviours that appear to contradict stated beliefs, since behaviour stemming from deep culture may not be conscious, but can simply be what people consider normal or the way things are. One of the main reasons for using ethnographic research techniques is to obtain insight into the elements of deep culture, thus the concept is important to understanding evidently conflicting influences and seemingly opposing trends on teachers.

At the outset of this chapter, it was stated that the forces of globalization, along with post-colonial factors, appear to militate against the inclusion of local knowledge and activities in EC programs. Clearly, this book takes the position that local knowledge is important. Here are some reasons why we take this position.

Many international development experts are calling for educational programs that are rooted in the indigenous knowledge of local cultures while also providing the knowledge and skills that people now may need to live in a global world (Abdi & Cleghorn, 2005; Abagi, 2005; Anderson-Levitt, 2003; Cleghorn, 2005; Kendrick & Jones, 2008; Mkosi, 2005; Odora-Hoppers, 2002; Prochner & Cleghorn, 2005; Semali & Kincheloe, 1999; Shizha, 2005). This is because of the repeated and conclusive evidence that when there is a sharp discontinuity between the culture and language of the home and that of the school, children must cross many kinds of borders in the process of adapting to school. Border crossing refers to the ability to shift cognitively as well as culturally, and when possible, linguistically, from one worldview to another. Worldview refers to the taken-for-granted understandings that each cultural group holds about the world; it refers to a fundamental organization of the mind, a way of looking and of understanding (Aikenhead & Jegede, 1999; Anderson-Levitt, 2003; Cobern, 1998; Giroux, 1992; Heath, 1983; Nsamenang, 2004; Serpell, 1993). These borders are not only linguistic, cultural, and conceptual but social too, since teaching involves cultural transmission of the dominant, western ways of thinking as well as the transmission of behavioural norms into school settings (Apple, 1979; Mifflen & Mifflen, 1982; Waldrip & Taylor, 1999). Such home-school differences may thus place an exceptional cognitive load on the learner as they engage in what may be referred to as a process of 'triple translation' in order to understand the content and the routines of schooling. In turn, this process may also affect the role that the school can or should play in fostering individual and cultural identity, vastly increasing the risk of school failure (Leahy, Sweller, & Cooper, 2005; Merritt, Cleghorn, & Abagi, 1988; Nsamenang, 2008; Pence, Garcia & Evans, 2008; Sweller, 1994). We will return to these complex issues in chapter 8.

To elaborate a little more, increasingly throughout the world teachers are required to use English as the language of instruction (LoI). The LoI is often not yet known by the learners and moreover is not taught as a second or foreign language; rather, it tends to be used in the classroom in a 'submersion' manner, as if the learners are well on their way to knowing it.. This is particularly the case if the teacher is fluent in the LoI. In situations where the teacher is also a second language learner of the LoI, the situation is even more complex (Cleghorn, 2005; Cleghorn & Evans, 2009). In either case, since the students do not understand the classroom language, teachers may believe that they have no other choice but to resort to rote methods in order to have the children practice saying the words they do not yet understand. Such rote routines have been referred to as teachers' safetalk (Hornberger & Chick, 2001). While filling up teaching time, they tend to restrict the curriculum to disconnected bits of information, drastically affecting the emergent literacy abilities of the learners. Next, the behavioural norms of the school setting may have been imported along with the LoI and a colonial system of education. Thus for example, when at home children may be expected to remain quiet when visitors arrive and to seat themselves lower than the adults, at school they may be expected to jump to attention and call out loudly and in unison "Good morning M'am!" Similarly, what constitutes punishable behaviour at school

may be totally at odds with parental expectations at home (Shizha, 2005). These examples reflect but a few of our concerns about the importance of tying instruction to the actual knowledge and abilities of children in order to build from what is there, not from what is not there. The situation is not so very different for immigrant children in the West as they integrate linguistically and otherwise to the North American system of education (Dachyshyn & Kirova, 2008).

WHY COMPARE ECCE IN INDIA, SOUTH AFRICA, AND CANADA?

The reader might well ask what can be learned from a triple ECCE case study in three such different regions of the world. One reason is to look at similarities and differences in order to facilitate the making of distinctions. What influences from abroad and what changes from within a country in terms of economics or demography have affected ECCE policy and practice? By comparing the three sites we also provide a check on the ethnocentric lens that most of us unavoidably employ when looking at our own situations. Comparative research allows us to see what is specific to a setting and what is more general. We hope that the reader will gain a sense of what can or cannot (or should not) be changed with regard to working with young children, for example, in terms of social policies that affect them.

Case studies inevitably raise questions in readers' minds with regard to how representative a single setting can be. In that this study was a qualitative comparison of three very different preschool settings, in India, South Africa, and Canada, it did not in any way pretend to generalize its findings; rather, the intention was to address some general issues in the field of ECCE and to provide insights with regard to the local and global issues and concerns that the study has centred on, as outlined here. Each of the preschools is thus unique in its own way; however each is also embedded in a particular historical and cultural context. Chapter 2 elaborates those contexts.

Although the study was not in any way a comparative evaluation relating to the quality of the three ECCE settings, it is important to point out that our observations raise questions about how educators in the West tend to think about early childhood quality issues. We will return to this matter in chapter 8. For the moment, we ask that the reader not consider the details of the three settings in an evaluative way, but rather with interest in how things simply differ from one place to another, what these differences in practice may mean to the participants, and why they may persist.

NOTES

[1] In this project the video-taping day was taken as a main source of information about what constituted 'a typical' day in each centre, with the data corroborated by observations on many other days, as well as through discussions with teachers and observations in several other preschools.

[2] Hicks (2004, pp. 4-5) refers to internal colonization as intra-national exploitation of distinct cultural groups. Referring to Robert Blauner's earlier work, Hicks notes that internal colonization starts with forced involuntary entry into the dominant society. This is more than the result of culture contact, but involves a policy of transforming or destroying a way of life.

CHAPTER 2

LEGACIES OF COLONIZATION

In order to locate each of the study preschools in its respective historical and cultural context, this chapter will first give a brief, thumbnail sketch of their colonial histories. This will expand what was said in the introduction about the ways in which the settings have been marked by social change. These histories are quite different from one another, however, they contain certain similar elements. They are important for the relatively similar roles they have played in establishing patterns of dominance, suppression of indigenous ways of socializing children, and eventually for laying the foundation for resistance to that dominance and the concomitant revival, at least in South Africa and in Canada, of indigenous languages, cultures, patterns of child-rearing, and schooling. The legacies of these histories can be seen in the content of curricula, in teacher training programs, in the expectations for children's readiness to read. Some would argue that certain aspects of colonization are perpetuated via the global spread of policies such as outcomes-based education (OBE) (Jansen, 2002; Nsamenang, 2004), thus linking to the particular aspects of globalization with which this book is concerned.

The study from which this book stems began with a hint at the consequences of those histories: we suggested, along with others in the field, that global trends in ECCE seem to be moving in two directions at once. On the one hand there is increasing recognition of the validity of local ways of knowing and doing. On the other hand, the legacies of colonialism, whether externally imposed or internally generated, and operating through the processes of globalization, appear still to discourage the inclusion of indigenous knowledge and activities in ECCE programs. Stated differently, ECCE programs in many parts of the world appear to be "taking their cues from imported models that reinforce value shifts towards the individualistic, production-oriented cultures of the West" (Myers, 1992. p. 29). Our position is that this represents a serious loss for the schooling as well as for the identities of children in each setting. It represents an institutionalized, formal, and official perpetuation of the intentions of colonization, a legitimized way to cut people off from their roots. This is legitimized because in the minds of many educational planners, a western form of schooling, even at the preschool level, represents modernity, progress, and hope for the future. In addition, when local knowledge, games, songs, and other activities are excluded from the curriculum it becomes impossible for teachers to connect with what the child brings from home to school, to move children from the familiar to what is not yet known, despite what may have been the teachers' modern training in Vygotskian and constructivist principles of teaching and learning. Thus one of our research goals was to try to identify ways that educators, parents, and communities might better prepare children for formal schooling, although increasingly western in style, while

preserving the integrity of locally valued ways of knowing and of educating children. In each of the research settings, colonization has had an impact, at first on rudimentary and often socially or racially inequitable services provided for the care of children, and in due course but with marked variations, on the development of preschool programs whose primary purpose has become that of preparing children for a formal, western model of schooling. In the preschool in India, this was less the case than in Canada or South Africa.

THE THREE SETTINGS IN THE CONTEXT OF THEIR STORIES OF COLONIZATION

Canada – Little Lake Preschool

As outlined by Armitage (1995) with regard to Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, there are several quite similar stories to be told concerning the history of British colonization. In the West, colonization began with Columbus' 1492 arrival in the West Indies and the establishment of semi-permanent fishing settlements. By the early 1500s there were small permanent settlements for the extraction of natural resources and for trade with Aboriginal peoples. It was not until the seventeenth century that contact with Aboriginal peoples, in what later became Canada, began. By the early nineteenth century the process of colonization and expansion was worldwide. All European powers were involved, but Britain dominated the greatest amount of territory. By today's standards, Britain in the nineteenth century was very ethnocentric. It was a hierarchical society with strictly defined social class divisions, concerned with controlling those who were considered outside the accepted economic structure—the poor in Britain and Aboriginal peoples in the colonies. Laws and social policies were established to protect them, to prepare them via organized Christianity for full British citizenship through enfranchisement. These ideas fuelled the expansion of the British Empire, the nation-building of the colonies, and the felt need to preserve the colonizers' security within the colonial borders—by military force if necessary. At the time of contact with the British, Indigenous Nations were self-sustaining, self-governing Nation states. When direct conflicts arose many Aboriginal peoples were simply killed. If not killed, their lands were taken and their life-styles were controlled by missionaries in the effort to convert them to Christianity.

Britain's 1837 *Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines* exemplifies the attitudes of the day and the rationale behind the colonizers' actions.

> It is not to be doubted that this country [Britain] has been invested with wealth and power, with arts and knowledge, with the sway of distant lands, and the mastery of restless waters, for some great purpose in the government of the world. Can we suppose otherwise than that it is our office to carry civilization and humanity, peace and good government, and above all, the knowledge of the true God, to the utmost ends of the earth? (as cited in Armitage, 1995, p. 3)

The 1837 House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines set the stage for the treatment of First Nations children in Canada. It was believed that children offered the best means to ensure that Aboriginal peoples would be prepared for the responsibilities of Christianity, civilization, and British citizenship. Child welfare policy was used as a means of managing families by separating the children of paupers from their parents to provide children for domestic service and trade apprenticeships. These measures were extended to orphans, truants, children of unmarried mothers, abusive or neglectful parents, and Aboriginals. For children this meant life in boarding school, residential care, foster homes, or as an adoptee in Britain or in one of the colonies.

The children of Aboriginals were removed from their families so the dominant culture could attain its objectives—"to the utmost ends of the earth." It was only in the second half of the twentieth century that removing children from their parents in order to change a people and a culture came to be recognized as an act of oppression, a type of genocide, as established in the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.[1] However, it is of note that on February 23, 2007, the Assembly of First Nations and the First Nations Child and Family Caring Society filed an official complaint with the Canadian Human Rights Commission based on the findings of the Wen:de study. The Wen:de report stated that there were three times the number of children in child welfare and foster care today than at the height of the residential schools, and that Aboriginal peoples are overrepresented in federal and provincial penal institutions. These institutions continue to cut people off from their families, language, culture, and local knowledge (First Nations Child and Family Caring Society of Canada, 2005).

The paternalistic 'save the child' philosophy was an inappropriate response to Aboriginal problems, perceived or real. While children were in care or residential schools they were separated from their own language, culture, and local knowledge, and they received only a rudimentary education. They were deprived of the influence of their own parents, and the chance to care for their siblings. Physical and sexual abuse was rampant in many institutions, thus creating patterns of violence between and towards children that became part of the parenting behaviour of subsequent generations, well into the present (Armitage, 1995).

The turning point came in the 1960s, along with Civil Rights and Feminist movements, including the Quiet Revolution in Quebec.[2] Aboriginal peoples became more vocal in their resistance to having their land rights extinguished and they rejected the child welfare policies that were imposed in the name of assimilation and integration. The results of this history are very much with us today. There are now comprehensive efforts among the First Nations and other Aboriginal peoples to establish alternative Aboriginal policies, to modify mainstream child welfare policies and, as can be seen in the aims, materials, and activities of this study's First Nations preschool, to re-establish roots and identity. There is however much recovery still to come, since relations with the federal government remain strained.

The Aboriginal peoples were robbed of their resources and confined to marginalised areas that were of little use to the settlers. They did not choose to live as a minority within an alien culture; in Ogbu's (1991) terms, they lived as an

involuntary minority. To this day the general living conditions for immigrant groups (voluntary minorities) are better than those of Aboriginal peoples who still must fight for influence on the policies that are developed on their behalf by the federal government; these are constant reminders of the fact that their views have been consistently disregarded.

Little Lake's Location

The Little Lake preschool meets in several rooms of an administrative building in a First Nations community in western Canada. The community's right to the land was established as a result of treaty negotiations with the crown in the nineteenth century. It is designated an Indian reserve as defined by the *Indian Act* (Department of Justice Canada, 1985). The setting is distinctly rural, with individual residences separated by bush or farmland. A cluster of homes is situated near the centre of the community, which includes the administrative building, health clinic, child-care centre, and the preschool. The elementary and high school sits on its own about a kilometre distant from the administrative centre of the community. The building housing the preschool was constructed in the 1980s, and it is also used for community meetings, parent education groups, and other functions. There have been few modifications for its use by young children, though outdoors there is a large, fenced play area for the exclusive use of the preschool. The front door enters directly into the single classroom, with a large group meeting area on one side and various play centres located throughout the space. Child-sized tables and chairs are situated at the opposite side of the room near the kitchen. They are used for seating at breakfast and lunch time and for arts and crafts at other times. The other rooms in the preschool are a teachers' office with windows looking into the classroom, a washroom with a child-sized toilet, and a storage room.

The preschool operates two half-day programs with a total of approximately fifteen children enrolled in each. The focus for this study was the morning class, which was the younger group of children, mostly aged four. Many of the children in this class attended kindergarten in the community school in the afternoon. Subsequent to the study, the enrolment of the preschool has shifted to include two half-day classes with four-year-old children. This was done in response to a change at the community school, to implement a full-day kindergarten for five-year-olds and eliminate the kindergarten for the younger children.

Most children arrived at the preschool between 9:00 and 9:30 a.m.. The preschool staff, the coordinator, assistant teacher, and cook, arrive about 30 minutes before the children to prepare the classroom and the children's breakfast. The minibus driver works at the preschool as a second assistant teacher, coordinating the arts and crafts. The staff are employed ten months per year, with the preschool closed in July and August.

Little Lake preschool includes children with challenging behaviours, and staff have evolved strategies for working with them based on cultural knowledge combined with more conventional behavioural techniques, such as modelling. In some instances, children who have been suspended from the community school

kindergarten for their behaviour have been accommodated at the preschool. The approach to accommodating and working with children with special needs reflects the coordinator's background as a health care provider and her training in child development, as well as community values that include all children.

The children all reside with their parents or extended family in the First Nations community. Most children speak English with their parents at home, and only a few parents are fluent in the local language. The coordinator, who is a local language speaker, uses English and the Aboriginal language with the children, both in formal teaching and informal situations. For example, labels for the days of the week and months would be said in English and then in the Aboriginal language.

A Typical Day at Little Lake[3]

The majority of the children are brought to the preschool by the minibus and have at most a 30 minute ride. The driver, a preschool staff member, accompanies the children into the classroom where they leave their outdoor clothing and bags in individually marked cubbies. The morning begins with breakfast, served to the children at their tables by the preschool staff. A second meal, a hot lunch, is served about two hours later before the children leave for home or the community school kindergarten. After breakfast, the program begins with a formal group-time including smudging and prayers. Smudging is a ceremony in which grasses are lit to produce some smoke. The container of smoking grass is presented to each child in turn, who use their hands to waft the smoke towards themselves in order to cleanse their hearts and minds.

A sample schedule of the morning activities is included below. However, it is not rigidly followed, and for much of the time children play at a variety of learning centres of their choice. Learning centres involving pre-academic work as well as the craft of the day are required for all children; the staff invite children individually to work with them at these centres over the course of the morning. Most mornings include play outdoors or a nature walk.

Table 1. Sample Schedule at Little Lake

Time	Activity
9:30 a.m.	Arrival
9:35	Snacks (breakfast)
9:45	Morning circle; sweet grass, prayer by Elder or director; greetings; songs; special announcements
10:35	School Readiness
10:50	Gross motor
11:10	Story time
11:20	Group work
11:45	Lunch
12:15 p.m.	Home time

Teaching at Little Lake

As an Aboriginal Head Start preschool, the staff does not require teacher certification, which in Canada is managed provincially. However, as a preschool program Little Lake is subject to licensing requirements for child care programs, including the same staff qualification requirements. Training for child care staff is assessed at different levels. At the time of the study, the basic requirement was a two-year college diploma in early childhood education. All staff at Little Lake have undertaken some course-work in early childhood education. The Director and classroom aide have nearly completed their diplomas through part-time studies over a period of several years. Whereas college training in ECCE is typically oriented toward developmentally appropriate practice, the Little Lake staff use a variety of methods, including direct instruction for teaching pre-academic skills during group time. Staff use culturally-appropriate teaching strategies purposefully, based on their understanding of learning styles, spirituality, and the importance of community and relationships.

In the Aboriginal Head Start program, curriculum is created by each community for its preschool, in consideration of recommendations in the standards guide (Health Canada, 2005). At Little Lake, this was achieved using a formal process of consultations with community leaders, with further input on a regular basis from parents and staff. The result is a curriculum which does not clearly follow a single approach. It is, however, future oriented; staff are keen to prepare children for later school success via skill-training. This is consistent with the official AHS education component which includes school readiness.

What Does the Future Hold?

The AHS program was established in 1995 as an early intervention program for Aboriginal children living off-reserve in urban and northern communities, and extended to children on-reserve in 1998. Little Lake preschool dates from this period. Currently, funds are available for existing AHS programs only. An extensive review of Urban and Northern AHS programs was completed in 2006, but the results have not been made public. There has been no large-scale review of on-reserve programs. In general, the program has not been subject to any type of critical attention or evaluation. This situation was noted by the OECD (2004) review team in their report on Canada, who recommended

> that independent and regular evaluations of large programmes be undertaken, e.g. of Aboriginal Head Start, urban Aboriginal or community services within a region or large city, with the intention both of raising standards and forming staff. (p. 13)

It is notable, however, that in the report of the National Dialogue on Federal Aboriginal Early Childhood Development Strategy (Aboriginal Research Institute of Six Nations Reserve, 2005), involving Aboriginal stakeholders from across Canada, increased funding and program coordination were priorities, whereas

evaluation research received scant attention. More recently it appears that two trends are emerging. In early 2009, the INAC initiated projects on performance measurement, school success plans, and school evaluations, and secondly, there is apparent interest in establishing partnerships with provincial school boards as a possible means to off-load costs from the federal government to the provinces.

South Africa— Tshwane Preschool

South Africa was colonized first by the Dutch, soon after Jan van Riebeeck and 90 men landed in 1652 at the Cape of Good Hope. Within 10 years there was a small settlement of about 250 white people of Dutch origin (Beck, 2000). The Dutch made contact with the original Aboriginal peoples the San ('bushman') hunter-gatherers and the Khoi ('Hottentot') peoples, who herded livestock. In the early 1700s, Dutch farmers moved north and east, pushing the Khoi and San into service for the colonists while forcing them from their lands. Slaves were also brought in from East India, Madagascar, and Malaysia; a mixed-race population was eventually created through intermarriage. By the late eighteenth century, the Dutch had been joined by German and French Huguenots who were Protestants. An Afrikaner nation emerged as the Dutch colonizers, along with the less populous German and French, began to lose their attachment to Europe. There were many clashes with Bantu speaking groups, and between several of the Bantu groups themselves.

The British took over from the Dutch in 1795 and again in 1806 after a brief resurgence of Dutch control. Conflicts continued, especially with the Xhosa, one of the larger Bantu-speaking groups. With the arrival of British missionaries and the emancipation of slaves in 1834, British legal dominance began. The Afrikaners resisted British colonial rule along with its rather superficial form of racial egalitarianism. At about the same time, several black kingdoms, with whom there was much conflict, lost the struggle against white control. Reserves were created under traditional African law, but outside the reserves British control was the rule; it was non-racial in theory but excluded most people of colour in practice.

After nearly annihilating the San and Khoi, Bantu-speaking peoples and European colonists opposed one another in a series of ethnic and racial conflicts that continued until the democratic transformation of 1994. Conflict among Bantu-speaking chiefdoms was as common and severe as that between black and white. In resisting colonial expansion, black African rulers formed powerful kingdoms by incorporating neighbouring chieftaincies. The result was the consolidation of the Zulu, Xhosa, Pedi, Venda, Swazi, Sotho, Tswana, and Tsonga nations. Similarly formed was the fairly large Indian population that had developed as a result of the import of indentured labourers from India for the sugar cane plantations. Those of Dutch descent, although also white, began to see themselves as Afrikaners. Due to their disagreement with British legislation and control, they moved into the interior of the country by ox wagon. This white migration is commonly known as the Great Trek of 1835.

With the on-going conflicts between the Afrikaners and British, Afrikaners gained a degree of independence under Paul Kruger, president of the Transvaal (former name of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek). However, when gold was discovered in 1886 and the arrival of large numbers of British, there was an increased threat to Afrikaner independence. This resulted in the Anglo-Boer/South African War in 1899, during which one half million British soldiers took on 65,000 Boers with black South Africans pulled in on both sides. The Boers engaged in guerrilla war tactics against the British who followed a scorched earth policy and introduced concentration camps as a measure to break the support the Boers were given by those on the farms. The result was that thousands of Boer women, children, blacks and coloureds died.

The Union of South Africa was established in 1910. There were 6 million inhabitants of which about 20% were white, 67% black, 9% coloured and 2.5% Asian. The African National Congress (ANC) came into being in 1912, beginning many years of resistance to white control. The 1913 Land Act reserved 90% of the land for white ownership. Skilled jobs were reserved for whites. The ANC supported Britain's role in the First World War in the hope of gaining their support; hundreds of black soldiers died. By the 1930s when blacks were moving into the cities, laws were passed to segregate black and white residents. In 1948 the Afrikaner Nationalist party came to power with the vote against British imperialism, introducing more and more repressive laws.

The 1950s saw increasing resistance led by the ANC and culminating in the jailing of leaders such as Nelson Mandela. The policy was one of separate development with the black populations divided into ethnic groups, each with its own restricted area or township from which they could not leave without 'passes.' A state of emergency came in 1960 when the ANC organized a passive anti-pass campaign that turned violent in Sharpeville, with many killed. When the Afrikaans leader Verwoerd took South Africa out of the British Commonwealth in 1961 the UN General Assembly imposed economic sanctions. Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others were sentenced in 1964 to life imprisonment for having led the underground resistance. The ANC continued to operate anyway. Verwoerd was assassinated, and segregation was more strictly enforced. In 1976 the youth of Soweto marched, ostensibly against being taught in Afrikaans. More violence followed, and in 1977 Steve Biko's murder by police brought the situation fully to the world's attention.

Apartheid finally ended when then President de Klerk lifted restrictions on the ANC and other opposition groups and released Mandela from prison. The first democratic election was held in 1994. The ANC won and Nelson Mandela became President of South Africa.

South Africa's history has moved quickly from near absolute white control and near complete division of the races to a more unified nation with the majority black population in charge—a nation whose dream is one of unity in the face of extreme diversity; there are now 11 official languages. The effects of this history on the schooling of black children in particular have been profound and they persist today. While white communities in South Africa had developed along the lines of the

other colonies, with the establishment of western school systems and social welfare policies to protect children, little investment was put into educational services for black children. For example, in the 1970s about 2% of South Africa's education budget went to schools for black children (Beck, 2000). In addition to violent reaction against apartheid, one can still observe the legacy of colonization in the all-black township communities outside the major cities, within their schools and preschools. It is here we see a paucity of books within which children can find images of themselves or familiar situations portrayed. It is in the organization of classrooms and the presence of few materials that we see very little that says, "This is South Africa." It is here that we see a language-in-education policy that is meant to build and reinforce group and individual identities, while unity is being promoted through increasing teaching via English.

Although much more will be said about policy and curriculum matters in chapter 3, a little background is needed here. The dawn of the new democracy in 1994 brought children's rights to the centre stage of South African politics for the first time. The country's Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) guarantees all children equal rights. According to Section 29 (a) of the Bill of Rights, "everyone has the right to basic education." This statement opened the doors for all young children to participate actively in education. As the reader will see in chapter 3, the Department of Education developed legislation and policies that are critical in entrenching and sustaining the rights of the child. White Paper No. 1 on Education and Training (1995) paved the way for the introduction of the Interim Policy of Early Childhood Development, which gave rise to the launching of the three-year National Reception Year Pilot Project (1997-1999). This pilot project was undertaken to investigate a national system for a year-long program of public provisioning of early childhood development, namely the reception year[4] (Grade R) for five to six-year-olds (DoE, 1995) in disadvantaged areas. The long-term goal of the government was that by 2010 all learners entering Grade 1 should have participated in an accredited Reception Year program. In order to be accredited, a centre must comply with requirements of several government departments, including minimum staff qualifications. Achievement of the government's goal thus remains an ongoing challenge since the majority of centres are still unregistered and unlicensed.

The Nationwide Audit of ECD Provisioning in South Africa (DoE, 2001c) revealed that less than 26% of preschool teachers, most of whom were black, held qualifications recognized by the DoE, suggesting that many preschool teachers lacked the training and background experience to be effective practitioners in the new South Africa's burgeoning number of preschools. The preschools were and are being looked to as a means to improve children's readiness for school, and to combat what was perceived as a problem of 'maladjustment' on the part of many black children, in particular. There are two lingering problems however. One is that there has yet been little thinking at higher levels to adjust schools to children, rather than children to schools. As the following quote from a speech by the Minister of Education in 2005 suggests, the problem is seen to lie within the child.

Our particular challenge here is that nearly a quarter of our children under 5 are stunted and one in 10 underweight for their age. The youngest and those in rural areas are worst affected. We know that maternal education is the key to child survival and that women in rural areas have suffered most from the legacy of inadequate education under apartheid.

What this means is that many children are simply unprepared for the transition to formal schooling. And the evidence is clear for all to see in the results of the key competency tests, like the one last year that found more than 60% of Grade 3s in the Western Cape are not achieving literacy and numeracy levels required by the national curriculum and 15% could not read or calculate at the most basic level.[5]

Another problem is that the condition of the preschools varies enormously. This affects children's experience prior to entering Grade R where, at least theoretically, some form of equity can be reached via the Grade R curriculum (the Revised National Curriculum Statement of 2004) that was designed for all. The majority of teachers who are now responsible for teaching in Grade R have undergone retraining on the official mandated curriculum; the quality of that training, however, is reputed to be quite uneven (Phatudi, 2007).

As evidence that a colonial mindset continues, in May of 2003 the same Minister of Education stated, "We begin with the teaching and the understanding in early childhood of nursery rhymes, such as: Baa, Baa, Black Sheep…."[6] One might ask if there is not a more suitable rhyme to be found, perhaps in several of South Africa's languages.

Tshwane Preschool's Location

What does Tshwane preschool look like and to what extent is it similar to or different from other preschools in the region?[7] Tshwane is located on a large piece of property in a former black township (a town) about 45 kilometres from a major city. The roads are roughly paved and lined with small cement block or brick bungalow houses. There are few green spaces or trees. The preschool building is a solid, well-built single storey red brick structure. There is a large playground with some climbing equipment at the back and a small vegetable garden. Inside there are four classrooms, a large kitchen, a bathroom with child-sized toilets and sinks, an office for the principal, and a room which was being turned into a sick room. On the hallway walls there are many posters, six of which are about HIV/AIDS prevention.

Tshwane preschool evolved over the years from being housed in a church in 1985, then in a poorly-built small building (1987-1995), and eventually to its present location and solid condition. The initiative of establishing the school came from the principal, whom the school is named after. She is a qualified teacher who is registered with the teachers' professional organization, the South African Council of Educators (SACE). As a primary school teacher, the principal recognized that

something needed to be done for the children who were seen to be loitering on the streets without adult supervision or anything to do. She raised her concerns with the local Lutheran church minister who then consulted the membership. Eventually, the church decided to use its building as a preschool since it was not used during week days. She became the first teacher and principal of the school. With the support of the school and local community, the preschool gradually raised sufficient funds to purchase a plot of land. The first structure close to its present location was, in the principal's words, a tin shack, very hot in the summer months and bitter cold in the winter. The principal embarked on a fundraising drive and by 1996 the walls of a brick structure were up. With the assistance of an Irish group who donated money for the roofing, the school was completed in time for the 1996 intake. Today the school boasts four classrooms including one for toddlers.

Within the preschool there is a fresco type of painting in the central hallway area depicting the principal's experience as a preschool teacher from her days in Botswana to the school as it is today in South Africa. During apartheid, the surrounding area was a homeland for the Batswana people. At that time, ECE enjoyed subsidization from the government. Tshwane preschool benefited from this arrangement. It had three qualified teachers, including the principal, who were paid by the government.

The classrooms each contain a teacher's table, small tables and chairs for children, a carpeted or linoleum area for the whole group to sit on the floor, small cupboards for their belongings, teacher-made posters of letters and numbers, as well as children's art work on the walls. Several of the posters depict white people or racially ambiguous people, such as the one displaying "Our body." The few dolls in play corners are white. More will be said about materials and space in chapter 5.

Tshwane served about 110 children from 18 months to age 6. The children were grouped into separate classrooms by age. The focal grade was Grade R (reception year), designated as the school preparation year. By the end of the study, the Grade R class had been moved into the local public school, in line with South Africa's policy of providing a reception year for all. The children arrive between 7 and 8 in the morning and leave around 1:00 p.m., while some stay for what is referred to as after care, until about 5:00 p.m. The after care program is mainly custodial, allowing children to take a nap and providing them with a snack. This costs 2 rand per day.

The principal arrives early in the morning to be there for the few children whose parents must leave them as they go into the city for work. Breakfast is provided by the preschool. Similarly, she alone stays until 6 p.m. most days until the few parents who work in the city are able to pick up their children. The principal was clearly very proud of the school and dedicated to it and its children. For example, when children are sick she takes them to a nearby clinic that is free. She also reported that parents who are too poor to pay the fees volunteer to do things at the centre—clean the grounds and windows, or look after the garden. They do not have to be asked. This suggests a strong community spirit and good

school-parent relations. The school enjoys government support for teacher salaries—7000 rand per month (about $1000) for the Grade R teacher. The principal's salary is the same as that of a regular school principal.

Tshwane welcomes children with special needs. Approximately 10% of the children are AIDS orphans, being cared for by grandmothers. They are exempt from fees. During the years of the research project there were three children with Down Syndrome, one of whom was the size of a three-year-old though she was six at the start of the study, and still attending the preschool when the study ended four years later. When she came to the school at age 4, she could not walk. Now she walks and talks and is reported to be very active. All the children come from the neighbouring township where there is a high rate of unemployment. Parents are mainly working class with limited education, most often dropouts from high school or primary school. Many of the parents are younger women (18-25) who are on social grants (welfare) and not working. The principal reported that she sometimes has to prod the young mothers who receive their funds on the 18th of the month so that they can then pay the school fees of 170 Rand per month (about $30), the next day. The home language of the majority of the children is Setswana; this is also the language of learning and teaching, observed to have been mixed with some English in Grade R, to prepare the children for school where they will be taught via English.

A Typical Day at Tshwane

The school day at Tshwane commences as early as seven o'clock in the morning. Some parents drop off their children before catching the early train, bus, or taxi to town for work. Most of the children are however brought to the school by taxi vans and some by older school-going siblings. They are welcomed by the teachers at the entrance or go straight to class. As Table 2 suggests, the day starts with breakfast as most of the children come to school with empty stomachs.

Table 2. Sample Schedule at Tshwane, Morning Program

Time	Activity
7:00 a.m.	Staff arrival
8:00	Pupils arrive
8:10	Independent activity
9:00	Breakfast
9:30	Morning 'rug-time': greetings, devotion, weather, discussion
10:00	Activity (story, music, movement)
11:00	Developmental 'rug-time'
11:30	Pre-reading skill, pre-writing skill, number concepts
12:00	Lunch, rest
1:00 p.m.	Departure

Three meals are provided as the children spend most of the day at school. Breakfast is followed by a prayer and morning circle, a story telling or reading activity. This is followed by free choice activities, then creative activities done both inside and outside the classroom. The teacher reads a story from a big book. Due to the lack of African language books, the teacher sometimes reads from an English book with Setswana words pasted over the English text. The stories are normally discussed in Setswana. The normal daily program which teachers reported was obtained from NGOs is followed. This includes literacy, numeracy, and life skills time slots, free play activities, singing, outdoor play and creative activities. The formal program ends with a story and lunch. Those who go home are fetched by siblings, taxis, or parents, while those who remain behind are given small mats to sleep on. Rest time is followed by outdoor play or, if weather does not permit, free play indoors. The formal preschool schedule ends at 1:00 in the afternoon, however many stay afterwards for after care, as mentioned earlier. The schedule above was followed loosely.

Teaching in Grade R

During the time of the research project, the 2004 Revised National Curriculum was being trialled and implemented. Thus what we observed was in a state of transition, with elements of the new Grade R curriculum which emphasizes preliminary skills in literacy, numeracy and life skills mixed with the preschool daily program that preceded its implementation. Much of this program reflected the influence of non-governmental organizations that, during the apartheid days, kept early childhood development programs running in the townships. Thus one can identify elements of Montessori, High/Scope and Reggio Emilia principles, adapted at times to the culture, traditions, values, and backgrounds of the children. Purchased materials are complemented by home- and self-made materials.

Given the large number of unqualified and under-qualified teachers, implementing the official curriculum is a significant challenge. In studies conducted by Botha, Maree and De Witt (2005), which focused on mathematics activities and Phatudi (2007), which examined transitions, it was found that despite the teachers being in relatively well-resourced schools they still found it difficult to follow the curriculum. Botha et al. (2005) reported that although the curriculum change required teachers to specifically plan mathematics activities, teachers were ignoring it. Phatudi (2007) found formal activities, particularly the use of worksheets, prominent in Grade R classrooms.

Since preschools fall outside the jurisdiction of the education ministry, Grade R classes in preschool centres are not monitored by government officials, allowing them to adapt the curriculum and activities to local perceptions of the needs of the children. This appeared to be the case at Tshwane preschool, despite the fact that the Grade R teacher had undergone training provided by the Provincial DoE. With the development of a universal Grade R system within the public schools, subject to government monitoring, this local adaptability would appear to be lost.

Teacher Qualifications

According to the Nationwide Audit on ECD (2000), nearly 70% of South Africa's teaching corps has no formal, recognized qualifications. With the Skills Development Act of 2003 the government introduced funding to standardize qualifications and thus to upgrade teacher qualifications. Learnerships were offered via service providers such as NGOs by the Education, Training and Development Practices (ETDP) Sector Education and Training Authority (SETA) funded by compulsory contributions of 1% of employer payrolls. These learnerships are work-based and therefore compel whoever registers to complement her/his classroom teaching and learning with a practical component of teaching in a preschool. There is a stipend attached to the learnerships, so that teachers can earn a salary for its duration.

Physical Resources of Tshwane

Tshwane preschool, despite being located in a working class township, is relatively well resourced with posters, building blocks, puzzles, paint, crayons, swings, a jungle gym, and many other materials. These church and NGO-donated resources create room for a variety of activities which enrich learning so that Tshwane preschool is reputed to be of high quality. Our observations carried out in several other preschools for comparative purposes would concur with this view. As noted above, the Grade R teacher now holds formal qualifications due to recent upgrading made available at the provincial level, and the principal is a certificated primary school teacher. The introduction of the official Grade R curriculum has given teachers guidance and confidence in knowing that what they are doing is approved. One teacher referred to the 2005 Curriculum Guide as "her bible." Anecdotal reports from local primary schools suggest that Tshwane children are considered to be well prepared for formal schooling.

What Does the Future Hold?

Many Grade R classes have now been moved out of preschool settings and into government primary schools. This is a very recent key change in the preparation of South Africa's children for formal schooling that demands observation and description in light of the findings of studies such as the one this book is based on. Of note is the fact that educational policy in the post-apartheid South Africa has borrowed from a western model of outcomes-based education (OBE). This is reflected in the Grade R policy for assessment standards in which children are expected to "differentiate between play and useful tasks at home," and "participate in creative activities that will stimulate entrepreneurial thinking (e.g. drawing, cutting, singing, playing, talking)" (Dept. of Education, 2008).

 Tshwane preschool provides a concrete example of the kind of social change that has taken place in South Africa since the end of apartheid; however, the viability of Tshwane preschool is, at this writing, precarious. Its location fell into the area that was reassigned to another province due to the government re-demarcation of

provincial boundaries. This meant that all the privileges it previously enjoyed were withdrawn as new authorities assumed control. The Grade R class was moved from the preschool to the nearby public primary school, as per Ministry of Education policy to make Grade R accessible to all. Qualified teachers in preschools who were paid by the government are being relocated to primary schools. In addition, the number of children attending Tshwane is dropping as more and more children are bussed to city schools. With the end of apartheid parents in the townships started bussing their children to formerly all-white suburban schools that enjoyed good reputations for offering quality education. This has resulted in the depopulation of township schools with many closing their doors or merging with neighbouring ones, further reducing their quality and connectedness to local communities, local traditions and languages.

India— Sunbeam Anganwadi

British colonization of India remains as one of the most influential phases of her history. From the early sixteenth century, India witnessed a steady influx of foreigners. Their interests varied in purpose and approach. The Portuguese established the first European trading centre in Kollam, Kerala, followed by Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese sailor who established a trading centre in Goa in 1510. The Dutch, British, and French entered at the beginning of the seventeenth century, primarily for trade. The erstwhile Mughal Empire faced a decline in the early eighteenth century and the Europeans gradually took over certain regions of the country.

India had a fairly vast number of provinces, each functioning under a large or a small kingdom. The kingdoms were often wealthy, expansive, and lacked co-ordination and a unifying governing body. Battles frequently ensued, with assertion of power, capture and expansion of territories, and amassment of wealth as primary motives. The British forces in India at the time had a major task of guarding the British East India Company property. The Battle of Plassey on 23 June 1757 changed this. Although inferior in number to the Bengal armed forces, the British forces were approached by a commander in chief of the army of the Nawab of Bengal. The strategy was to demand logistical support to overthrow the Nawab in return for trade grants. Under the command of Robert Clive, the forces betrayed the Nawab and helped defeat him. The commander-in-chief was installed on the throne as a ruler, but not without a price. The potential to conquer smaller Indian kingdoms was soon realized by the British and served to mark the beginning of the colonial era. By the early nineteenth century, the British exerted direct or indirect control over all of present-day India. Consequently, the influence of the British extended in all spheres ranging from railroads and communications, education, and schooling to the social fabric of the society.

The colonial era of the British was popularly known as the *British Raj*. The extent of its impact on education is described by Chaudhary (2009), who reports that over the course of the nineteenth century, the indigenous system of schooling in British India was replaced by the new state system of education developed by the East

India Company until 1857, and was controlled by the British Crown from 1858 to 1919. The provision of primary education was decentralized and left to local governments, such as rural and urban municipal councils in the early 1880s. However, the pedagogy and philosophy guiding education during the colonial period remained as a debateable issue. The only opportunities for elementary education in the nineteenth century were provided by non-government schools established by western Christian missions and Indian social and religious reform organizations.

Oriental learning, which was a classical learning in local, indigenous languages, was promoted by a few eighteenth century officials who had become scholars of languages such as Persian, Tamil, and Sanskrit. The *anglicists* on the other hand, advocated the introduction of institutions for western learning based upon the British curriculum with English as the medium of instruction (Zastoupil & Moir, 1999). The anglicists outnumbered the orientals and by the early nineteenth century English was made the official language of government business. Scrase (1993) maintains that by the middle of the nineteenth century, colonial education policy had enforced the recommendations that schooling should be in English, with the promotion of European and British ideas and values, and that the state should control education at every stage. English still remains and maintains a dominant position in Indian social and commercial life.

Self-government was introduced in the 1860s by British officials representing direct rule by the Crown. This led to a shifting of financial responsibility for education to a growing Indian middle class. While the local educational spending was directed towards the education of urban boys for professions, rural and girl's education suffered a major setback. Families often chose to send their daughters to 'all girls' educational institutions where schools followed a general curriculum and the medium of instruction were the vernacular languages.

The twentieth century saw a growing nationalist movement gaining support from Indian leaders. One of the goals was to develop nationalist educational paradigms and challenge the colonial model of education. Mahatma Gandhi instilled the idea of teaching basic literacy in vernacular languages to the majority of the population. The slow but steady reform movement gradually developed into the Indian Independence Movement. The independence movement attained its objective with the independence of India on the 15 August 1947. The fight for freedom from colonialism meant that major decisions pertaining to a shift in educational ideologies waited until after 1947.

Addressing important issues related to education and schooling has been a significant part of the Indian constitution since independence. The need for early intervention on behalf of children, especially those from economically marginalized communities, has been well recognized. India reached a population of one billion in 2001. It has the largest child population in the world. However, the overall level of human development is considered to be quite low.

A National Focus Group on Early Childhood Education (2006) report notes that India has a wealth of traditional practices in ECCE that date back almost 5,000 years, although the formal documentation occurred only in the latter half

of the nineteenth century. Several provisions in the constitution of India, either as fundamental rights or as directive principles of state policy are utilized to promote ECCE services in the country. As a sequel to the adoption of the National Policy for Children (1974), the Government of India evolved the Integrated Child Development Services Scheme, popularly abbreviated as ICDS. Over a period of time, this centrally sponsored scheme of ICDS, which came into existence in 1975 in 33 selected community development blocks of the country, has come out as one of the innovative programmes of its kind and the largest public initiative in the world to offer the early childhood education and care services in an integrated way (Working Group on Development of Children for the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, 2007). The basic premise of this centrally sponsored and state administered nation-wide program, revolves around the common consensus among educationists, researchers, and practitioners that early childhood education and care are inseparable issues and must be considered as one. Based upon this fundamental assumption, the functioning of the program has been designed in such an integrated way so as to meet early childhood education and care needs on a continuum basis adopting a holistic approach (Working Group, 2007).

Sunbeam's Location

Sunbeam *anganwadi* is an ICDS program located about 40 kilometres from a large city in the state of Gujarat, in small town called 'Vallabh Vidyanagar.' The anganwadi is surrounded by a community comprized of working class families. The term anganwadi indicates a courtyard garden. Courtyards are a characteristic of a majority of Indian homes. In line with the non-formal approach of the ICDS, the preschools are named anganwadis, indicating a place where young children normally play. Typically, each anganwadi has its own single-storied building made of cement and bricks. A small portion of the room, usually at the back, is used as a storage area for food, resources for children, and supplements for pregnant women and lactating mothers, and iron-folate tablets for adolescent girls.

Sunbeam anganwadi functions in a vacant house owned by the preschool teacher's family. While the teacher's family live independently in a separate house, they use this house as a mode of service to the community. The preschool caters to children residing within 1,000 households in the vicinity. The majority of the people in the community are Hindus and belong to a scheduled caste (SC). Most families in the community had three to four children on average. The women earned a living by working as maids, while the men worked as office helpers in educational institutes or in the *panchayat* (local government). Some men in the community were unemployed.

Typically, the preschool education component of the ICDS caters to children in the age range of 3 to 6 years. The majority of the children attending Sunbeam were between 3 and 6 years, however, most days saw a mixed group including infants, older siblings, and toddlers. Most of the children were from local families, while a few were children of migrants who had moved there from neighbouring states.

The house consisted of a small veranda where the teacher and the children removed their footwear. Adjoining the veranda was a small rectangular room, filled with displays of growth charts for children, a weigh scale, and a clock. The room often served as a waiting area for parents and visitors. A tiny window overlooking the community was located on one of its walls. Children often used to peak through the window onto the road or play with the sunbeams that entered through the slits. Adjacent to this room was the kitchen, where food for the children was prepared by the anganwadi helper. The kitchen also had containers which could stock grains like wheat, rice, and pulses for up to a year.

Major activities of the preschool program were carried out in the biggest room of the house, situated just opposite the veranda. It had a fan and a tube light, a daily 'time table' for the children, colourful mobiles and posters related to animals, birds, vaccinations, and nutrition. The room had a window, consistently kept closed to avoid distractions for children. As a result, the room often would be suffocatingly hot, especially during summers and power failures. The room opened up to an adjoining sanitary facility, consisting of a separate bathroom and a toilet.

On arrival at the anganwadi, children were made to sit cross-legged on the floor. Most of the days, children sat on the floor mats facing the teacher. During action songs, children would stand up and form circles or semi-circles. It was only when the children were left on their own (during meal/arrival time) that they sat according to their wish: either in groups or alone.

The teacher-child ratio was 1:30 with 12 boys and 18 girls registered in the 3 to 6 year-old age group. Children younger than 3 years of age participate in the program accompanied by their mother, grandmother, or siblings. The adults or older siblings would often stay at the back of the room for the entire duration of the program, or leave part-way through. The helper would take care of the basic physiological needs of the children, by ensuring the children drank enough water, took breaks for toileting, and washed hands. Children were taught and encouraged to use the toilet in the anganwadi. The anganwadi had no defined play space. The indoor play area was the same room where the children would sit close together and do the activities directed by the anganwadi.

There were few play materials: a cloth ball and cloth elephant made by the anganwadi worker seemed to be the children's favourites.

A Typical Day at Sunbeam

The day began around 10:45 a.m., with the helper fetching a few children from nearby houses. With the anganwadi lying in the absolute vicinity of the community, no specific routines were observed regarding who brought the children to the preschool. Mothers, grandparents, older siblings, fathers, and sometimes even the neighbours were found to be a part of the morning drop off.

The anganwadi teacher welcomed the children at the doorstep, instructing them to remove their slippers before helping them settle down in the room for the morning ritual of prayers and attendance. This was accompanied by free flowing

conversations about yesterday's events, breakfast at home, inquiry about hygiene (bath, nails, combed hair), and so on. Classroom activity consisted of an action song or repetition of names of vegetables, fruits, animals, and colours from the display charts. A short break for water and toileting followed the free play session, after which the meals were served. Every meal began with prayers followed by instructions from the teacher to not soil the floor with food, to eat carefully, and how food would help them become physically strong.

The ICDS scheme has a provision to provide one mid-day meal for each child. Children attending Sunbeam anganwadi often carried light snacks packed by their mothers, who used to leave early for their own work. As a result, mothers often instructed children to eat it once they reach the anganwadi. The anganwadi teacher was aware of the practice and did not discourage children from eating their snacks. However, she ensured the snacks were eaten early in the program schedule, to ensure children did not miss the regular mid-day meal. On various occasions children were served the meals in the tiffin boxes they carried from home. Thus, if a child was unable to finish his/her meal, it could be taken back home.

The post-meal session would generally be a quiet time, in which the teacher would tell a story and ask children questions pertaining to the main characters. A few children would run out through the main door towards their homes, right after the meal. The teacher would sometimes restrain them, but mostly remain unperturbed at the snag in the routine. However, the promise of a story or a song would ensure most of the children remained until the very end of the program.

The departure would typically consist of the teacher at the door bidding goodbye to everyone, asking children to arrive on time the next day. Daily informal talks invariably ensued with most mothers fetching their children, as they asked the teacher about the day. The preschool typically followed an 11:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. schedule, changing to 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. during summer. The lengths of the program components were flexible, as decided upon by the anganwadi.

Table 3. Sample Schedule at Sunbeam

Time	Activity
10:30 a.m.	Staff arrival
10:45	Arrival of children
11:00	Prayer, attendance, general discussions with children
11:30	Classroom activity (music, chart reading, number concepts)
12:45	Free play
1:00	Meals
1:30-2:00	Quiet time consisting of stories and discussions followed by departure

Teaching in the Anganwadi

A variety of curricular guidelines for ECCE are available in India. However, a large gap exists between what is prescribed and what is practiced. Activities of preschool education under the ICDS are usually conducted for a period ranging from 45 minutes to two hours duration daily, with minimal play and learning material support (Working Group on Development of Children for the Eleventh Five Year Plan, 2007-2012).

The program at Sunbeam did not have a focus or requirement on learning to read or write. Children usually encountered a non-formal environment. Stories, songs, conversations, and free play found a wide berth in most of the program even while they may not have been transacted in the recommended format.

The program assumed a teacher-dominated format with active participation on her behalf. Teacher direction was evident in the learning of concepts, where children would unfailingly repeat after her the names of vegetables, fruits, animals, and colours and follow instructions of proper posture and eating at meal times. Children anticipated that the anganwadi would control and direct their physical movement. The anganwadi and the helper were frequently observed to be involved in manually lifting children, arranging them in lines, correcting their postures and generally deciding the boundaries of their movement. The concepts taught were linked with the home or local community, which is more in line with the preschool education scheme of the ICDS.

Children interacted with each other whenever there was an opportunity, usually when the teacher was busy with administrative tasks. Outdoor play was minimal but not absent. The teacher considered it an important part of the program, but not essential. Play materials were not available in quantity and neither were they readily accessible to children, save for a small throw ball or a rag doll. All anganwadi centres are equipped with toy kits/resources for children. However, the anganwadi worker did not always allow children to handle them, fearing the toys would break.

Teacher Qualifications

The anganwadi workers, supervisors, and Child Development Project Officers (CDPOs) of the ICDS programmes are provided with induction and in-service training programs. The National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development (NIPCCD) coordinates training of ICDS functionaries. Training for the grassroots functionaries is provided in partnership between the government and non-government sectors. This operates through the Anganwadi Workers Training Centre (AWC) and Middle Level Training Centre (MLTC) for CDPOs and supervisors. There is some training backlog of ICDS functionaries at all levels in the country. Das (2003) reports an evaluation of ICDS scheme by the National Council of Applied Economic Research found 84% of the functionaries to be trained, but most of the training is pre-service and in-service training remains an unmet need.

The National Council of Teacher Education (NCTE) as a statutory body has the mandate to provide the norms and standards for preschool teacher programs. Changes in the ECCE workers and teachers can be expected once the norms laid down by NCTE are enforced.

The Nature of Teaching at Sunbeam

The National Council of Educational Research and Training's (NCERT) *Minimum Specifications for Pre-schools*, published in 1996, sets out basic norms and specifications for ECE centres. However, the document guidelines do not restrict program implementers from designing their own interventions, independent of these guidelines, as was the case at Sunbeam.

Sunbeam anganwadi differs from other anganwadi centres in terms of infrastructure. A typical anganwadi in an ICDS setup is an independent one-room building located in the community or near the local primary school. Sunbeam functions in a residential built-up area, located in the midst of a housing colony. It contains a separate kitchen, a program room and attached sanitary facilities. Children attending Sunbeam thus encounter spaces not very different from their own homes.

The teacher-parent interaction was observed to be functional, related to the health, hygiene, and attendance of the child. The scope for child-child interaction seemed minimal due to the overall teacher-directedness of the program; however, interactions were evident during meals, free play, or when the anganwadi was busy with administrative work. The child-material interactions usually took place during meal times (children played with tiffin boxes). A single picture book used by the teacher to display pictures of various birds, animals, and fruits was much sought after, long after the book had been closed.

The anganwadi worker at Sunbeam considered taking care of young children as 'god's work' and maintained cordial relations with the people in the community. Both the anganwadi worker and the helper approached their work with sincerity and tried to incorporate the learnings from their in-service training in the program.

What Does the Future Hold?

The Working Group on Development of Children for the Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012) reports on the 'ICDS in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan' and states that stimulation at the early childhood stage involves efforts to activate the child's early development. Thus promoting early stimulation activities through home-based models or an institutional setup would be an important aspect for all the interventions of ICDS. The execution of the program would include delivery of an integrated package of basic services—health care, nutritional

nourishment, and early childhood educational nurturance to children—so as to reach a multitude of objectives including development of school readiness competencies and various others psycho-social domains.

NOTES

[1] The term genocide did not exist prior to the Holocaust, but the practice did. It is defined by the 1948 UN Convention as "an act intended to destroy a national, ethnic, racial or religious group by killing, causing bodily or mental harm, deliberately inflicting conditions of life designed to bring about physical destruction, preventing births, forcibly transferring children to another group" (Fein,1993).

[2] The Quiet Revolution in Quebec refers to the period of time from the early 1960s through the late 1970s that focused on the role of French in Quebec society and on the power relations between the then dominant English-speaking numerical minority and the French-speaking numerical majority. Several bills and laws were passed reinforcing and thus protecting the French language and culture with Bill 101 in 1977 affirming French as the official language of schooling in Quebec. The small English-speaking minority were granted historical rights to English language schooling for their children.

[3] In this project the video-taping day was taken as a main source of information about what constituted 'a typical' day in each centre, with the data corroborated by observations on many other days, as well as through discussions with teachers and observations in several other preschools.

[4] In South Africa, Grade R refers to the reception year which is the equivalent of the North American kindergarten.

[5] March 2, 2005 Address by the Minister of Education, South Africa, Naledi Pandor, MP, at the Early Childhood Development Conference, Birchwood Conference Centre, Johannesburg.

[6] Some readers may recall that this British nursery rhyme goes on to say, "have you any wool? Yes sir, yes sir, three bags full. One for my master, one for my dame, and one for the little boy who lives in the lane."

[7] This information stems from interviews with the former principal of Tshwane Preschool, as well as video footage.