

WORKING PAPERS IN

Early Childhood Development

40

Respect for diversity

An international overview

by Glenda M. Mac Naughton



About the paper

This paper provides an overview on ways of thinking about young children's respect for diversity. It maps sources of knowledge about four different sorts of diversity in young children's lives: cultural and racial diversity, developmental diversity (including 'special needs'), gender diversity and socio-economic diversity. It sketches this knowledge base in terms of the extensively researched terrain (what we know with relative certainty), the inadequately explored terrain (promising directions), the theoretical terrain (conceptualising and informing practice), the methodological terrain (developing and validating the knowledge), researchers and research centres in the terrain, and regional nuances in the terrain.

The literature review conducted for this paper has identified five broad schools of thought on issues of respect for diversity in the education of young children: the laissez-faire school, the special provisions school, the cultural understandings school, the equal opportunities school and the anti-discrimination school. The paper maps each school of thought in terms of its characteristic perspectives on the best methods for understanding and engaging with diversity in young children's lives.

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November 2006

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Citation

Mac Naughton, G.M. 2006. Respect for diversity: An international overview. Working Paper 40. Bernard van Leer Foundation: The Hague, The Netherlands

ISSN 1383-7907

ISBN 90-6195-093-7

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Executive summary

This working paper provides an overview on ways of thinking about young children's respect for diversity. The report identifies significant issues, including gaps in knowledge.

The paper first describes, in Section I, the influential sources of knowledge about four different kinds of diversity in young children's lives: cultural and racial diversity, developmental diversity, gender diversity and socio-economic diversity.

We know with relative certainty that children are racially aware by 3 years of age and that they can display both positive and negative attitudes towards racial diversity in early childhood. We know much less about the social and individual factors that contribute to respect for cultural diversity among young children. There is strong support for the need for more evidence on the racial and cultural understandings of young children because bias in the early years appears to be susceptible to change.

The research on development diversity among young children is extensive. We know with considerable certainty that children 3 to 8 years of age display both positive and negative attitudes towards developmental delays and other developmental problems. Proactive pedagogies can help build positive peer relationships between children with disabilities and children without disabilities.

We know with relative certainty that children's gender awareness and identity are well established by 3 years of age, that children construct and produce increasingly gender-stereotyped attitudes and behaviours from 3 years of age, that young children's play and use of learning materials is frequently gender stereotyped and that early childhood practices often differentiate between boys and girls in ways that reinforce gender stereotyping. It also appears that gender stereotyping is remarkably resistant to change by early childhood programmes.

There is some evidence that the pre-school years may be formative in terms of children's understanding of socio-economic diversity. It is clear that children develop attitudes towards social class already in their early years. Their awareness about social mobility and change tend to be stereotyped, however.

The paper then describes and analyses, in Section II, five broad schools of thought that have provided the key conceptual foundations of respect for diversity pedagogies and practices. The five schools of thought are the laissez-faire school, the special provisions school, the cultural understandings school, the equal opportunities school and the anti-discrimination school.

The 'laissez-faire' school of thought aims to produce equity for everyone within existing

social structures and attitudes. Adherents assume that treating young children equally will produce equity and respect. So, educators often ignore social, cultural, racial, talent and gender differences among children, parents and other adults.

The ‘special provisions’ school of thought aims to equalise educational opportunity for children and groups that are considered different from the ‘norm’ by teaching them to succeed within the mainstream. This has generally led to the creation of special or separate facilities or structures to meet the children’s or the group’s special needs.

The ‘cultural understandings’ school of thought aims to create understanding among diverse groups of children. In early childhood programmes, children are thus alerted to different ways of being, often by exposing the children to special experiences, such as the experience of living in another country or the experience of blindness.

The ‘equal opportunities’ school of thought aims to give everyone, irrespective of differences, an equal opportunity to succeed within existing social structures and attitudes. It focuses on removing the factors in policy and in practice that prevent children from participating in early childhood programmes.

The ‘anti-discrimination’ school of thought aims to create equal outcomes by challenging

inequities and injustices. It seeks to shift pedagogies and practices so as to empower all children to respect diversity, champion fairness and challenge discrimination in their lives.

The paper maps each school of thought in terms of its characteristic perspectives on the best methods for understanding and engaging with diversity in young children’s lives.

Appendix 1 describes two emerging theoretical lines of inquiry in respect for diversity. Appendix 2 identifies key centres of expertise on issues in respect for diversity in early childhood.

Introduction

The aim of this Working Paper is to generate a comprehensive overview of respect for diversity in early childhood so that the relevant work of the Foundation can be located within this field and to distinguish key areas in respect for diversity on which the Foundation might focus conceptually and operationally within a holistic approach to early childhood development.¹

In attempting to achieve this aim, a key task is the identification of the disciplines and areas of interest in which there are gaps in knowledge or a dearth of information with regard to young children. Another key task is to draw distinctions between those areas that require existing relevant information to be trawled and assembled and those areas on which primary or secondary research is required.²

The paper relies on a selection of books, articles, reports and doctoral theses to accomplish this task. Much of the resource material has been viewed during numerous, extensive searches conducted on the Internet, especially on the websites of institutions of learning and public and private organisations with an interest in diversity among young children.

So as to increase the likelihood that the conclusions have contemporary relevance, the main focus has been on literature published since 1990. Peer-reviewed articles have been used to assist in making decisions about methodological validity and as a criterion for comparison among findings in specific studies.

The selection process has suffered from several limitations. Because of the location of the author during the work, the process has identified source material readily available through the University of Melbourne's library system. Moreover, the Internet searches have been confined to material abstracted in the principal academic databases. These are mostly found in the United States and tend to be slanted towards research conducted in that country. Finally, the process has been restricted to material in English.

Nonetheless, given the many competing concepts and often quite complex perspectives, this has not been a straightforward undertaking. Researchers examining issues relevant to respect for diversity among young children have adopted approaches based on health and health care, psychology, developmental psychology, child development studies, sociology, education, gender studies, race relations, anthropology and any one of several other disciplines. A first labour has therefore been to sort and organise this literature.

An initial ordering of the literature on respect for diversity in early childhood yielded this list:

- philosophical arguments in support of initiatives to achieve equity and social justice through education;
- descriptions of classroom approaches to theoretical and practical issues in the promotion of equity and social justice in early education.

- analyses of the child as a learner in early childhood education on equity and social justice;
- presentations of psychological, sociological, or political theories about and research on the development and nature of children's awareness of and attitudes towards gender, racial, developmental (disability, for example), socio-economic and cultural diversity;
- pedagogical and programme research on methods for implementing and evaluating respect for diversity programmes among young children.

The literature seemed gradually to fall more readily into two categories, however: literature that focused on understanding and describing the general types of diversity encountered most frequently among young children and literature that supported one or another school of thought about methods for engaging with diversity and attitudes towards diversity among young children.

Research insights into four different types of diversity – cultural and racial diversity, developmental diversity, gender diversity and socio-economic diversity – are examined in Section I, which also surveys the gaps in knowledge and new lines of inquiry.

Five broad schools of thought that have provided key conceptual foundations for

educational policies and practices dealing with issues of respect for diversity among young children are described in Section II. The five schools of thought are the laissez-faire school, the special provisions school, the cultural understandings school, the equal opportunities school and the anti-discrimination school.

Each school of thought differs in its understanding of the impact of diversity on young children's lives and, therefore, in the practices it recommends to encourage respect for diversity through formal early childhood education.

Appendix 1 describes two emerging theoretical lines of inquiry in respect for diversity. Appendix 2 supplies a list of centres of expertise on issues of relevance to respect for diversity in early childhood.

Chapter 1: Mapping the knowledge base on respect for diversity

This section maps sources of knowledge about four different sorts of diversity in young children's lives: cultural and racial diversity, developmental diversity (including 'special needs'), gender diversity and socio-economic diversity. It sketches this knowledge base in terms of the extensively researched terrain (what we know with relative certainty), the inadequately explored terrain (promising directions), the theoretical terrain (conceptualising and informing practice), the methodological terrain (developing and validating the knowledge), researchers and research centres in the terrain, and regional nuances in the terrain.

Cultural and racial diversity

The current knowledge base

An extensive literature, including a significant body of unpublished doctoral research, exists on young children's racial awareness, their ideas and attitudes about cultural and racial diversity and, to a lesser extent, the effects of these on their lives. The first key studies began appearing in the 1930s.

This working paper has relied on 65 contemporary research studies to map key themes and issues. Nearly 90% of these studies were conducted in the United States. Close to 90% of the US-based studies involved research on the cognitive development of racial awareness and racial

attitudes and preferences among white children and black children. Most of the studies used similar research methods and tools.

The extensively researched terrain: what we know with relative certainty

The main well-established research findings are as follows.

Children are racially aware by 3 years of age.

There is recent evidence that children between 9 and 14 months of age can distinguish racial cues in adult faces. We know with relative certainty that children are racially aware by 3 years of age. Research has shown that pre-school children 3–5 years of age can identify racial markers such as skin colour, hair texture and facial characteristics.³

Young children display positive and negative attitudes towards racial diversity.

Research indicates that black and white children in the United States form racial identities and construct racial preferences throughout early childhood. In the main, the research has focused on the acquisition of negative attitudes towards black and ethnic minority groups within the United States. Children as young as 3 display negative attitudes. Young children's gender and race influence their racial understandings and the racial markers they use to identify racial differences. Nonetheless, not only white children, but also black and other ethnic

minority children consistently demonstrate pro-white attitudes when they are asked to choose the doll they prefer, attach positive attributes to images of people or to dolls, or choose their preferred playmate.⁴

A small number of research studies in other Anglo-dominated multiracial societies such as Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom have produced analogous findings, especially concerning the development of pro-white preferences in children.⁵

A similar pattern also exists in selected studies in other regions of the world. This suggests that racial attitudes are a factor in the development of identity among young children.

The inadequately explored terrain: promising directions

We know much less about the kinds of experience that support positive identity formation among children who face cultural or racial discrimination and children who discriminate against others. There is a need for such work because racial and cultural bias in the early years appears to be susceptible to amendment, but the evidence base must be expanded to understand more about how this might be accomplished.

The following are some of the main issues that have been inadequately explored to date.

Which individual and society-wide factors contribute to respect for cultural or racial diversity among young children? How might these be sustained through relevant pedagogies?

Although there has been some research on how children develop tolerance and respect for diversity, this research is very limited. In one study, researchers implemented an anti-bias curriculum in a first grade classroom in the United States and found that this enhanced children's awareness of diversity. How this greater awareness might serve as a pathway to greater respect for diversity is unclear.⁶

Which experiences will best support positive identity formation among biracial and bilingual children? There is some evidence that children of dual racial parentage often suffer racism associated with the racial group of the minority parents. However, we lack research about what the key factors are that would best support positive identity formation among these children. There is also evidence indicating that children's friendship networks and interactions in early childhood programmes are influenced by whether or not they are from the linguistically dominant culture.⁷

What is the role of the family in the development among children of impressions and attitudes about cultural and racial differences? The few studies that explore the links between children's experiences of cultural and racial diversity and their family contexts offer contradictory findings. Some research suggests that family attitudes are important in the formation of children's attitudes, while other research seems to show that the family is not the primary influence on young children's concepts of race. The effects of the broader mainstream culture may override family effects among children over 5 years of age. There are indications that

children over 5 generally defer to mainstream culture in food and clothing preferences and in choosing toys and games. This means that early childhood programmes may need to direct their efforts among children at this age more forcefully towards engagement with issues of identity revolving around the mainstream.⁸

However, the family does appear to have some influence on black children's capacity to handle racism. For instance, black children whose parents teach them about differences among people based on race and how to handle incidents of racism and prejudice are more likely to be aware of racism in their environment. Still, we know very little about how parents prepare their children to deal with prejudice and racism.⁹ The small body of work that exists offers promising hints about how to involve the parents of ethnic minority children in building respect for diversity in Anglo-dominated cultures. Research addressing how racism operates in non-Anglo-dominated cultural contexts is scarce.¹⁰

Which pedagogies are most effective in the promotion of respect for cultural and racial diversity? The response to the question of how children reconstruct biased understandings is central to designing effective programmes fostering respect for diversity in the early years. However, knowledge about this issue is very sparse, and studies that test specific interventions and pedagogies in early childhood settings that promote respect for diversity and challenge bias are few. The research that does exist is hopeful; it offers three promising

insights into the characteristics of relevant pedagogical approaches.

First, there is some evidence that bias needs to be addressed directly and that children 3 to 8 years of age will not learn to be less biased without specific interventions such as adult and peer discussions that challenge bias. For instance, one study showed that pre-school children are capable of understanding discussions of race and that their acceptance of racial differences can be increased through such discussions. A second study found that, by discussing the issues with less racially prejudiced children, racially prejudiced 5-year-olds may shift their views in a more racially balanced direction.¹¹

Second, mere exposure to diversity may be insufficient to modify the racial biases of children 3 to 5 and, in some instances, may even increase them. For instance, the pro-white attitudes of black pre-school children in the United States were not affected by whether or not the children were in a multicultural or non-multicultural day-care setting, and the exposure of pre-school children in the United States to various races and ethnicities did not result in less biased attitudes among the children. However, a combination of exposure to diversity and appropriate curriculum and teaching aids did accomplish a positive shift in attitudes. Support for this conclusion is provided by a Taiwanese study during which dolls were introduced that reflected the ethnicity of the children. This simple change in the classroom positively affected the ethnic preference of

the pre-schoolers for Taiwanese children with respect to white children.¹²

Third, explicitly and persistently challenging specific biases among children 5 to 8 years of age may be necessary. Research has shown that children of this age in the United States are more likely to remember racially stereotyped stories and stories that depict African-American people negatively, that they demonstrate biases against language groups to which they do not belong and that they associate higher status occupations with lighter skin tones.¹³

Which staff training models support the development of respect for diversity most effectively? Research exploring the response of early childhood professionals towards cultural diversity indicates that culturally and linguistically diverse children are often perceived as problems and that cultural diversity among children is considered problematic.¹⁴

Most research in culturally diverse nations such as Australia and the United States identifies the negative beliefs and practices of teachers as a core difficulty in addressing cultural diversity. In contrast, few studies focus on early childhood professionals who are committed to respect for diversity and who are addressing equity issues among young children. This means that we have little information on successes in building commitment to respect for diversity among early childhood professionals.¹⁵

What are the short- and long-term outcomes among individuals who participate in respect for

diversity programmes during their early years?

Only a few studies have explored the short- or long-term outcomes among individuals who have been involved in respect for diversity programmes in their early years. One Australian study offers evidence that discontinuities between a family's beliefs and practices and those of the formal establishments caring for their children can negatively influence the development of the children. The study found that such children showed poorer social skills and more behavioural problems. Conversely, when the childcare centres respected cultural diversity and attempted to resolve cultural differences between staff and parents, then the cognitive, motor, social and language development of the children was better. This finding has been confirmed in relation to literacy and numeracy outcomes among Australian indigenous children in their early years of schooling.¹⁶

The effects of multicultural education among older children are also inadequately researched, but the findings so far are encouraging. They suggest that deliberate interventions can change children's attitudes if they are persistent and that educational processes may be more important than the content of education in producing positive outcomes among ethnic minority groups.¹⁷

The theoretical terrain: conceptualising and informing practice

The theoretical perspectives employed to explain children's racial attitudes and preferences have been limited. In the main, analyses have been

dominated by cognitive and developmental psychology, mainly Piagetian, and, though some work has centred on sociocultural studies, analyses have generally focused on the individual rather than on the broader social and political contexts and the processes of identity formation and re-formation among young children.

Cognitive developmental psychology dominated the research until the 1990s. Children and researchers interested in issues of race have tended to draw on Piagetian stage theories of cognitive development and to explain the development of racial prejudice as a consequence of individual children's evolving cognitive needs and capacities to sort and classify. Piagetians believe that racial bias is a product of the young child's egocentrism and inability to fathom multiple perceptions about racial differences. Researchers suggest that bias decreases with age as the growing child's emerging cognitive and social skills enable it to arbitrate among different perspectives in regard to racial and cultural similarities and differences. This maturity allows the child to evaluate and show sensitivity towards the diverse ethnic groups in the child's surroundings. Aboud (1988) suggests that this shift occurs at around 7 years of age and is related to specific advances in the child's ability to process thoughts. This perspective has been helpful in explaining racial bias in children's identity from an early age, but it tends to ignore wider social and political factors that may influence racial understanding in young children.

Broader *sociocultural perspectives*, particularly the ecological perspectives associated with Bronfenbrenner, appear occasionally in the literature beginning in the 1990s. Studies using this perspective explain the development of racial prejudice as a combination of individual and contextual factors. The focus in studies employing this perspective has been on the effects of the sociocultural contexts of the family and early childhood programmes on children's racial attitudes and preferences. The studies that have focused on family effects offer contradictory findings on the influence of the family. However, they do indicate that adults and peers can influence young children's views. This suggests that no single factor can account for this aspect of a child's understandings of race.¹⁸

Social and political theories of identity (such as *postcolonial theories of race*; see Appendix 1) are now being used to explore the complex intersections between identity and social and political contexts, such as histories of race and colonialism, in relation to young children's formation of racially biased understanding and ways of being.¹⁹

Ghandi (1998, page 16) defines colonialism succinctly and powerfully as the "historical process whereby the 'West' attempts systematically to cancel or negate the cultural difference and value of the 'non-West'". Postcolonial scholars study the knowledge and power geopolitics produced by encounters between the 'West' and the 'non-West'.

An example is the creation in the West of distinctions between the civilized and the non-civilized and its application in the colonisation of the new world (which included Australia). Colonialism was connected intimately with cultural and economic exploitation and oppression in colonies populated by indigenous peoples. It was intimately linked to an ideology of race that ensured that the colonising peoples saw themselves as superior to those whom they colonised.

Early childhood scholars are drawing on this work to reconceptualise race preferences and prejudices in young children's lives in terms of linkages to the socially and historically constructed *privileging of 'whiteness'*. They point to the impact of the racial politics and imagery involved in our contacts with children and argue that undermining the privileging of whiteness through early childhood education is an essential task. As Davis (2004) explains:

“Theorists within the Whiteness studies field argue that any change in the current social order, which continually relies on oppressive and inequitable treatment of minority, non-white communities, is impossible unless we look to and within the culture of Whiteness and begin to identify Whiteness as a racial category, acknowledge and rewrite inaccurate and repressed histories, deconstruct and contest the ‘universality’ of White knowledge and destabilise the assumptions of Whiteness as normative and culture-less.”

There are promising lines of inquiry in this work that can help in conceptualising targets

for pedagogical interventions among young children.

The methodological terrain: developing and validating the knowledge

Scientific studies using standardised strategies and measures. Efforts of researchers to determine the level of racial awareness among young children have relied on an extremely limited range of methods that have produced ‘forced’ choices in a non-naturalistic setting. The key methods have been the ‘forced choice doll technique’ (Clark and Clark, 1947), the ‘pre-school racial attitude measure’ (Williams, Best and Boswell, 1975), the ‘Katz-Zalk projective prejudice test’ (Katz and Zalk, 1978), the rating scales developed by Frances Aboud in 1981 (see Aboud, 1988), and the methods of Genesee, Tucker and Lambert (1978) and Keith and Herring (1991).

While these scientific methods have provided a vast range of data over the years, they have also been criticised because they target the individual child and do not study the child in context. A further limit in the research resides in the fact that the knowledge has been generated through studies with a predominance of specific minority groups within multiracial ex-British colonies (for example, Canada and the United States) and in Britain. Additional studies grounded on more diverse methods are needed so as to include a broader range of minority groups in a more diverse selection of countries.

Emerging alternatives: action research in context. Field studies based on action research on children's understanding of race and the effects

of this understanding on early childhood experiences in contexts such as early childhood programmes are only in their infancy.²⁰ The work offers the potential to explore how race is constructed and reconstructed in the daily lives of children, how early childhood curricula and pedagogies are implicated and how they can affect the reconstruction of racial identities and biases.

Emerging alternatives: children's voices and experiences. Methods have begun to be employed that bring the child as an active meaning-maker more powerfully into research through the use of anti-bias persona dolls as

props in interviews among individual children to prompt group discussions among young children and to observe children's free play with physically diverse dolls in early childhood contexts.²¹ These methods allow children's voices to be heard on the feelings generated by the experience of discrimination, on what they see as fair or unfair and on how they might wish to challenge discrimination.

Researchers in the terrain

Several researchers have built a reputation studying young children and race. They have produced work that can be used as a guide and a reference on the subject (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1. Researchers and reference works on racial and cultural diversity

Researcher	Focus	Theoretical Perspective	Key Publication	Location
Frances E. Aboud	development stages in the acquisition of racial knowledge	cognitive psychology	1988; with Doyle, 1996	McGill University, Montreal
Lawrence A. Hirschfeld	young children and the cultural biology of race	cultural biology	1995a, b; 1996	New School for Social Research, New York
Kurt Kowalski	the emergence of racial attitudes among pre-schoolers, including the effects of contextual factors	cognitive psychology	1998	California State University at San Bernardino
Glenda M. Mac Naughton	pre-schoolers constructing and reconstructing understandings of race	postcolonial theory, postmodern theories of identity	2001a, b, c; 2003a; with Davis, 2001	Centre for Equity and Innovation in Early Childhood, University of Melbourne
Patricia Ramsey	stages of racial attitude development in young children	cognitive psychology	1987; with Myers, 1990	Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, MA
Debra Van Ausdale	pre-school children's ethnic concepts and interactions	sociocultural perspectives	1996; with Feagin, 1996	Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY

Regional nuances in the terrain

The Bernard van Leer Foundation has isolated some of the regional nuances through its work, and mapping the results of these efforts and others could be extremely useful.²² The history of race relations within a country or region will clearly signify the specific ways race has been

introduced into young children's identities.

This will have a direct impact on the process of target-setting for action. There is a scattering of research outside the United States on the effects of race relations on young children's lives that can aid in this work (Table 1.2).

Table 1.2. Regional nuances in research on young children and race

Region	Countries, 2002-06	Nuance
Africa	Kenya, Mozambique, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zimbabwe	The legacy of apartheid offers particular challenges to the development of positive racial identities among black children in South Africa. One study on race and self-esteem found that the preference for whites was stronger among black children at age 6 than it was at older ages (Kelly and Duckitt, 1995).
Asia, Middle East and North Africa	China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Israel, Malaysia, Morocco, Thailand	Research on race and children is extremely limited. However, a study of the development of racial attitudes and concepts of self among pre-schoolers in Taiwan found that pro-white preferences were evident everywhere, but stronger in girls than in boys (Chang, 2000).
Europe	Czech Republic, Germany, Greece, Hungary, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovakia, Turkey, United Kingdom	A study of the relationship between ethnicity, age, classroom composition and the development of racial and ethnic awareness and attitudes found that Hungarian children were more pro-Hungarian and anti-Roma when the Hungarian children were in all-Hungarian classes (Tamás, 2002)
Latin America	Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Venezuela	No specific researchers or research pertinent to this subject have been identified for this region.
North America, Caribbean	Jamaica, Trinidad, United States	A cross-cultural examination of racial identity and racial preference found that 85% of West Indian pre-schoolers preferred to play with white dolls, and 82% saw the white dolls as prettier than black dolls (Gopaul-McNicol, 1992, 1993, 1997). The effects of colonisation may be a key issue in respect for diversity in the Caribbean.

Developmental diversity

The current knowledge base

There is an extensive research base on children with disabilities and their educational needs and challenges. There is also a growing body of research on young children's attitudes and preferences towards physical diversity and people with disabilities, especially in regard to peer interactions in classrooms where there are children with disabilities and children without disabilities. Odom (2000) offers an excellent overview of the information made available through studies about the successes and failures of initiatives involving 'inclusive' early childhood classrooms welcoming children with disabilities and children without disabilities and the effects of these initiatives on the children and their families. These studies tend to be reported in journals dedicated to 'special education' or 'exceptional children' rather than in the broader early childhood journals. The studies centre primarily on the United States.

The extensively researched terrain: what we know with relative certainty

Research transmits two consistent messages about the respect of young children for people with disabilities. First, it suggests that children's attitudes towards disability are formed in the pre-school years. Second, it identifies specific strategies that can be used to build positive peer relationships in the pre-school years between children with disabilities and children without disabilities.

Children 3 to 8 years of age display positive and negative attitudes towards developmental diversity in others. There is strong evidence that children without disabilities form their views on people with disabilities during the pre-school years, and we know with considerable certainty that children 3–8 years of age display positive and negative attitudes towards developmental diversity in others.

Specifically, pre-school children accept their peers with disabilities, but they also reject peers with disabilities. According to one study, 30% of the children with disabilities who were surveyed had been rejected by their peers, and children with disabilities were at a higher risk of peer rejection than were children without disabilities.²³

Stereotypes and bias towards children with disabilities are evident among children 5 to 8 years of age. These can develop when children have negative experiences in an inclusive pre-school setting.²⁴

Children 5 to 8 years of age can demonstrate bias against others based on body type and against children who are considered different or not normal.²⁵

Children's level of awareness of disability in the pre-school years is associated with obvious handicapping conditions. The more obvious the handicap, the greater children's awareness.²⁶

Specific strategies have been identified for building positive peer relationships between children with

disabilities and children without disabilities. There has been extensive research on young children's peer relationships. Some of this work has been directed towards evaluating the most effective strategies for building positive relationships between children with disabilities and children without disabilities (sometimes referred to as the 'typically developing child' especially in literature in the United States). Indeed, it seems clear that proactive pedagogies can help build positive peer relationships among these children.

First, current research suggests that children who interact frequently with classmates with disabilities are likely to have more positive attitudes towards them than do children who avoid such interaction. These positive attitudes can be promoted through direct teacher interventions and the modelling of respect for children with disabilities. They are not necessarily promoted merely through contacts among peers. If children are left to choose their own playmates, children with disabilities may not be included in groups.²⁷

Second, the research shows that the systematic use of instructions, prompts, rehearsals, feedback mechanisms, discussions and specific combinations of these procedures can improve young children's peer interactions.²⁸

Third, the research emphasises the importance of the role of adults. Teachers shape children's attitudes about people with disabilities and about their peers with disabilities by how they behave towards and communicate about people

who are different. If the teacher is inclusive and respectful of people who are different, the children are more likely to be respectful of people with disabilities.²⁹

Fourth, the research suggests that, when teachers interact with groups of children with and children without disabilities, more positive peer interaction occurs than when teachers focus on individual children with disabilities only.³⁰

Outcomes among children. The research on the social outcomes among children with disabilities of inclusive educational classrooms is mixed. Often, the outcomes among these children are negative in terms of their self-esteem, their experiences of peer rejection and their views of themselves as less competent than other children. However, the research also suggests that the outcomes among children without disabilities are highly favourable, increasing their sense of self-worth and their capacity for empathy with others. Occasionally, the experience of inclusive classrooms can also increase the intolerance of these children. Recent research with pre-schoolers suggests that, if significant effort is expended on teaching children without disabilities to initiate social interactions, some of these negative outcomes can be modified. This research is significant in its implications for respect for diversity programmes and therefore warrants closer scrutiny.³¹

The inadequately explored terrain: promising directions

Areas of respect for developmental diversity

that have not yet been well researched fall into several broad themes. Specific questions include the following.³²

How do children without disabilities in non-inclusive classrooms form attitudes towards disability? The majority of the research in this area has focused on relationships between children with disabilities and children without disabilities in inclusive classrooms. Few studies focus on how children without disabilities in non-inclusive classrooms form attitudes towards children with disabilities.

How do children under 3 years of age form attitudes and preferences towards disability and physical diversity? No studies have been found that track young children's awareness of disability. Given that attitudes (positive and negative) can be formed during the pre-school years, it would be helpful to have greater insight into the factors among children under 3 that might contribute to this process.

The child in the family. While there is an extensive literature on the attitudes of parents of children with disabilities, literature specific to respect for disability is scant.³³

How does cultural context affect young children's respect for disability? Attitudes towards developmental diversity such as identifiable disabilities and physical differences in body size and type are culturally bound and constructed and vary greatly across cultures and across time. However, there is a lack of culturally

specific information about how this process is experienced in young children's lives in various parts of the world.³⁴

How can we improve teacher sensitivity and responsiveness towards children with disabilities? The research on classroom relationships between children with disabilities and children without disabilities emphasises the importance of teacher interventions in these relationships. The nature of successful teacher interventions is well researched in the United States. However, there is little research on effective methods to enhance the sensitivity and responsiveness of teachers towards children with disabilities. There is some evidence that cultural differences within multicultural societies such as the United States affect the practices and philosophies of teachers towards children with disabilities.³⁵

How can the outcomes among children of their experiences in inclusive classrooms be measured? Most child outcome studies have relied on children's performance according to standardised developmental measures. However, some researchers recommend a shift towards a broader approach involving outcome measurements that identify the skills children gain through, for instance, interactions in the classroom and in adult and peer relationships.³⁶

The theoretical terrain: conceptualising and informing practice

Prevalent theories in the research on developmental diversity emphasise development-oriented and health perspectives on the child

and ecological perspectives on the child in inclusive classrooms.

Developmental and health perspectives.

Unusual behaviour by children is now often being labelled as ‘unhealthy’ or as a ‘disorder’, and ‘treatment’ of such behaviour is being formalised through chemical or behavioural interventions.³⁷ For example, Parr, Ward and Inman (2003) state that, over the last 10 years, there has been a rise in pharmacological methods of treatment of children with attention deficit disorder and hyperactivity.

Ecological perspectives on inclusive classrooms.

The predominant theoretical approach to research on peer relationships between children with disabilities and those without disabilities has been framed on the basis of social ecological perspectives.³⁸ From within these perspectives, the emphasis has been on the impact of social contexts, such as peer relationships and adult behaviours, on the attitudes and experiences of children in inclusive classrooms.

The methodological terrain: developing and validating the knowledge

Scientific studies using standardised strategies and measurement tools. Research on peer relationships and attitudes towards disability has been dominated by scientific studies in naturalistic settings that typically rely on standardised developmental and observational strategies and measurement tools. This method of choice is linked to an emphasis on the interactions between contexts and individual behaviours (ecological perspectives of childhood).

Emerging alternatives: reshaping outcome measurement tools. The standard measurement tools do not take into account broader sociocultural outcomes such as increased pro-social behaviour, the capacity to build relationships and the generation of feelings of belonging. To identify specific observational tools that may be appropriate in more general work on respect for diversity and in assisting teachers to understand events and relationships in inclusive classrooms, it may be helpful to map the tools being employed by researchers who focus on broader outcomes in order to explore teacher and child behaviours in the classroom.³⁹

Researchers in the terrain

Table 1.3 identifies several of the researchers who have built a track record in studies on young children and inclusive classrooms. Each of the researchers listed in the table has published extensively on the subject. The majority have also worked as part of research teams.

One of the key researchers is Samuel Odom, who led the Early Childhood Research Institute on Inclusion, a five-university research consortium funded by the United States Department of Education to examine inclusive settings, identify the policies affecting inclusion and develop strategies to address the barriers. Though the project ended on 31 August 2000, the institute’s website still exists (at www.fpg.unc.edu/~ecrii) and contains an extensive annotated bibliography on relevant research that could be helpful for work on respect for diversity. The International Special Education Congress appears to be a major forum in which this

Table 1.3. Researchers on developmental diversity and disability

Researcher	Focus	Theoretical Perspective	Key Publication	Location
William H. Brown	promoting and assessing peer interactions between children with and without disabilities	ecological	with Odom, 1994; et al., 1999; with Odom and Conroy, 2001	University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC
Karen Diamond	the integration of children with disabilities into pre-school settings	broadly ecological	2001; with Hestenes and O'Connor, 1994	Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN
Paddy Favazza	the integration of children with disabilities into pre-school and kindergarten settings	ecological	with Odom, 1997; et al., 2000	University of Memphis, Memphis, TN
Samuel L. Odom	the integration of children with disabilities into pre-school and kindergarten settings	ecological	2000; 2002; et al., 1998	Indiana University, Bloomington, IN

research is shared, including among researchers outside the United States. For example, at the congress in 2000, several papers were presented by researchers on disability in Africa.

Gender diversity

The current knowledge base

An extensive literature exists on young children's understandings of gender and gender diversity. The majority of the research prior to the 1990s relied on scientific observation and standardised measurements and tests. Up to the mid-1990s, the main focus was on tracking gender differences among children. This theoretical approach still predominates among some researchers.⁴⁰ Feminist poststructuralist understandings of

gender have become prevalent in pedagogical research on early childhood since the mid-1990s (see Appendix 1). More recently, action research has been emerging as a tool for examining the classroom practice of gender equity programmes.

Most research has been conducted in the West. However, research is appearing on gender and young children in developing countries in response to efforts to educate the girl child. This research warrants examination for its relevance to early childhood everywhere.

The mapping exercise reported below on key themes and issues relies on the findings of approximately 75 recent studies.

The extensively researched terrain: what we know with relative certainty

Narrowly interpreted, ‘gender identity’ refers to an individual’s awareness and acceptance of the fact of being biologically male or female. It involves recognising anatomical differences and associating these anatomical differences with gender. It is sometimes interpreted more broadly to include emotional and behavioural factors.

Children’s gender awareness and identity are well established by 3 years of age. Research on gender identity has shown that it is extremely difficult to identify boys or girls strictly on behavioural grounds before the children are 2 years of age. Cues are typically only external and cultural, clothing for example. However, behavioural differences between boys and girls are well established by the time children reach 3 years of age.⁴¹ Girls tend to be more independent, and boys tend to be more physically aggressive. Nonetheless, there is no evidence to support the view that these differences are innate.⁴²

Young children construct and produce increasingly gender-stereotyped behaviours and feelings.

Substantial research since the 1960s has produced indisputable evidence that young children know about gender. The emergence of gender identity among young children generally occurs around the time the children learn about gender-role stereotypes.⁴³ There is extensive research in the West since the 1970s on the gender-stereotyped nature of young children’s play, play patterns, play styles and use of play materials. Researchers have even identified gender-stereotyping in pre-school children’s choices and knowledge of musical instruments.⁴⁴

As children grow, sex roles become more stereotyped. Moreover, children are active in maintaining gender stereotypes. Children who agree with a gender stereotype will often change their behaviour to be consistent with it.⁴⁵ Bias against the gender group to which a child does not belong is generally firmly established among 5-to-8-year-old children.⁴⁶

Many children acquire very sexist understandings of what it means to be male and female. From an early age, children tend to see the male role as more desirable and attach more status to male activities. This and other sexist ideas can persist and can affect choices in education, career and lifestyle in highly restrictive and gender-stereotyped ways.⁴⁷

The child’s relationships with adults. From an early age, children have different social experiences and experience different types of interactions with adults.⁴⁸ Overall, girls are more likely to be pro-social than are boys, but they are also more likely than boys to carry out actions that damage friendships.

Research on the parental influences on children’s gender development is extensive, and it indicates that parents have strong perceptions of their children in terms of gender and that these perceptions are often fixed before the child is born. Many parents treat their children in highly gendered ways from birth. Thus, parents may behave differently towards a child and may have different expectations of the child depending on whether or not they are told beforehand that the child is a girl or a boy. Many parents also make gender-stereotyped decisions in choosing play

materials, clothing and furnishings and décor for their children's spaces.⁴⁹

Some parents see non-traditional expressions of masculinity and femininity as desirable ways of being among their children. When this is so, greater gender equity becomes more likely in educational settings. However, paradoxically, there is also evidence to show that, when parents attempt to challenge gender stereotypes held by their children, the children may resist these efforts to raise them in non-sexist ways.⁵⁰

Gender inequality and gender discrimination.

Gender studies across cultures suggest that, by 3 or 4 years of age, children know their gender, as well as the play preferences, behaviours and expectations that adults favour for this gender. Research indicates that differences between the gender roles of boys and girls are socially constructed.⁵¹

Gender discrimination is also culturally constructed and can take different forms in different regions of the world. Some manifestations of gender discrimination touch young children much more directly than do others. Sen (2001) has identified the following types of gender inequality:

- mortality inequality, whereby girls are more likely than boys to die through lack of access to health care and other essentials, has been documented extensively in China, North Africa and South Asia;
- natality inequality arises from parental preferences for boys over girls; it may result in sex-selective abortion, and it is made more

possible in contemporary society through new technologies that can identify the sex of the foetus. It is a statistically significant problem in China, East Asia, India, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan;

- basic facility inequality, whereby girls have less access to schooling relative to boys;
- social opportunity inequality results from beliefs, practices and values that limit the ability of girls and boys to achieve equally;
- professional inequality, whereby some women are excluded from some jobs either through legislation, or a 'glass ceiling';
- ownership inequality, whereby property rights favour men;
- household inequality, whereby the burden of housework and childcare falls to girls and women.

Sen (2001) offers an overview of these various forms of gender inequality in different regions of the world. His analysis is not specifically focused on young girls. It may be useful to draw on Sen's typology to map how gender inequality plays out in the lives of children in specific cultural and regional contexts.

Early childhood practices often differentiate between boys and girls in ways that reinforce gender stereotyping. There is sound evidence that early childhood teachers respond differently to boys and girls and that these differences are based on and reinforce traditional gender stereotypes.⁵²

Gender stereotyping is remarkably resistant to change through early childhood programmes. In the 1980s and early 1990s, researchers studied

the impact on children's sex-role behaviours of specific strategies aimed at achieving equality of opportunity. In particular, they studied the effect teachers had on children's sex-role behaviours and modelled non-traditional behaviours among children and the reinforcement of non-traditional sex-role behaviours.⁵³ The results were less than conclusive. Some researchers found a short-term reduction in children's stereotypical play. Longer term studies indicate that shifting gender stereotyping through early childhood programmes may take several months of intense work.⁵⁴

The elimination of sex-role stereotyping in stories, poems and songs has been the central theme of much of the work in education on gender equity. However, merely reading non-sexist books to children appears to accomplish little in shifting children's attitudes over time⁵⁵ Likewise, giving girls the chance to be non-sexist does not seem to be sufficient.

Outcomes among children. The long-term outcomes of gender-stereotyped behaviour among children are well documented. Research has emphasised the impact on educational choices and life opportunities in terms of career choices. Much of the research focuses on older children. It shows that gender inequalities work against the interests of girls and women.

The inadequately explored terrain: promising directions

While there has been significant research on gender stereotyping among young children,

little research exists on the benefits of gender equity programmes in challenging gender stereotyping and building resilience with regard to such stereotyping among young children in various cultural contexts. The following are some of the specific questions that have not yet been adequately answered through the research.

How do children become enabled to challenge gender-role stereotypes and resist peer pressure promoting such stereotypes? Not all children become gender stereotyped during the early years. However, those children who do defy traditional gender stereotypes often are rejected by their peers during the pre-school years.⁵⁶ Research is lacking on the paths such children take to avoid gender-role stereotypes and maintain their outsider status in the face of peer pressure. This sort of research would be critical in planning programmes.

How can the help of parents be elicited to combat gender-role stereotypes? Many writers recommend that early childhood professionals seek partnerships with parents in their struggles against gender stereotyping among young children, but they offer little guidance on how to accomplish this.⁵⁷ There is almost no research on parental attitudes towards gender equity programmes or on effective ways to garner the support of parents for the programmes. Staff must reinvent the wheel each time to build this support.

How does cultural context affect young children's capacity to challenge gender stereotyping? The

influence of cultural context on gendering is generally well documented. The paths young children take to become able to challenge this influence is less well documented. Education for All initiatives of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in education among girl children have identified some promising approaches. Drawing together the learning being acquired through this work may help in building an understanding of the best practices.

How can professionals work with young children who resist the learning in gender equity programmes? Pre-school children tend to consider the crossing of gender boundaries as violations of ‘rules’ that are as serious as lying or stealing toys. These violations are particularly important when they involve boys acting like girls or boys wearing girls’ clothing. Girls are evaluated most negatively when they play more noisily and more roughly than boys.⁵⁸ There is some indication that children are more likely to ignore such moral judgements and strictures if they revolve around other children of the same gender, but more classroom research is needed to explore this and other strategies to support children who resist gender stereotypes and the consequent negative effects.⁵⁹ It may be that different strategies are required for boys and for girls.

How can the outcomes among children of their experiences in gender equity programmes be measured? Extensive research has measured the impact of gender issues on the lives of older boys and girls. However, few studies have

tracked the effects of gender equity programmes on children 0 to 8 years of age. It is not yet clear how to conceptualise and measure outcomes among these children.

The theoretical terrain: conceptualising and informing practice

Studies of the acquisition of gender viewpoints in the early years can usually be classified according to whether they focus on biology, psychology, socialisation, or a social constructionist perspective. Theories of gendering that concentrate on internal development and learning processes are often associated with psychological studies, while theories that centre on social contexts and social processes tend to be associated with sociological studies. Within child development theory, however, the conceptual distinctions between these two disciplines have become blurred because there has been extensive borrowing from both.

This borrowing has generally been in favour of what might be called ‘*sex-role socialisation theory*’, which attempts to link the internal processes of individual learning with wider social and cultural factors in order to explain the development of gender concepts among children. The theory relies on the idea that children learn sex roles from key agents in the socialisation process, including family, peers, the media and school. They learn by observing, listening to and imitating these key agents in terms of appropriate behaviour, including sexually appropriate behaviour. Davies (1988)

has called this an ‘osmosis theory of gendering’, by which she means that individuals absorb gender automatically and without reflection ‘through their pores’ by the mere fact of living in society. Gender is ‘in the air we breathe’.

Liberal feminist theories of change emphasise equality through participation, power and the possession of a voice in the mainstream. They have strongly influenced early childhood research and have generated a focus on observation to determine the extent to which girls have equal access to teacher time, resources, educational experiences, play spaces and play materials.⁶⁰ Over the past 30 years, advice to staff about ways to encourage gender equity has been firmly embedded in liberal feminist principles of gender change through the provision of equal opportunities despite the growing evidence that the effects of such strategies are limited.

According to *feminist poststructuralism*, children do not merely absorb gender concepts from key influences (‘cultural transmitters’) around them, but are actively involved in the construction of their own gender. Feminist poststructuralists argue that theories of social learning are simplistic and flawed because they are silent on the ability of individuals to resist attempts at ‘resocialisation’ and on the capacity of individuals to transform dominant practices and meanings. Feminist poststructuralists have emphasised that gender identity formation is not only an abstract, cognitive exercise, but is also inherently emotional. Gender choices are constrained by understandings of the pleasurable and by the

ways power and choice are linked. Choice itself is constructed and constrained by emotion, desire and power, and efforts by professionals to counter gender stereotyping among young children will fail unless they reflect awareness of these phenomena. Feminist poststructuralists favour pedagogies that acknowledge power relationships and the capacity of children to resist gendering. They argue in support of theories of gendering that recognise the different ways boys and girls practise and experience power, desire and pleasure.⁶¹

Feminist poststructuralist theories also emphasise the complexity of gender identity formation, which can adopt paths according to context and experience. Moreover, gender identity intersects with and is affected by identities according to race, class and culture. Feminist poststructuralists therefore eschew universal explanations of gendering in the early years in favour of contextualised explanations.⁶²

Within this conceptual framework, gender is *relational*. Thus, for example, ‘ways of being’ among girls are, at least in part, related to and defined by the ways girls learn to act towards boys. A girl is recognisable because she will act differently towards boys. The corresponding relationship between gender and ways of acting also exists among boys. Does this mean that, if you shift the boundaries of acceptable behaviour for one gender, you can disrupt ideas not only about that gender, but also about the other gender? For this reason, feminist poststructuralists argue that we must focus on gender relations rather than gender roles. Can gender inequities

be eliminated by remaking the interactions and relationships between girls and boys?

The methodological terrain: developing and validating the knowledge

Much of the research on gender equity programmes has focused on observing and documenting what children know about gender, how children express gender and how adults, including early childhood professionals, are negatively implicated in the creation of gender stereotypes. There is also a recent trend to employ action research to identify the practical challenges and possibilities in efforts to overcome the resistance of young children to equity programmes and support children in transgressing noxious gender stereotypes in order to reshape gender perceptions.⁶³ However, this research has been only very limited outside academic settings.

Researchers in the terrain

Table 1.4 lists selected researchers who have published two or more studies along newer lines of inquiry.

Socio-economic diversity

The current knowledge base

Robert Connell's landmark study (1977) of class-consciousness among children in Australia in the late 1960s explored the development of children's understanding of class from their first years of primary school. Connell's work sits within a small body of research that has attempted to trace children's understandings of social inequality and class over time. It examines children's awareness of socio-economic status, their class-related attitudes and their knowledge of social mobility and social change.⁶⁴

Table 1.4. Researchers in the terrain: gender and gender diversity

Researcher	Focus	Theoretical Perspective	Key Publication	Location
Nola Alloway	boys and literacy in the early years	feminist poststructuralist	1995, 1997	James Cook University, Queensland, Australia
Naima Browne	gender practices in early childhood classrooms	sociocultural	with France, 1986; with Ross, 1991; 2004	United Kingdom
Bronwyn Davies	gender and literacy practices in the early years	feminist poststructuralist	1989, 1998	University of Western Sydney, Australia
Glenda M. Mac Naughton	action research; intersections of gender, race and class	feminist poststructuralist; postcolonial theories of identity		University of Melbourne, Australia

The extensively researched terrain: what we know with relative certainty

The limited amount of research suggests that the pre-school years are formative in children's understanding of socio-economic differences and that stereotypes begin to be constructed at this point in children's learning experience.

Specifically, the research indicates that young children are aware of differences in socio-economic status. They make gross distinctions between rich people and poor people and tend to view class in terms of a dichotomy between rich and poor. Primary-school-age children readily accept the existence of economic inequality without question.⁶⁵ Their awareness of social mobility and class change tend to be based on stereotypes. Their comprehension of the distinctions between rich and poor becomes more sophisticated as the children grow. By around grade 6, adult-type stereotypes have become fully developed so that older children start assessing behaviour more in terms of the characteristics of individuals.⁶⁶ Children usually select friends from their own background; they reject children from working class families more often than they do children from non-working class families.⁶⁷

The inadequately explored terrain: promising directions

There is very little current research about the impact on young children's understandings of class and their developing sense of self-worth. The paucity of research means that many issues need to be explored more thoroughly.

For example: What is the link between a child's cultural, racial, or gender identity and the child's identity as a member of a class? What specific markers of class do children notice at different ages? Do these markers differ according to a child's social class? What is the impact of children's class stereotypes on their peer relationships?

The theoretical terrain: conceptualising and informing practice

There is no consistent theory explaining how and why children learn and adopt stereotypes based on socio-economic class, and it is difficult to determine trends and characteristics by relying on the scanty literature that exists.

The methodological terrain: developing and validating the knowledge

Children's understandings of class have generally been explored through interviews during which photos are employed to prompt discussion by the children. Some field observations have been carried out in classrooms, but this sort of research has not been widespread.

Researchers in the terrain

Much of the research on class and young children was conducted over 15 years ago. Researchers who are currently active have not become prominent.

Summary maps

Tables 1.5–1.8 provide summary maps of the research on respect for diversity issues.

Table 1.5. The status of research on aspects of diversity: culture and race

Knowledge Base	Issues and Comments
The extensively researched terrain: what we know with relative certainty	The child: Children are racially aware by 3 years of age. They can display both positive and negative attitudes towards racial diversity.
The inadequately explored terrain: promising directions	<p>The child: What are the individual and society-wide factors that contribute to cultural respect among young children and how can they be sustained over time? What experiences will best support positive identity formation among mixed-race and bilingual children?</p> <p>The child in the family: What is the role of the family in the development among children of cultural and racial attitudes and preferences?</p> <p>The child in the cultural context: How does race influence ways of being and understanding in cultural contexts other than those that have been extensively researched?</p> <p>The programmes and pedagogies: What are the most effective pedagogies for promoting respect for cultural and racial diversity?</p> <p>The early childhood professional: What staff training models best support the development of respect for diversity programmes?</p> <p>The outcomes among children: What are the short- and long-term outcomes among individuals who have experienced respect for diversity programmes during their early years?</p>
The theoretical terrain: conceptualising and informing practice	<p>The prevalent lines of inquiry: Cognitive developmental psychology, sociocultural perspectives.</p> <p>The new lines of inquiry: Postcolonial theories and theories on white privilege.</p>
The methodological terrain: developing and validating the knowledge	<p>Prevalent methods: Scientific studies using standardised strategies and measures.</p> <p>Emerging alternatives: Action research in context. Children's voices and experiences.</p>
Researchers and research centres	Frances Aboud, Lawrence A. Hirschfeld, Kurt Kowalski, Glenda M. Mac Naughton, Patricia Ramsey, Debra Van Ausdale

Table 1.6. The status of research on aspects of diversity: developmental diversity

Knowledge Base	Issues and Comments
The extensively researched terrain: what we know with relative certainty	<p>The child: Children 3-8 years of age display positive and negative attitudes towards developmental diversity in others.</p> <p>The programmes and pedagogies: Specific strategies have been identified for building positive peer relationships between children with disabilities and children without disabilities.</p>
The inadequately explored terrain: promising directions	<p>The child: How do children without disabilities in non-inclusive classrooms form attitudes towards disabilities? How do children under 3 form attitudes and preferences towards disability and physical diversity?</p> <p>The child in cultural contexts: How does cultural context affect children's respect for disability?</p> <p>The early childhood professional: How can we improve teacher sensitivity and responsiveness towards children with disabilities?</p> <p>The outcomes among children: How can we measure the outcomes due to the experience of children in inclusive classrooms?</p>
The theoretical terrain: conceptualising and informing practice	Prevalent theories: Developmental and medical perspectives; ecological perspectives on inclusive classrooms.
The methodological terrain: developing and validating the knowledge	Prevalent methods: Scientific studies using standardised strategies and measures. Emerging alternatives: Sharpening outcome measurement tools.
Researchers and research centres	William H. Brown, Karen Diamond, Paddy Favazza, Samuel L. Odom, Early Childhood Research Institute on Inclusion (www.fpg.unc.edu/~ecrii/).

Table 1.7. *The status of research on aspects of diversity: gender and gender diversity*

Knowledge Base	Issues and Comments
The extensively researched terrain: what we know with relative certainty	<p>The child: Children's gender awareness and identity are well established by 3 years of age. Children construct increasingly gender-stereotyped behaviours and feelings from the age of 3. Young children's play and use of learning materials are often gender stereotyped.</p> <p>The programmes and pedagogies: Early childhood practices often differentiate between boys and girls in ways that reinforce gender stereotyping. Gender stereotyping is remarkably resistant to change through early childhood programmes. Reading non-sexist books to children does not represent a sufficient challenge to gender stereotyping.</p>
The inadequately explored terrain: promising directions	<p>The child: How can children become enabled to overcome traditional sex-role stereotypes?</p> <p>The child in the family: How can children become enabled to challenge gender-role stereotypes and resist the peer pressure to be stereotyped?</p> <p>The child in context: How does the cultural context affect the capacity of children to challenge gender stereotyping?</p> <p>Programmes and pedagogies: How can early childhood professionals work most effectively with children who resist attempts to establish gender equity?</p> <p>Outcomes among children: How can the outcomes among children of the experience of gender equity programmes be accurately measured?</p>
The theoretical terrain: conceptualising and informing practice	<p>Prevalent theories: Sex-role socialisation theory, liberal feminist theories of change. New lines of inquiry: Feminist poststructuralism and relational theories of gender.</p>
The methodological terrain: developing and validating the knowledge	<p>Prevalent methods: Emphasis on observational studies and on practical challenges. Emerging alternatives: Classroom-based action research to explore best practice.</p>
Researchers and research centres	Nola Alloway, Naima Browne, Bronwyn Davies, Glenda M. Mac Naughton

Table 1.8. The status of research on aspects of diversity: socio-economic diversity

Knowledge Base	Issues and Comments
The extensively researched terrain: what we know with relative certainty	The child: The pre-school years appear to be formative in children's understanding of socio-economic differences. Children develop class-related attitudes in their early years. Children's understanding of social mobility and change tend to involve stereotypes.
The inadequately explored terrain: promising directions	There is very little recent research, and little is known on this issue. Questions about children's understanding: What specific markers of class do children notice at different ages? Do these markers differ according to a child's class? To which of these markers do children attribute value, and does this differ according to the class of the child? What impact do class stereotypes have on children's peer relationships?
The theoretical terrain: conceptualising and informing practice	No consistent theoretical approaches exist to explain how and why children learn about class in many different ways.
The methodological terrain: developing and validating the knowledge	Children's understanding of class has been explored in a general way, but this sort of research has not been prominent.
Researchers and research centres	Much of the research was conducted over 15 years ago; no contemporary researchers have become prominent by studying this issue.

Reflections and comments

Regional nuances and issues in researching respect for diversity

Given that the literature focuses predominantly on the United States and, to a much lesser extent, on the United Kingdom, it is difficult to reflect on regional nuances. It is clear, in any case, that relevant research is not readily accessible through traditional academic search strategies.

It seems indisputable, nonetheless, that attitudes to diversity are being formed among children

between 3 and 5 years of age and that these attitudes are intimately linked to identity formation and re-formation among children. Evidence suggests that the processes begin from birth, and they certainly continue at least through to age 5 to 8.

The construction of racial identities and the privileging of whiteness have been widely researched in several Western, multicultural countries, particularly the United States.

The impact of power relationships based on race on the ways children form and re-form

racial identities in other regions of the world is inadequately researched. Disability and developmental diversity must certainly present different challenges in various cultural contexts, but research on these challenges beyond Western countries is scant.

Undeniably, gender is culturally constructed and bound up within culture. Understanding how this affects children in diverse cultural contexts is sorely needed if respect for diversity is to have meaning. Statistics surveyed by UNESCO (2003) point to the dangerous inequalities that girls in many countries face as a result of deeply entrenched cultural misconstructions of the potential of the girl child. Respect for diversity initiatives must grapple with gender as a relationship between girls and boys. The Respect for Diversity programme of the Bernard van Leer Foundation offers an opportunity to build a culturally contextualised knowledge base on practices that are successful in producing positive outcomes in gender relations among girls and among boys.

Respect for diversity: positions and possibilities

Research to inform. The majority of the research reviewed in this section has been generated through studies about children and about early childhood professionals and their programmes. Very little field-based action research is conducted *with* children and their families and

with early childhood professionals in order to build transformative strategies suitable to local contexts. Such research is essential in the effort to mainstream respect for diversity because it focuses on the ownership of change.⁶⁸

Asking the questions others are not asking. There is not much research exploring factors that create and sustain positive child outcomes in terms of respect for diversity. Specific questions that remain to be answered across and within diverse cultural contexts include the following.

- Which values and dispositions promote respect for diversity in the early years and how can these best be nurtured?
- Are there other long-term benefits to be derived by developing these values and dispositions in children?
- What is the most effective way to foster an understanding of these values and dispositions among early childhood educators?
- How can these values be developed and maintained when there is a disconnection between the home and the early childhood setting?
- How can we work with children who resist respect for diversity programmes?
- How can children's voices and the voices of early childhood professionals be used more powerfully to inform respect for diversity models and strategies?

Chapter 2: Mapping schools of thought on issues of respect for diversity

The literature review conducted for this working paper has identified five broad schools of thought on issues of respect for diversity in the education of young children.⁶⁹ They are the laissez-faire school, the special provisions school, the cultural understandings school, the equal opportunities school and the anti-discrimination school.

In this section, each school of thought is described by way of brief answers to the following questions.

- **Key aim:** What is the goal of the school of thought?
- **Inferred meanings of ‘respect for diversity’:** What are the assumptions about the meaning of ‘respect for diversity’?
- **Key targets for change:** What change in current practice or attitudes is being sought?
- **Key environments for change:** Is a particular environment targeted for change?
- **Key early childhood pedagogies:** Which educational methods are favoured in order to foster respect for diversity among young children?
- **Key outcomes among children:** Which outcomes are expected?
- **Implications for practice in early childhood centres:** What are the characteristics of the practices promoted in early childhood programmes by the school of thought?
- **Images of the child:** What adjectives might most characteristically be applied by the school of thought to describe the child?
- **Policy influences:** What influence does the school of thought exercise in terms of theory and practice in early childhood programmes generally?
- **Contemporary comments and criticisms:** What is the expert opinion about the school of thought?
- **Related terms and regional nuances:** What are the special terms used by the school of thought? Are there any regional variations in the policies and programmes promoted by the school of thought?

‘We’re all the same’: the ‘laissez-faire’ school of thought

Overview

Adherents of this school of thought believe that a respectful and equitable social world can be created if everyone shares the same ideas and values: ‘when we are the same, we are equal’. According to this ‘assimilationist’ approach to equity, developmental, cultural and social diversity represents a barrier. The main tenets of

Each school of thought is then examined in terms of:

the laissez-faire approach are as follows.

- **Key aim:** To produce equity without altering existing structures and attitudes.
- **Inferred meanings of ‘respect for diversity’:** Everyone is treated as the dominant or majority groups are treated.
- **Key targets for change:** No change is needed in the way issues are now being addressed.
- **Key environments for change:** No particular environment is targeted because no change is needed in the practices and ways of being of the dominant culture.
- **Key early childhood pedagogies:** Since equal treatment among all children will produce equity and respect, educators can ignore social, cultural, racial, talent and gender differences among children, parents and other adults.
- **Key outcomes among children:** If one group can succeed in an early childhood programme, then all groups should be able to succeed as long as they are given the opportunity.

Implications for practice in early childhood centres

The practices broadly value conformity and sameness. The application of learning and teaching resources convey conformist aesthetics and stereotypes. Specifically, this usually means the following.

Conformist learning materials and aesthetics.

The textures, styles, colours and sounds in the classrooms or early childhood centres reflect

mainstream, dominant aesthetic values. Images and materials emphasise traditional stereotypes as the norm and only represent traditional family lifestyles, reinforcing the idea that all the children look the same, speak the same and think and act in the same ways. Dolls and puppets configure only the dominant cultural and ethnic group. The choice of coloured pencils, paints, markers and papers makes it difficult for children who are not white to represent their skin tones readily in artwork. Materials are inaccessible to people and children with disabilities. There are no images and other materials showing individuals regarded as different relative to the norm or the mainstream.

Conformist programming and stereotyped expectations. Staff expect that all children can and should be able to find themselves in mainstream, dominant values, such as behaviour that follows group norms and routines. Conversation and learning experiences emphasise traditional sex-role stereotypes and reinforce the idea that we all look the same, speak the same and think and act in the same ways. There are likely to be few conversations and learning experiences that convey understanding of groups regarded as different relative to the norm or the mainstream. Few activities encourage and enable children from non-traditional family environments to share their experiences. Children who are not white are not encouraged and enabled to talk about their experiences of discrimination or marginalisation. Staff tend to assume that, relative to children with disabilities, children without disabilities are competent people.

Images of the child: innocent and immature

The laissez-faire school of thought is grounded primarily on a romantic image of the child as universally innocent, developmentally immature and ignorant of diversity. This image fits snugly with the view that the development of the child is essentially a process of maturation. The romantic believes that childhood is a period of innocence and that culture and environment can corrupt this process, including the capacity of the innocent child to develop free of discrimination. Consequently, by avoiding problematic cultural issues, such as diversity, inequality and discrimination, early childhood professionals can help ensure that the child's naturally healthy disposition will flourish.⁷⁰ By the same token, professionals can corrupt children by introducing them to cultural concerns and issues such as racism or sexism.

Policy influences

By assuming that no specific initiatives are necessary to promote respect for diversity, the laissez-faire approach creates a policy vacuum. Its influence is thus difficult to track, although its prevalence is evident in the many contexts in which no active promotion of respect for diversity is considered necessary.

Contemporary comments and criticisms: outcomes among children

Laissez-faire, assimilatory approaches to equity have been heavily criticised because they are said to be paternalistic, to manage diversity for the benefit of the dominant group, to promote a culture of silence towards issues of diversity,

to produce a loss of dignity and identity, a poor sense of self-esteem and feelings of hopelessness among assimilated groups and to undermine and disrupt the capacity of children to function within a minority cultural context.⁷¹ It is claimed that they imply the forced assimilation of minority individuals and groups.

Related terms and regional nuances

The laissez-faire school of thought is in a 'null' position on equity. Only those who criticise it have named it. The various terms these people employ are listed in Table 2.1.

'Making everyone normal': the 'special provisions' school of thought

Overview

Educational practices within special provisions programmes are broadly based on an image of the child as deficient. The key tenets of this school of thought are:

- **Key aim:** To equalise educational opportunity for children and groups that are considered different by teaching them to succeed within the mainstream.
- **Inferred meanings of 'respect for diversity':** Recognition of children's special needs.
- **Key targets for change:** The individual child or group that has been identified as different because it is believed to be deficient relative to the prevailing cultural, social, physical, intellectual, or emotional mainstream.
- **Key environments for change:** Special or separate facilities or structures established to address the children's special needs.

Table 2.1. Related terms and regional nuances: the laissez-faire school

Terms	Reference/Country/Use	Comments
'Colour blind'	Derman-Sparks and the Anti-Bias Curriculum Task Force (1989), United States, criticise this approach as part of their argument for anti-bias education in early childhood.	Refers to laissez-faire approaches to race, whereby a child's colour is not acknowledged by the dominant group, and the dominant group believes 'blindness' to racial differences will produce racial equality.
'Gender neutral'		Refers to the laissez-faire approach to gender, whereby it is assumed that, if one ignores gender differences, then gender equity will follow.
'Business as usual'	Sleeter and Grant (1999), United States, use this term to describe the situation found in most classrooms in the United States in a series of studies of classroom practices in the 1980s and 1990s.	Teachers make no adjustment for children's diversity in the subjects and the methods they use to teach and the way they organise groups of children.
'Conforming approach to equity'	Mac Naughton (2003b), Australia, uses this term to describe approaches to equity and respect for diversity whereby all children must conform to the status quo.	Refers to education that bows to existing social practices, rules, traditions and understanding and tends to assimilate children rather than respect their diversity.
'Liberal multiculturalism'	McClaren (1995), United States, cites this as a term used widely in the United States.	Approaches to multiculturalism that acknowledge different cultures, but, in policies and practices, reinforce the dominant culture as the norm.

- **Key early childhood pedagogies:** Specialist early childhood programmes and teaching techniques address children's differences so as to 'normalise' the children; the target norms are often associated with gender, culture, language, developmental factors, abilities, class, or sexuality.
- **Key outcomes among children:** Children deemed different are enabled to fit more readily into the mainstream because they have learned to be 'normal'.

Implications for practice in early childhood centres

Educational practices within special provisions programmes are broadly based on an image of the child as deficient. This is expressed in several ways, including the following.

Normalising learning materials and aesthetics.

The textures, styles, colours and sounds in the classroom or early childhood centre represent mainstream, dominant aesthetic values as

normal. Images and materials emphasise normal ways of being as desirable and obtainable for all and affirm that people can and should all appear the same, speak the same and think and act in the same ways. Stories emphasise similarities among people.

Programme content and expectations. The programmes seem to be seeking to respond to a question: 'Is the child in any way deficient in behaviour or knowledge because it is different?' (differences in gender, culture, language, development, class, or sexuality). The programmes employ the child's abilities and knowledge to help the child address its specific deficits and catch up with others in the group. Special learning techniques and specialist staff (teaching aides for the disabled, bilingual assistants) are used to work specifically with the target individual or group. Programme success is evaluated in terms of the progress of the deficient individuals towards achieving the norm. Families are included in the effort to address their children's deficiencies.

There is a lack of talk about the deficient children's experiences, including learning experiences. The assumption is that children in the special provisions target group have competencies that are valid and valuable, but different. There will also be a lack of any deliberate effort to understand or challenge discrimination or marginalisation within the group.

Images of the child: deprived, deficient, disadvantaged and at risk

The special provisions school of thought

maintains an image of the child as deficient and therefore in need of special provision. The 'deficient' child is culturally, socially, or economically 'at risk', 'disadvantaged', or 'deprived'. Swadener (2000) has documented the pervasiveness of this language in early childhood education over the past four decades. Analysing 2,500 publications, she has illustrated how this language is used to frame discussions of the goals and outcomes of early childhood education. She also points to a shift in the use of the terms. The emphasis in the 1960s and 1970s on cultural deprivation and deficiency shifted, in the 1980s, to discussions of children's cultural disadvantages and then, in the 1990s, to an emphasis on children 'at risk'.

The prevalence of the image of the child as deficient is linked to the dominance in early childhood education of Western perspectives on early child development. Less than 10 per cent of the studies on child development published in major specialist journals deal with children with culturally or linguistically diverse backgrounds.⁷² Many conceptions of the 'normal' child are derived from studies of white, middle-class children. Non-white, non-middle-class children may 'fail' to conform to these conceptions.⁷³ For example, age-based characteristics associated with specific areas of social, cognitive, emotional and physical development that are presented as universally 'normal' often correspond more closely with characteristics of children who have been socialised in white, middle-class society.⁷⁴

Valdivia (1999) discusses a series of developmental skills, the emergence of which among children depends on responses to tactile stimulation, verbal interaction, non-verbal interaction and feeding routines. These interactions are culturally specific, and, so, it should be no surprise that researchers in the United States have found different responses among African-American, Chinese-American, Mexican-American and Hopi and Navajo Indian children. Nonetheless, early childhood professionals have, on this basis, often claimed that such children are exhibiting developmental delays and, seeking to maximise the normal development of the children, have placed them in special educational programmes – often called ‘early intervention programmes’ – to redress the delays.⁷⁵

Elsewhere, in countries such as Serbia and Montenegro, special provisions approaches are reportedly effective in motivating Roma children to attend and stay in school. The Save the Children Fund currently supports 36 Roma language and culture classes in Vojvodina in partnership with the school authorities and Matica Romska, a Roma association, to help children understand their identity and learn about their rights.

Policy influences

Early childhood theoretical, curriculum and training documents reflecting concepts of child development that are based on research among children in the West are being used widely elsewhere.⁷⁶ For example, the National Association for the Education of Young

Children, a private organisation in the United States, has issued guidelines on ‘developmentally appropriate’ and ‘developmentally inappropriate’ practices among early childhood educators and other service providers.⁷⁷ The theoretical underpinnings of the publication rest strongly on a developed country understanding of who children are, can and should be. Though there has been debate about the developmental ‘truths’ underlying this document, it continues to exert influence on early childhood programmes in the developing countries.⁷⁸

Contemporary comments and criticisms: outcomes among children

Many of the programmes based on special provisions policies for ‘deficient’ children include classes in special groups or settings that are separate from the settings attended by ‘normal’ children. In these special settings, children are taught the skills and knowledge they require to participate in the ‘normal’ settings. This is true, for example, of many programmes that focus on children with disabilities, children speaking languages that are not the predominant local language and children who exhibit other types of diversity that have been questionably branded as ‘development delays’.⁷⁹

This segregation can reinforce feelings of rejection and create a strong sense that the separated children are less valued than other children by reinforcing the idea that only children participating in mainstream activities are normal. It can create low expectations

among the separated children by focusing on what they *cannot* do. It may limit the critical reflection of adults on why some children might not perform in particular ways. It ‘blames’ the child by ignoring the child’s social and political circumstances. In particular, models of the child ‘at risk’ blame the child for the oppression they experience. The models may also encourage stereotyped views about what is normal and abnormal. Early childhood staff working within this school of thought often fail to acknowledge the damaging effect of discriminatory remarks and practices. The approach can obliterate cultural and developmental distinctions by

encouraging children to adapt to predominant physical, social and cultural norms.

Related terms and regional nuances

Table 2.2 lists several terms commonly associated with the special provisions approach.

‘You’re different from me’: the ‘cultural understandings’ school of thought

Overview

The ‘cultural understandings’ school of thought links with humanistic approaches to education that emphasise growth and development as keys

Table 2.2. Related terms and regional nuances: the special provisions school

Term	References/Country/Use	Comments
‘Early intervention’	Widely used internationally.	Refers to programmes designed to intervene in children’s developmental pathways as early as possible in order to maximise potential. Generally targeted at the ‘early’ identification of developmental delay or disability.
‘Special needs education’	Widely used internationally, notably by UNESCO (1994) in the Salamanca statement to further the ‘Education for All’ initiative.	Refers to children whose educational needs and challenges arise from disabilities or learning difficulties.
‘Teaching the exceptional and culturally different’	Sleeter and McClaren (1995), United States, use this term to describe how white educators responded to efforts to desegregate schools in the 1960s and beyond and in special education for children with disabilities.	Refers to children with disabilities and ethnic minority children.
‘Immersion’ programmes	Hawaii and New Zealand	Refers to programmes in which indigenous children are immersed in non-indigenous culture and language.

to the individual's understanding and tolerance. Its principal tenets are:

- **Key aim:** To create understanding among diverse groups of children.
- **Inferred meanings of 'respect for diversity':** The understanding of our similarities and differences as people.
- **Key targets for change:** The individual child who lives within diversity at the local, regional, national, or international levels.
- **Key environments for change:** Mostly formal pre-school and child-care settings, but some work is aimed at families.
- **Key early childhood pedagogies:** One should alert children to people's different ways of dressing, eating and living. This is often accomplished by creating special experiences, such as pretending to be blind for a day, having Indian food for lunch so as to appreciate the differences of people from India, using chopsticks, conducting a visit to a disability or ethnic cultural centre.
- **Key outcomes among children:** Greater understanding of people's similarities and differences.

Implications for practice in early childhood centres

Examples of early childhood education within the cultural understandings school of thought are offered by multicultural programmes that provide teaching and learning resources about diversity. These resources aim to encourage 'mainstream' children to learn about different cultures. For example, a programme might organise themed 'Italian' or 'Chinese' weeks

featuring materials and experiences to increase non-Italian or non-Chinese children's understandings of these cultures; it might also celebrate Vietnamese New Year to increase the understanding of Vietnamese culture among non-Vietnamese children.

The 'cultural understandings' approach to diversity favours small, individualistic and incremental changes for equity. Environments based on this approach implement it in various ways, including the following.

Learning materials and aesthetics emphasising cultural tourism. The textures, styles, colours and sounds in the classroom or early childhood centre offer tokenistic representations of aesthetic values that differ from the mainstream or dominant aesthetic values. Most images and materials reflect only the dominant cultural and ethnic group. They likewise emphasise traditional sex-role stereotypes as the norm. Appropriate materials are inaccessible to people and children with disabilities. Dolls and puppets represent diverse ethnic groups only in special ethnic displays and activities. Images and stories featuring lifestyles regarded as different from the norm or as originating in other countries are used only for special occasions or special projects.

Tokenistic programming and expectations. The representation of cultural values other than those of the mainstream or dominant culture are tokenistic. Most conversations, expectations and learning experiences imply that traditional sex-role stereotypes are the norm, feature the

dominant cultural and ethnic group and include adults and children with disabilities only if these are demanded. Diversity issues are addressed solely if children ask about them. Conversations, expectations and learning experiences about diverse ethnic groups are restricted to special ethnic displays and activities about diverse lifestyles in other countries that are created on special occasions or for special projects.

Images of the child: 'others' are different

The cultural understandings school of thought accepts cultural and developmental differences among young children. However, this often means rendering these differences 'exotic', that is, defining groups in terms of their differences from the mainstream culture and regarding them as composed of 'others' who are special because they are remarkable, curious, unfamiliar, colourful and fascinating.⁸⁰ Adherents of this approach present this 'specialness' as a set of characteristics to be appreciated and learned about and develop programmes so that 'we' can learn about 'them'. This presents the dominant developmental, cultural and ethnic groups ('we') as the norm and the rest ('them') as exotic 'others' to be studied.

Policy influences

This approach to diversity is widespread and is still prevalent in many Western multicultural countries. Broad examples of early childhood educational policies for cultural understanding include efforts such as invitations extended to people with disabilities to attend programmes so that children without disabilities can learn what makes these people special. Similarly,

indigenous musicians, for instance, are invited to visit early childhood programmes.

Contemporary comments and criticisms: outcomes among children

Teachers who base their programmes solely on the cultural understandings school of thought encounter obstacles in their teaching. The approach often focuses on the negative aspects of disabilities, not on the positive characteristics of the whole child. It may represent cultures in simplistic and stereotyped ways. It often renders the members of a particular group homogenous by ignoring differences. For example, people who are blind are considered as though they all think, feel and act in the same way and share the same values. The same is true of members of a particular cultural or ethnic group. The approach may also ignore social, cultural, racial and talent diversity unless the children in the programme exhibit such diversity. It can encourage teachers to develop a superficial understanding of diverse groups, leading them to introduce children to diversity in ways that misinform them and reinforce stereotypes and prejudices.⁸¹

Related terms and regional nuances

Table 2.3 lists selected terms that have been used to describe this approach.

'Giving a fair go': the 'equal opportunities' school of thought

Overview

Adherents of this school of thought seek to ensure that everyone in a society has the same

Table 2.3. Related terms and regional nuances: the cultural understandings school

Terms	References/Country/Use	Comments
'Tourist approaches'	Derman-Sparks and the Anti-Bias Curriculum Task Force (1989), United States. Developed as part of the introduction to the anti-bias approach and now used widely in countries where early childhood educators are familiar with the anti-bias approach (for example, Australia, New Zealand, the UK).	This approach may create stereotypes rather than challenge them, by representing a token gesture, not diversity.
'Tokenistic approaches'	Clarke and Siraj-Blatchford (2000), Australia and the United Kingdom. Used widely in educational circles, including early childhood education.	Describes an approach to respect for diversity in which diversity (gender, culture, ethnicity, language, sexuality, ability) is presented in teaching and learning resources, but peripherally, not centrally.
'Cultural additive approach'	Banks and Banks (1989); Banks (1993), United States.	Adds content about different cultures to the curriculum, but does not change the structures and processes of teaching and learning significantly.
'Multicultural'	Used widely, but differently in various countries.	'Multicultural' is a highly problematic term as it is used differently in different regions. Sometimes, the related approach seeks solely to build cultural understanding among groups of children; sometimes, it is tokenistic.
'Black awareness'	Davies (1993), United States.	A research-based review that presented a black awareness programme for pre-school children in the United States based on four themes: famous black people, the family, social interaction among children and exploring the community.

'life chances' or 'equal opportunities'. For instance, women and men should have equal access to opportunities, and indigenous people and non-indigenous people should have equal opportunities. This approach reflects a liberal view of social change, that is, equality derives from equal access by all to the experiences,

positions and economic resources of a society. The following are the key tenets.

- **Key aim:** To give everyone an equal opportunity to succeed within society.
- **Inferred meanings of 'respect for diversity':** Lack of opportunity generates inequity.

- **Key targets for change:** Removing the factors in policy and in practice that prevent all children from participating equally in an early childhood programme.
- **Key environments for change:** Mostly formal pre-school and child-care settings.
- **Key early childhood pedagogies:** Ignore structural, social, cultural, racial, talent and gender differences among children, parents and other adults. Provide equal opportunities for all children, irrespective of these differences among them, because equal opportunities create equal outcomes.
- **Key outcomes for children:** All children attain equal outcomes because they have been given equal opportunities.

Implications for practice in early childhood centres

In programmes implementing the equal opportunities school of thought, the child is viewed as a learner who absorbs social messages and values from diverse sources (or ‘cultural transmitters’), including adult behaviours, children’s books and television programmes.⁸² To create equal opportunities for children, their environment must be saturated with information that enables the child to absorb positive cultural messages, promotes an image of children as essentially equal and helps children participate fully. The following are thus characteristic of this approach.

Absorption-based learning materials and aesthetics. Images, materials and stories feature a methodology focusing on the strengths of

the child so that children can participate and achieve in all activities irrespective of their gender, race, culture, or ability. Non-sexist images and materials are employed that tend to reverse traditional roles by, for example, showing girls performing traditionally masculine activities and boys performing traditionally feminine activities. Images and materials are culturally diverse.

Absorption-based programming and expectations.

Any programme elements that may prevent a child from participating fully and equally are identified. Adults model non-stereotypical ways of speaking. Stories, posters and teachers actively encourage all children to participate in all aspects of a programme. Some strength-based conversations about children’s experiences, including learning experiences, assume that people in special provisions target groups have their own experiences that are valid and valuable. All children are treated equally in terms of access to teachers, learning opportunities and resources. Traditional sex-role stereotypes are challenged only if children express them. Children are encouraged to engage in gender-role reversals only if they choose to.

Other issues and practices. Efforts are made to recruit staff who reflect diversity in gender, race, culture and disability. Policies express an equal opportunities approach in language and goals. There is only a very limited attempt to discover and challenge discrimination or marginalisation among children.

Images of the child: culturally receptive and susceptible

The 'equal opportunities' school of thought draws primarily on cultural transmission and social learning theories of the child.⁸³ According to these theories, the child is a passive learner who unwittingly learns about and absorbs the cultural environment by observing, modelling and imitating 'messages' from various cultural transmitters, including the family, the peer group, the media, early childhood institutions and other cultural institutions. If children are rewarded when they imitate culturally favoured ways of being, they will learn despite themselves. So, if an early childhood educator wants children to be non-sexist, the educator should transmit this message so that the children can readily observe and respond, and then the educator should reward the children when they act and speak in a non-sexist manner.

Policy influences

The equal opportunities approach is based on liberal and pluralistic cultural attitudes towards change. These attitudes are the foundations of inclusive education for children with disabilities and of the related cultural diversity and gender equity policies. Such attitudes aim to promote equal opportunities throughout all aspects of an early childhood service, including resources, policies, staffing practices and curricula. The following are some broad examples.

Early childhood programmes are sometimes required to adapt the environment in order to enable children with disabilities in a special

group or setting to participate as much as possible in all activities. This approach gained considerable international currency when the 1994 UNESCO world conference on special needs education advocated a shift from the special provisions approach to what was then called 'inclusive education'.⁸⁴

Services are supposed to offer non-sexist programming for young children. Thus, the National Childcare Accreditation Council, a government association in Australia, requires all staff in day care to respect and promote equity.⁸⁵ Similarly, through the Children's Services Resources and Development Officer scheme in Australia, bilingual programme support is offered for children speaking languages other than English as a first language.

The national curriculum in the United Kingdom prescribes early learning goals that are equality-of-opportunity goals, while efforts to create staff teams featuring equal numbers of women and men from diverse cultural backgrounds are supported through the Equal Opportunities Commission.⁸⁶

In many developing countries, policy has emphasised the creation of equal opportunities so that the girl child can participate in early education (referred to as 'gender parity'). Thus, plans for the implementation of Education for All in several countries have focused on fostering such participation.⁸⁷ A core goal in Education for All programmes is ensuring that, by 2015, all children, but especially girls and children in difficult circumstances, have access

to quality education that is free and compulsory. There is growing recognition that gender parity requires active changes in curricula, practices and resources so as to ensure that these promote positive images of girls and self-esteem among girls. However, gender parity is a major struggle in numerous countries, including in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. Several countries (China, for instance) have, as an Education for All goal, equal participation in education by ethnic minorities.⁸⁸

Many developing countries are also struggling to create inclusive education for children with disabilities. Funding agencies are supporting projects to integrate children with disabilities into mainstream classrooms.⁸⁹ The Enabling Education Network (United Kingdom) has extensive links internationally and is undertaking action-research projects in Tanzania and Zambia to promote more inclusive approaches to children with disabilities.⁹⁰ Other initiatives include new strategies to teach children with disabilities (Kyrgyzstan, Laos, Viet Nam), teaching children with and children without hearing loss to sign to each other in integrated classrooms (China), supporting parent education networks (Kyrgyzstan) and changing attitudes towards children with disabilities (Kyrgyzstan).

Contemporary comments and criticisms: outcomes among children

In localities where there is unequal access to education, some people view the equal opportunities school of thought as radical, but

necessary. However, those wishing to implement it should plan around the shortcomings critics have identified in recent years.⁹¹

For example, the equal opportunities school of thought posits that all children ought to experience and participate in all activities offered within an early childhood programme even though this approach assumes the activities are all beneficial for everyone. In fact, stereotypes and formal barriers are not always responsible alone for preventing children from participating in programme activities. Thus, there is considerable research showing that girls avoid particular activities that boys may enjoy. In certain cases, it may actually be appropriate to tailor activities to respond to specific groups, toy trucks for boys and dolls for girls, for instance. Yet, the equal opportunities school of thought fails to assign children an active role in the socialisation process or an ability to ignore or resist programme messages. It does not allow them to help shape educational practices and curricula content by choosing what they consider valuable. Indeed, it does not seek to explain what happens when a child encounters contradictory messages (for example, sexist and anti-sexist messages). General participation in all activities may therefore actually tend to support the status quo.⁹²

Related terms and regional nuances

Table 2.4 indicates terms that have been used to describe the equal opportunities school of thought.

Table 2.4. Related terms and regional nuances: the equal opportunities school

Terms	References/Country/Use	Comments
'Gender parity'	Used by UNESCO to refer to one of its key goals in primary education. At the World Forum in Dakar in 2001, 164 governments adopted the goal.	Refers to the equitable enrolment of girls and boys in education. Does not equate gender parity with gender equity, but sees it as a necessary precondition.
'Non-sexist' programmes	Used widely in many Western countries since the 1970s.	Aims to remove traditional gender-role stereotypes from teacher expectations, teaching and learning resources and learning experiences.
'Non-discriminatory practices'	Used widely in many Western countries since the 1970s; now used also in parts of the Asia-Pacific region.	Refers to practices that do not discriminate in favour of or against a specific group or an individual child on the basis of gender, race, culture, or disability.
'Multicultural' programmes	A highly problematic, but widely used term (as noted in tables above).	
'Cultural pluralism'	See Sleeter and Grant (1999) for a good overview of the ways in which cultural pluralism has been understood and practised in education in the United States.	Approaches to cultural diversity that attempt to maintain diversity, respect differences and ensure that all cultural groups can participate equally in society.
'Inclusive education'	Used since 1994 by UNESCO in applying Education for All initiatives to children with disabilities in, for example, Bangladesh, Hong Kong, Laos and Viet Nam.	Includes children with disabilities in mainstream classrooms and adapts the learning environment to their needs, rather than making them adapt to their environment.

'We must make it fair for everyone': the 'anti-discrimination' school

Overview

Adherents of the 'anti-discrimination' school of thought build on the cultural understandings and equal opportunities approaches to acknowledge diversity. They also address the negative effects of discrimination and provide descriptions of experiences and other materials

that challenge discrimination.⁹³ They aim to transform the people, institutions and ideas that produce inequity and injustice. The key tenets of this school are as follows.

- **Key aim:** To challenge inequity and injustice.
- **Inferred meanings of 'respect for diversity':** Power relationships and ideologies create and sustain inequities and injustices.
- **Key targets for change:** The power

relationships and ideologies that create and sustain inequities and injustices.

- **Key environments for change:** The power structures and pedagogies that create and sustain inequities and injustices.
- **Key early childhood pedagogies:** Pedagogies aiming to empower all children to stand up for diversity and challenge discrimination in their lives and in the lives of others.
- **Key outcomes for children:** All children learn to champion fairness, respect diversity and build self-esteem.

Implications for practice in early childhood centres

Programmes reflecting this school of thought view the child as a competent social actor and meaning-maker capable of thinking and acting in anti-discriminatory ways. Staff aim to transform inequitable and unjust structures, ideas and practices and design learning environments that produce equity and social justice for all children by engaging proactively with diversity and with the effects and experiences of discrimination. This proactive stance may be expressed in several ways, as follows.

Transformative learning materials and aesthetics. Images, materials and stories render the various cultures, abilities and genders of the children visible within the curriculum. Sounds, images, textures, aromas, food and furniture in programme centres celebrate diversity.

Transformative programming and expectations. Issues of diversity appear daily throughout the programme. All children can experience

the richness and diversity of different parts of the curriculum. Children are encouraged to value each other equally and to develop a non-discriminatory understanding of disability, culture, social differences, race and gender. Curriculum experiences enable all children to express their particular individuality and life experiences. Adults raise issues of diversity and discrimination proactively with children in daily conversations and through stories and learning experiences. Adults help children build social skills so they can stand up for themselves and others when they experience unfairness. Adults reflect critically with children about the effects of discrimination on their lives and the lives of others. The programme creates a 'living democracy'.

Other issues and practices. Efforts are undertaken to recruit staff of diverse genders, races, cultures and abilities. Policies reflect equal opportunities in their language and goals. There are daily efforts to discover and challenge discrimination and marginalisation within the group. Parents are actively involved in developing policies and practices. The specific ways in which issues of diversity are explored are aligned with the specific nature of the diversities within the group.

Images of the child: the competent meaning-maker and social actor

The anti-discrimination school of thought draws on sociocultural theories of the child and the new sociology of childhood whereby children are seen as competent meaning-makers and social actors. This image assumes that children are able to participate in decision-

making about their lives and views children as competent citizens who possess ideas, values and understandings of themselves and the world independent of adults. Children are not innocent of the world or of issues of diversity, and it is believed that they can make insightful and meaningful comments about how the world might be better for themselves and others.⁹⁴ This places a responsibility on the educator to work with young children in ways that engage and extend children's respect for diversity through knowledge and skills.

Policy influences

The influence of the anti-discrimination school of thought is apparent in early childhood curriculum documents and statements.

For instance, *Essential Connections: A Guide to Young Children's Learning*, produced by the Department of Education, Tasmania (2004), Australia, supports curriculum planning for all early childhood services in the state. It describes social responsibility as an essential learning area with five components: building social capital, valuing diversity, acting democratically, understanding the past and creating preferred futures.

Te Whāriki: Early Childhood Curriculum, issued by the Ministry of Education, New Zealand (1996), includes a focus on empowerment and belonging as part of a nationally mandated early childhood curriculum.

More work is needed to track such policy influences in greater detail in other regions.⁹⁵

Contemporary comments and criticisms: outcomes among children

There is scant research on the anti-discrimination approach. Outcomes can therefore be clarified only tentatively. However, the research does show that the anti-discrimination approach raises difficulties. For example, since children are active meaning-makers, they also actively resist anti-discrimination curricula. Their resistance is linked to the identities and possibilities associated with their gender, race and class. Early childhood professionals may undermine anti-discrimination approaches in services that lack a commitment to this work by the team. Many localities lack the resources and training to support anti-discrimination approaches, and early childhood professionals can rely on few resources and little research if they wish to advocate for anti-discrimination approaches among colleagues, parents and policy makers.⁹⁶

Related terms and regional nuances

Several terms have been employed to describe the anti-discrimination school of thought, but they share a focus on education for social change that transforms inequitable and unjust power relationships. Some terms are used across several countries, for example, 'anti-bias education' and 'critical education'. Regions have also developed their own iterations of this approach, as outlined in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5. Related terms and regional nuances: the anti-discrimination school

Terms	References/Country/Uses	Comments
'Critical education' also known as 'emancipatory education', 'social reconstructionist' education and 'transformative education'	These terms build on the work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire and on liberation strategies throughout Latin America. 'Critical education' is used most widely. It encompasses feminist educational theories and critical race theory (sometimes called 'critical multiculturalism'; see Sleeter and Grant, 1999).	Critical pedagogical approaches can help children construct knowledge grounded on their experiences and serving as a tool of self-empowerment. Schools are sites for historical, critical and transformative action. Critical educators focus on how social identities are constructed within the unequal power relationships present in schools (Rossatto, 2001).
'Anti-bias approach'	Derman-Sparks and the Anti-Bias Curriculum Task Force (1989), United States. Also used in Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand and countries of the Diversity in Early Childhood Education and Training network (www.decet.org/).	Developed by the Anti-Bias Task Force in California using critical pedagogy (Paulo Freire) and early childhood research and practice to work on anti-discrimination with young children. The principles are still evolving.
'Human rights educare'	Tamaki (2000), Japan, uses this term in discussing approaches to education among the Buruku peoples in Japan.	Liberating education for the Buruku within Japan with a focus on anti-discrimination.
'Anti-prejudice curriculum'	Wallance (1998), Ireland, in discussing the need for such a curriculum in early childhood in Ireland.	Covers the promotion of positive attitudes among young children in regards to race, culture, language, disability and gender.
'Social responsibility approach to valuing diversity'	Department of Education, Tasmania (2004), Australia.	Explicit commitment to education that builds a civil, compassionate and more equitable society, including challenging discrimination and injustice.
'Anti-racist education'	Term used in early childhood education in Australia and the United Kingdom.	Focuses on how racism operates throughout society; focuses on education to motivate and empower people to challenge racism.
'Gender inclusiveness'	Alloway (1995), Australia, but used more widely.	Refers to approaches to gender equity that celebrate and revalue the feminine.

Summary maps of schools of thought on enhancing respect for diversity

Tables 2.6–2.10 provide summary maps of the five schools of thought described in this section.

Table 2.6. Summary map of the laissez-faire school

Key Tenets	Criticisms of Programmes
<p>Key aim: produce equity for all within existing structures and attitudes.</p> <p>Inferred meanings of 'respect for diversity': treating everyone the same as one treats the majority, dominant groups.</p> <p>Key targets for change: no change is needed in the way issues are now being addressed.</p> <p>Key environments for change: none is targeted as no change is needed in the dominant culture's practices or policies.</p> <p>Key early childhood pedagogies: since equal treatment among all children will produce equity and respect, educators can ignore social, cultural, racial, talent and gender differences among children, parents and other adults.</p> <p>Key outcomes among children: if one group can succeed in a programme, then all groups should be able to succeed so long as they are given the opportunity.</p>	<p>They are paternalistic (McLaren, 1995).</p> <p>They manage diversity for the benefit of the dominant group (McLaren, 1995).</p> <p>They attempt to create a common culture that silences diversity (Nieto, 1995).</p> <p>They result in loss of identity, poor self-esteem, loss of dignity and feelings of hopelessness among the assimilated groups (Vajda, 2001).</p> <p>They can undermine and disrupt the capacity of children in a minority group to function in their own cultural context (Sleeter and Grant, 1999).</p>

Table 2.7. Summary map of the special provisions school

Key Tenets	Criticisms of Programmes
<p>Key aim: equalise educational opportunity for children and groups that are considered different by teaching them to succeed within the mainstream.</p> <p>Inferred meanings of 'respect for diversity': recognition of children's special needs.</p> <p>Key targets for change: individuals or groups identified as different relative to the dominant group within a specific cultural context.</p> <p>Key environments for change: special or separate facilities or structures created to meet the children's special needs.</p> <p>Key early childhood pedagogies: specialist programmes and teaching techniques address children's difference so as to normalise the children; the target norms are often associated with gender, culture, language, developmental factors, abilities, class, or sexuality.</p> <p>Key outcomes among children: children deemed different are enabled to fit more readily into the mainstream because they have learned to be 'normal'.</p>	<p>The programmes often segregate children seen as different from the norm.</p> <p>They reinforce rejection and a continuing sense that the segregated child is valued less than others, since only 'normal' children take part in some activities.</p> <p>They create low expectations about children by focusing on what children cannot do and by limiting consideration of the reasons for their lack of accomplishment.</p> <p>They 'blame' children by ignoring their social and political circumstances.</p> <p>They obliterate cultural and developmental distinctions by encouraging children to adapt to existing physical, social and cultural norms.</p>

Table 2.8. Summary map of the cultural understandings school of thought

Key Tenets	Criticisms of Programmes
<p>Key aim: create understanding among diverse groups of children.</p> <p>Inferred meanings of 'respect for diversity': the understanding of our similarities and differences as people.</p> <p>Key targets for change: the individual child who lives within diversity at the local, regional, national, or international levels.</p> <p>Key environments for change: mostly formal pre-school and child-care settings, but some work is aimed at families.</p> <p>Key early childhood pedagogies: one should alert children to people's different ways of dressing, eating and living; this is often accomplished by creating special experiences, such as pretending to be blind for a day, having Indian food for lunch so as to appreciate the differences of people from India, using chopsticks, conducting a visit to a disability or ethnic cultural centre.</p> <p>Key outcomes among children: greater understanding of people's similarities and differences.</p>	<p>They often focus on the negative aspects of disabilities, not on the positive characteristics of the whole child.</p> <p>They often represent cultures in simplistic and stereotyped ways.</p> <p>They often homogenise a particular group, ignoring differences within it.</p> <p>They may ignore social, cultural, racial, or ability diversity if no children in the programme show this diversity.</p> <p>They may encourage teachers to develop superficial understandings of diverse groups, leading the teachers to misinform children about diversity and reinforce stereotypes and prejudices.</p>

Table 2.9. Summary map of the equal opportunities school of thought

Key Tenets	Criticisms of Programmes
<p>Key aim: give all an equal opportunity to succeed within society.</p> <p>Inferred meanings of 'respect for diversity': lack of opportunity generates inequity.</p> <p>Key targets for change: removing the factors in policy and in practice that prevent all children from participating equally in an early childhood programme.</p> <p>Key environments for change: mostly formal pre-school and child-care settings.</p> <p>Key early childhood pedagogies: ignore structural, social, cultural, racial, ability and gender differences among children, parents and other adults; provide equal opportunities for all children, irrespective of these differences among them, because equal opportunities create equal outcomes.</p> <p>Key outcomes for children: all children attain equal outcomes because they have been given equal opportunities.</p>	<p>They assume that the programme experiences offered to children are all important and worthwhile for each child.</p> <p>They assume that stereotypes and formal barriers prevent participation, but girls, for example, may avoid certain activities they do not value or enjoy.</p> <p>They give the child no role in socialisation and no capacity to ignore or resist messages.</p> <p>They prevent people (children) who are unable to shape educational practices and curricula from expressing their opinions about what is worthwhile.</p> <p>They do not explain what occurs when a child encounters contradictory messages, sexist and anti-sexist messages, for instance.</p>

Table 2.10. Summary map of the anti-discrimination school of thought

Key Tenets	Criticisms of Programmes
<p>Key aim: challenge inequity and injustice.</p> <p>Inferred meanings of 'respect for diversity': power relationships and ideologies create and sustain inequities and injustices.</p> <p>Key targets for change: the power relationships and ideologies that create and sustain inequities and injustices.</p> <p>Key environments for change: the power structures and pedagogies that create and sustain inequities and injustices.</p> <p>Key early childhood pedagogies: pedagogies aiming to empower all children to stand up for diversity and challenge discrimination in their lives and in the lives of others.</p> <p>Key outcomes for children: all children learn to champion fairness, respect diversity and build self-esteem.</p>	<p>As active meaning-makers, children can resist anti-discrimination curricula in ways linked with gender, race and class.</p> <p>Early childhood professionals can actively undermine anti-discrimination approaches in services that lack team commitment.</p> <p>Several regions lack the resources and training necessary to support anti-discrimination approaches.</p> <p>Few resources and little research support early childhood professionals who wish to advocate among colleagues, parents and policy makers for an anti-discrimination approach.</p>

Chapter 3: Final reflections

This review has focused on published scholarship accessible through normal academic search strategies. It has focused on formal early childhood environments in most instances. Information about practices in informal settings have not been found.

The scant research about the introduction of respect for diversity approaches in formal settings has produced several messages that can be employed as guidelines for further exploration and learning. First, the most effective approaches seem to be those that involve the use of active, interventionist strategies by early childhood professionals intent on engaging children. These might range from group discussions about respect for diversity to teaching sessions with children about specific ways to interact respectfully.

Second, the effect of the introduction of respect for diversity initiatives into formal settings is often unpredictable or haphazard. In part, this is because skilled, knowledgeable early childhood professionals are required, but may not be available or may exhibit a range of skills, not all of which are appropriate. In part, it is because the models that underpin much of the work with young children focus on facilitating development rather than on active, transformative interventions in the learning process.

Third, the positive outcomes that can be produced by respect for diversity initiatives require time and persistency. Superficial or short-term approaches may increase rather than reduce children's stereotyping and prejudice.

Appendix 1: Emerging lines of inquiry

In recent years, social, political and cultural theories broadly labelled as ‘postmodern’ have influenced the respect for diversity schools of thought. Postmodernists have expanded the struggle against discrimination in early childhood by increasing their focus on the issues of identity, transformation and power relationships among young children. However, this work is not widely discussed. Several fresh lines of inquiry are therefore described below.⁹⁷

Postcolonial theories and the effects of ‘whiteness’

Numerous scholars have been revisiting and reinterrogating the colonial past to highlight its repercussions in terms of racial politics and imagery today, especially the production and reproduction of power relationships based on race. They have identified intimate links between colonialism and the cultural and economic exploitation and oppression of indigenous peoples in former colonies, emphasising the role played by an ideology of race through which the colonisers saw themselves as superior to the colonised.

Postcolonial scholars have challenged what Crowley called “the mystifying amnesia of the colonial aftermath” that produced “the extraordinary ordinariness of ‘whiteness’” in postcolonial countries.⁹⁸

The work of postcolonial scholars is known broadly within development studies. It is only beginning to show an influence on efforts to

enhance respect for diversity in early childhood education, mainly in academic circles.⁹⁹ The approach typically requires that one consider how to engage with young children in order to challenge colonialism. This might include, for example, countering the homogenisation of indigenous Australians into a collective ‘them’, avoiding seeking to understand indigenous Australians by comparing them or attempting to integrate them in the mainstream, helping early childhood professionals develop a teaching framework and teaching strategies that do not reinforce a binary opposition between black and white, helping Anglo-Australian children to build identities that undermine this binary opposition, identifying and challenging any traces of colonialism in Anglo-Australian children’s encounters with indigenous Australian cultures, and so on.

Several projects at the Centre for Equity and Innovation in Early Childhood, University of Melbourne, are exploring ways to address postcolonialism through respect for diversity.

Thus, ‘reading for otherwise’ involves imagining how people other than the cultural and racial elite and the privileged might understand issues. One must seek access to the wisdom of the dispossessed, oppressed, marginalised and silenced. For example, reading for otherwise would require a white Anglo-Australian woman to ‘interrogate whiteness’ and challenge racial binaries in order to hypothesise how she might

understand gender, race and class if she were not white and how ‘discourses of whiteness’ have shaped the history of the present in classrooms in Australia. To accomplish this, the white Australian would try to understand how colonialism and the ideology of race that sustained it lives on among young children.¹⁰⁰

Research has shown that such discourses of whiteness have left remnants of four colonialist and racist concepts among young contemporary Australian children: race and colour do matter, whiteness is desirable, the ‘other’ is marginal or exotic, and the ‘dark other’ is to be feared. To eliminate these discursive traces, one might train early childhood educators to ask themselves questions such as: How do you relate to whiteness? How do children in your classroom relate to whiteness? How do your own views on whiteness and the other affect how you understand children’s experiences of race? How could you expose the influence of race and of racism in your life and in the lives of the children in your classroom?

Feminist poststructuralist theories of gender and identity

Poststructuralist educators are interested in discovering how language influences and structures children’s understandings of the world. They explore the ways children and educators learn, create meanings and critically

reflect on the effects of these meanings. They observe children to determine how language facilitates or obstructs ways of being and how curricula might broaden or narrow children’s opportunities to learn.¹⁰¹

Feminist poststructuralists prioritise the analysis of gendered power relationships in young children’s lives. Feminist poststructuralists argue that early childhood educators need to engage proactively with the complex processes through which young children negotiate with, produce and reconstruct gendered cultural meanings. Early childhood professionals need to understand the role of gender identity in the experience of young children in the classroom. They must recognise that children invest emotionally in specific meanings of gender, and they should examine how this may affect their attempts to help children to remake their gendered practices each day and offer children alternative, more positive meanings of gender.¹⁰²

Appendix 2: Centres of expertise: a beginning guide

This appendix lists centres of expertise that are active in research or advocacy in areas associated with respect for diversity. It is organised according to types of diversity and region.

Developmental diversity and disability

Asia, Middle East and North Africa

Centre for Special Needs and Studies in Inclusive Education, Hong Kong: The aim of the centre is to support the development of inclusive education in the region. Activities and outputs include research, the publication and distribution of information and advice for parents and professionals, and the sharing and exchange of research knowledge within the region. It is part of the Hong Kong Institute of Education. <www.ied.edu.hk/csnsie/home.htm>.

North America

Circle of Inclusion, Lawrence, KS: The aim of Circle of Inclusion is to offer demonstrations and information about effective practices of inclusive education for children 0 to 8 years of age. Activities and outputs include information on inclusive programmes, assessment portfolios and other resources. <www.circleofinclusion.org>

Early Childhood Research Institute on Culturally and Linguistically Appropriate Services, Champaign, IL: The aim of the institute is to identify, evaluate and promote

effective and appropriate early intervention and pre-school practices that are sensitive of and respectful to children and families from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. Activities and outputs include a resource bank and catalogue of validated, culturally and linguistically appropriate materials, a review of materials by experts in early childhood education, early intervention-early childhood special education and multicultural education. It considers issues of social, cultural and linguistic acceptability to children and families from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. The institute is a collaborative effort of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, the Council for Exceptional Children, the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, the ERIC Clearinghouse on Elementary and Early Childhood Education and the ERIC Clearinghouse on Disabilities and Gifted Education. It is funded by the Office of Special Education Programmes of the US Department of Education. <www.clas.uiuc.edu>

Inclusion.com, Toronto: The aim of Inclusion.com is to provide resources, programmes and research that will support inclusive practices. Activities and outputs include the promotion of person-centred planning and resource materials, the publication of articles on the history of inclusion and some insights on the ethics of inclusion and the organisation of workshops and other events on inclusion. The sources of

funding are Jack Pearpoint and Cathy Hollands, Inclusion Press International and the Marsha Forest Centre. <www.inclusion.com>

Cross-regional

Enabling Education Network, Manchester, United Kingdom: The aim of the network is to generate information sharing on inclusive education. Activities and outputs include an on-line bank of resources on inclusive education and information about national and regional networks, including in Brazil and Nigeria. <www.eenet.org.uk>

Gender diversity

Africa

Forum for African Women Educationalists, Nairobi: The aim of the forum is to create positive social attitudes that promote equality for girls through the transformation of educational systems in Africa. Activities and outputs include the formulation and adoption of educational policies on education among girls, building public awareness and consensus on the social and economic advantages of such education, undertaking and supporting experimental and innovative programmes to increase the participation of girls in education, creating and sustaining partnerships with governments, donors, universities, communities and other partners in education for the effective implementation of programmes. The forum is funded by the Membership and national chapters in 33 African countries. <www.fawe.org>

Asia, Middle East and North Africa

Gender in Education, Bangkok: The aim of Gender in Education is to serve as a resource centre for educators, practitioners, researchers, governments and other Education for All partners so as to promote gender equality in education, with a special focus in Asia and the Pacific. The ultimate goal is increased regional cooperation and networking that will eliminate gender gaps in primary and secondary education quickly and achieve gender equality in education by 2015. Activities and outputs include information about the situation in basic education in the Asia Pacific region on good practices, resource persons and institutions, research, gender mainstreaming in education, gender responsive Education For All plans, and training materials. Gender in Education is funded by UNESCO. The website has been developed by the Asia-Pacific Programme of Education for All. <www.unescobkk.org/gender/gender>

Europe

WIDE: Network Women in Development

Europe, Brussels: The aim of the network is to influence policies and to raise awareness on gender and development issues among important sectors of opinion in Europe so as to empower women worldwide. Activities and outputs include research and analysis of the situation of women and the promotion of dialogue and empowerment and joint action among women in Central, Eastern and Western Europe. <www.eurosur.org/wide/home.htm>

North America

Gender and Science Digital Library, Newton, MA: The aim of the library is to provide gender equitable educational materials that will help to promote interest and engagement in science, technology, engineering and mathematics education among all learners, particularly girls and women and underrepresented populations. Activities and outputs include catalogues, books, articles, videos, curricula and software as part of a larger effort to involve learners of all ages and to connect students with mentors and other students who share their curiosity. The library is funded by the National Science Foundation. <<http://gsdl.enc.org>>

Cross-regional

Id21Education, Brighton, United Kingdom: The aim of this service is to bring development research findings and policy recommendations to policy-makers and development practitioners worldwide. Activities and outputs include a research reporting service that provides access to an online searchable database of recent education and development research in developing countries. The service is funded by the Department for International Development (United Kingdom). <www.id21.org/education>

Siyanda, a website: The aim of Siyanda is to support practitioners in implementing gender programmes and in mainstreaming gender equality concerns. Activities and outputs include an interactive space where gender practitioners can share ideas, experiences and resources, an on-line database presenting short summaries of

gender and development materials and enabling users to download quickly and easily; work with partner organisations across the world to build an online space that reflects common interests and needs and that offers linkages to like-minded colleagues. Siyanda is hosted by Bridge, the Gender and Development Information Service located at the Institute of Development Studies (United Kingdom). <www.siyanda.org>

Racial and cultural diversity

Asia

Equal Opportunities Commission, Hong Kong: The aim of the commission is to create an environment in which there is no barrier to equal opportunity and to eliminate discrimination on the basis of sex, marital status, pregnancy, disability, or family status. Activities and outputs include securing compliance and reform through legislative means, promoting education to raise awareness and achieve change, strengthening communication with community organisations to promote participation, building corporate partnership to encourage good practices and prevention, conducting research, promoting equal opportunities and anti-discrimination laws in Hong Kong through drama, theatre, puppet shows and summer programmes designed for children so as to cultivate values that foster respect for human dignity and empathy for the disadvantaged, and conduct talks in primary and secondary schools to promote equal opportunity. The commission is funded by the government of Hong Kong. <www.eoc.org.hk>

Australia

Racism. No Way!, Darlinghurst NSW,

Australia: The aim of this project is to assist school communities and education systems in recognising and addressing racism in the learning environment. Activities and outputs include learning programmes, resource booklets and development packages for teachers supporting the implementation of anti-discrimination and anti-harassment policies. The project is an initiative of the chief executive officers of education systems across Australia. www.racismnoway.com.au

Europe

South East Museum, Library and Archive Council, Winchester, United Kingdom: The aim of the council is to support the integration of cultural diversity in all areas of museum, library and archive initiative. Activities and outputs include the cultural diversity network, a forum for advice, support and training for those committed to cultural diversity, and the diversity toolkit, a series of guidance sheets and examples of good practice to provide a framework for teaching respect for diversity. www.semlac.org.uk/cultural-diversity/index_revised.html

North America

American-Arab Anti-Discrimination

Committee, Washington, DC: The aim of the committee is to act as a framework through which Arab-Americans can channel their efforts towards unified, collective and effective advocacy by promoting a more balanced United States policy with regard to the Middle East and

serving as a reliable source for the news media and educators. Activities and outputs include initiatives to correct anti-Arab stereotypes and humanise the image of the Arab people, close coordination with other civil rights and human rights organisations on issues of common concern, counselling in cases of discrimination and defamation and selected impact litigation in the areas of immigration, publication of information on issues of concern to Arab-Americans and sponsorship of the Reaching the Teachers campaign, which aims at ensuring an accurate, objective and fair portrayal of Arab history and culture in schools. www.adc.org

BC Aboriginal Child Care Society, West

Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada: The aim of the society is to help Aboriginal communities develop high-quality, integrated, community child-care services that are based in the children's culture, language and history and to build an Aboriginal child-care network. Activities and outputs include research and development, advocacy, support for Aboriginal communities in the development of their own resources. The society is funded by the Ministry of Community, Aboriginal and Women's Services, British Columbia. www.acc-society.bc.ca

Centre for Multicultural Education, Seattle:

The aim of the centre is to develop research projects and activities designed to improve practice related to equity issues, intergroup relations and the achievements of all students. Activities and outputs include the Teaching Tolerance Institute, publications, curriculum development and research. The centre is located

at the University of Washington. <www.depts.washington.edu/centerme/home.htm>

Consortium on Race, Gender and Ethnicity, College Park, MD: The aim of the consortium is to promote, advance and conduct research, scholarship and faculty development that examines the intersections of race, gender and ethnicity with other dimensions of difference. Activities and outputs include research in three programme areas (health and social well-being among low-income women, children and families; identities and inequalities, and education, urban communities and life-long learning), publications, resources and events. The consortium is funded by the University of Maryland. <www.crge.umd.edu>

Educators for Social Responsibility, Cambridge, MA: The aim of this national non-profit organisation is to make the teaching of social responsibility a core practice in education so that young people develop the convictions and skills they need to shape a safe, sustainable, democratic and just world. Activities and outputs include Early Childhood Adventures in Peacemaking, a unique educational programme for children, parents and early child-care providers. The programme integrates conflict resolution, social and emotional learning and appreciation for diversity for children from age 3 to 7. <www.esrnational.org>.

Family Research Centre, Greensboro, NC: The aim of the centre is to contribute to the understanding of positive family relationships and the role of families in children's

development by promoting multidisciplinary research on related issues. Activities and outputs include research projects on racial, ethnic and gender differences among children and families, the nature of elementary-aged children's relationships with their friends' parents, the extent to which the parents of children who are friends form meaningful relationships among themselves, the development of parental caregiving approaches and how these differ according to cultural background, parental health beliefs and their influence on parent-child relationships in the families of children with disabilities, racial-ethnic variations in parenting behaviours, and parental child-rearing values and beliefs. The centre is part of the Department of Human Development and Family Studies, School of Human Environmental Sciences, University of North Carolina. <www.uncg.edu/hdf>

Hidden Child Foundation, New York: The aim of the foundation is to educate people about the consequences of bigotry and hatred so that never again will anyone suffer the atrocity, the injustice and the agony of the Holocaust. Activities and outputs include educational curricula and materials for schools; national and international conferences, workshops and gatherings; sponsorship of speakers worldwide who wish to share stories of their experiences as hidden children (children hidden from the Nazis by others); an extensive database to help act as a liaison for all former hidden children; and help so that hidden children and the children of Holocaust survivors can form support groups. The foundation is funded by

the Anti-Defamation League.
<www.adl.org/hidden/default.asp>

Kamehameha Early Education Programme, Honolulu: The aim of the programme is to emphasise anthropological knowledge and the importance of cultural compatibility in educating students. Activities and outputs include a language arts programme designed for underachieving native Hawaiian children, with emphasis on peer teaching and learning centres so as to encourage children to help one another with learning tasks. <www.ncrel.org/sdrs/areas/issues/educatrs/presrvce/pe3lk43.htm>

National Association for Multicultural Education, Washington, DC: The aim of the association is to bring together individuals and groups with an interest in multicultural education from all levels of education and all sorts of academic discipline, occupation and educational institution. Activities and outputs include a clearinghouse for resource materials on multicultural education and educational strategies; standards and policy statements for educational institutions, organisations and policy makers; support for initiatives in favour of culturally diverse faculty, administrators, students and parents in schools at all levels, from pre-kindergarten through university, and the establishment of a national headquarters to serve as a resource and archive repository and as a centre to foster growth, social justice and collegial and community support for and communication on multicultural issues.
<www.nameorg.org>

National Centre for Cultural Competence, Washington, DC: The aim of the centre is to increase the capacity of health and mental health programmes to design, implement and evaluate culturally and linguistically competent service delivery systems. Activities and outputs include a database of resources on cultural and linguistic competence (demographic information, policies, practices, articles, books, research initiatives and findings, curricula, multimedia materials and websites, etc.), a checklist for personnel providing services and support for early intervention and early childhood. The centre is housed within the Georgetown University Centre for Child and Human Development.
<<http://gucchd.georgetown.edu/nccc>>

National Child Care Information Centre, Fairfax, VA: The aim of the centre is to link parents, providers, policy-makers, researchers and the public to early care and education information. Activities and outputs include a national clearinghouse and technical assistance centre, general information related to child-care issues, notably, inclusion. The centre is a project of the Child Care Bureau, Administration for Children and Families, United States Department of Health and Human Services.
<www.nccic.org>

Third Millennium Foundation, New York: The aim of the foundation is to support initiatives designed to promote tolerance, particularly among the young. Activities and outputs include research, grants and efforts to develop young

children's understanding of and respect for differences among people, especially those related to culture, ethnicity, gender, race, and socio-economic status. <www.seedsoftolerance.org>

Understanding the Roots of Tolerance and Prejudice, a Research Consortium,

Cambridge, MA: The aim of the consortium is to understand the linkages between cultural tolerance and prejudice experienced by individuals as children and youth and positive or negative orientations towards others by individuals later in life. The approach includes the development of assessment tools that can be used in longitudinal studies on related issues and to gauge programmes that promote mental health in children and youth. Activities and outputs include investigation of the mechanisms at play in the ability of individuals to respect others whom they perceive as different from themselves in terms of nationality, gender, race, or ethnicity, as well as the effects of early social experiences of tolerance or prejudice on the wellness or illness of children.

<<http://gseacademic.harvard.edu/~tolerance>>

Cross-issues of diversity

Australia

Centre for Equity and Innovation in Early Childhood, Melbourne: The aim of the centre is to champion children's rights and social justice. Activities and outputs include research and consultancy, policy development, publications, and training and advocacy for social justice and equity in early childhood. The centre is supported by the infrastructure of the

University of Melbourne.

<www.edfac.unimelb.edu.au/LED/CEIEC>

Social Justice in Early Childhood, Sydney:

The aim of this small, informal interest group network formed in 1996 is to raise the profile of social justice issues on the political agenda. Activities and outputs include raising the understanding of issues of social justice, liaising with organisations to promote social justice, and advocating and lobbying for social justice in early childhood. <www.csns.org.au/ecms/home> (click on 'Special Interest Groups').

Europe

Diversity in Early Childhood Education and Training: The aim of this network is to study and promote democratic childcare by acknowledging the multiple (cultural and other) identities of children and families. Activities and outputs include networking with trainers, practitioners, researchers and policy-makers throughout Europe; actively and critically promoting quality in early childhood education services, which includes equity, accessibility and respect for diversity; developing new knowledge and insights in this area, and working in collaboration with other networks in and outside Europe. The network is funded by the Bernard van Leer Foundation. <www.decet.org>

North America

Anti-Defamation League, New York: The aim of the league is to confront anti-Semitism through programmes and services that address hatred, prejudice and bigotry and to secure justice and fair treatment for all people.

Activities and outputs include the promotion of religious freedom, research, educational policy and programmes. Early Childhood initiatives include the programmes of A World of Difference Institute. The programmes provide hands-on training to help children and adults challenge prejudice and discrimination and learn to live and work successfully and civilly in an increasingly diverse world. The institute is the leading provider of diversity and anti-bias training and resources. The Miller Early Childhood Initiative is designed to promote intergroup respect and understanding among young children. <www.adl.org>

Teaching for Change, Washington, DC:

The aim of the non-profit organisation is to provide teachers and parents with the tools to transform schools into socially equitable centres of learning where students can become architects of a better future. Activities and outputs include links among people through the Early Childhood Equity Initiative, regular publications, networks of local, early childhood activist groups that work for change in their communities, and initiatives that apply participatory action research methods.

<www.teachingforchange.org>

Notes

- ¹ Bernard van Leer Foundation, 2004.
- ² Bernard van Leer Foundation, 2004.
- ³ Hirschfeld, 1995a, b; Lawrence, 1991.
- ⁴ Bigler and Liben, 1993; Ramsey, 1987, 1991a, b; Katz, 1976; Averhart and Bigler, 1997; Van Ausdale and Feagin, 1996; Mac Naughton, 1996a; Powlishta et al., 1994; Doyle and Aboud, 1995; Liu and Blila, 1995; Lawrence, 1991.
- ⁵ Palmer, 1990; Mac Naughton, 2001a; Black-Gutman and Hickson, 1996; Doyle and Aboud, 1995.
- ⁶ See Adams and Ebbeck, 1997.
- ⁷ Morrison and Bordere, 2001; Hanson et al., 1997.
- ⁸ Matoba Adler, 2001.
- ⁹ Matoba Adler, 2001, offers important insights into such processes in the case of Asian-American children.
- ¹⁰ However, see Chang, 2000, on China; Tamás, 2002, on Hungary, and Bar-Tal, 1996, on Israel.
- ¹¹ Bernstein et al., 2000; Aboud and Doyle, 1996.
- ¹² Coleman, 1981; Bernstein et al., 2000; Chang, 2000; Brinson, 2001; Glover and Smith, 1997.
- ¹³ Averhart and Bigler, 1997; Powlishta et al., 1994.
- ¹⁴ Barrera, Corso and Mcpherson, 2003; Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 2001; Ebbeck and Glover, 1998; Gay, 2000; Neuharth-Pritchett, Reiff and Pearson, 2000.
- ¹⁵ Zhang and Bennett, 2001; Dee and Henkin, 2002; Ebbeck and Baohm, 1999; Prasad and Ebbeck, 2000; Elliott, 1999; Garcia and Pugh, 1992; Cruz, 2004.
- ¹⁶ Wise and Sanson, 2003; Frigo and Adams, 2002.
- ¹⁷ Gay, 1992.
- ¹⁸ Rettig, 2002.
- ¹⁹ Mac Naughton, 2005; Cannella, 1997; Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1998; Mac Naughton and Davis, 2001; Davis, 2004.
- ²⁰ See Davis, 2004; Campbell, 2001; Smith, 2003.
- ²¹ Mac Naughton et al., 2002.
- ²² Bernard van Leer Foundation, 2003.
- ²³ See Giangreco et al., 1993; Odom, 2000, 2002; Odom, et al., 1998.
- ²⁴ Molnar Ziontas, 1996; Stoneman, 1993.

- ²⁵ Powlishta et al., 1994; Vlachou, 1997.
- ²⁶ Grant and Haynes, 1995.
- ²⁷ Diamond, 2001; Brown et al., 1999; Kontos, Moore and Giorgetti, 1998; Hestenes and Carroll, 2000.
- ²⁸ For example, see Brown and Odom, 1994; Chandler, Lubeck and Fowler, 1992.
- ²⁹ Bigler, Jones and Lobliner, 1997; Okagaki et al., 1998.
- ³⁰ Hundert, Mahoney and Hopkins, 1993.
- ³¹ See Odom et al., 1998.
- ³² See Odom, 2000.
- ³³ See Bower, 1998.
- ³⁴ Ojile, 2000.
- ³⁵ Rimm-Kaufman et al., 2003; Dinnebeil et al., 1998; Hanson et al., 1998.
- ³⁶ See Odom, 2000; Billingsley et al., 1996; Schwartz et al., 1995.
- ³⁷ See Aden and Leffler, 2001, page 122.
- ³⁸ For example, see Odom, 2002, who also records an interest in greater emphasis on sociocultural perspectives on the child in studies on inclusive classrooms.
- ³⁹ For instance, see Billingsley et al., 1996.
- ⁴⁰ An example is much of the research published in *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, one of the leading journals in the psychology of gender. The journal occasionally publishes articles on gender in early childhood.
- ⁴¹ For example, see Silva, 1980; Meade, 1982; Rickwook and Bussey, 1983; Smith and Grimwood, 1983; Mac Naughton, 2001b; Ruble and Martin, 1998.
- ⁴² Honig, 1983; Browne and France, 1986; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1980; Libby and Aries, 1989; Alloway, 1995.
- ⁴³ Honig, 1983.
- ⁴⁴ Flerx, Fidler and Rogers, 1976; Wangman and Wagner, 1977; Holman and Williamson, 1979; Logan, 1988; Beeson and Williams, 1982; Dunn and Morgan, 1987; Thomas, 1986; Fishbein and Imai, 1993; Harrison and O'Neill, 2003.
- ⁴⁵ See Eccles, Wigfield and Schiefele, 1998.
- ⁴⁶ Powlishta et al., 1994; Molnar Ziontas, 1996.
- ⁴⁷ Davies, 1990; Jordon, 1995; Mac Naughton, 1999.
- ⁴⁸ Turner, Gervai and Hinde, 1993.
- ⁴⁹ For example, see Grieshaber, 1998; Bower, 1998; Perry and Morgan, 1993; Walkerdine and Lucey, 1989; Logan, 1988; Brenes, Eisenberg and Helmstadter, 1985.

- ⁵⁰ Kenway et al., 1997; Alloway, 1995; Davies, 1989; Mac Naughton, 2000.
- ⁵¹ Honig, 1983; Libby and Aries, 1989; Dunn and Morgan, 1987.
- ⁵² For example, Turner, Gervai and Hinde, 1993; Alloway, 1995; Mac Naughton, 2000.
- ⁵³ See Butterworth, 1991; Flerx, Fidler and Rogers, 1976; De Lisi and Johns, 1984; Pardeck and Pardeck, 1985; Ayers and Ayers, 1989.
- ⁵⁴ De Lisi and Johns, 1984; Pardeck and Pardeck, 1985; Ayers and Ayers, 1989; Swadener, 1988.
- ⁵⁵ Perritt, 1988; EOC, 1986; Aspinwall, 1984; Elliott, 1984; Cohen and Martin, 1976. Ayers and Ayers, 1989; De Lisi and Johns, 1984; Davies, 1989.
- ⁵⁶ See Alloway, 1995; Mac Naughton, 2000, 2004.
- ⁵⁷ For instance, see King, Chipman and Cruz-Janzen 1994; Mac Naughton, 1995; Perritt, 1988; Browne and France, 1986.
- ⁵⁸ Levy, Taylor and Gelman, 1995; Blakemore, 2003.
- ⁵⁹ Holmes-Lonergan, 2003.
- ⁶⁰ For example, see Cuffaro, 1975; Cohen and Martin, 1976; Guttenberg and Bray, 1976; Davis, 1979.
- ⁶¹ See Davies, 1989, 1993; Alloway, 1995; Mac Naughton, 2000, 2004.
- ⁶² See Mac Naughton, 2001a, b, c, 2003a.
- ⁶³ For example, see Mac Naughton, 2000; Mac Naughton and Smith, 2001; Smith, 2003; Campbell, 2001.
- ⁶⁴ The research has been summarised in Chafel, 1996, 1997.
- ⁶⁵ Leahy, 1981, 1983a, b; Ramsey, 1991a, b.
- ⁶⁶ For example, see Stendler Lavatelli, 1949; Tudor, 1971; Leahy, 1981; Ramsey, 1991a, b.
- ⁶⁷ Stendler Lavatelli, 1949; Estvan, 1952; Tudor, 1971; Ramsey, 1991a, b.
- ⁶⁸ See Mac Naughton, 1996b; Mac Naughton and Smith, 2001.
- ⁶⁹ See Derman-Sparks and the Anti-Bias Curriculum Task Force, 1989; Derman-Sparks, 1998; Mac Naughton et al., 2002; Mac Naughton and Williams, 2003.
- ⁷⁰ Mac Naughton, 2003b.
- ⁷¹ See McLaren, 1995; Nieto, 1995; Vajda, 2001; and Sleeter and Grant, 1999. The criticisms in Sleeter and Grant (1999) of assimilationist approaches to equity are particularly insightful.
- ⁷² See New, 1994.
- ⁷³ Danesco, 1997; Harry, 1992; McDermott and Varenne, 1996.
- ⁷⁴ Valdivia, 1999; Lynch and Hanson, 1992; Mangione, 1995.
- ⁷⁵ Woodrow and Brennan, 2001; Mallory and New, 1994.
- ⁷⁶ Alloway, 1997; Grieshaber, 1997; Dahlberg, Moss and Pence, 1999.

- 77 Bredekamp, 1987; Bredekamp and Copple, 1997.
- 78 See Fleeer, 1995; Mallory and New, 1994; Lubeck, 1998.
- 79 See Sleeter and Grant, 1999; Swadener, 2000; Clarke and Siraj-Blatchford, 2000; Derman-Sparks, 1998; Diaz Soto, 2000; Rizvi, 1998; Hage, 1998; Gore, 1993.
- 80 Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1998; Gallini, 1996.
- 81 Clarke and Siraj-Blatchford, 2000.
- 82 See Sleeter and Grant, 1999.
- 83 Sleeter and Grant, 1999.
- 84 UNESCO, 1994.
- 85 See NCAC, 2004.
- 86 Skelton and Hall, 2001.
- 87 See the UNESCO Bangkok website for an overview, at www.unescobkk.org/EFA/index.htm.
- 88 UNESCO (2003) analyses progress on these goals in detail, making it a useful resource when deciding which areas to prioritise.
- 89 Jones, 1999.
- 90 See, for instance, Miles and Woodford, 2003.
- 91 Alloway, 1995; Mac Naughton, 2000; Howe, 1997.
- 92 Mac Naughton, 2000.
- 93 See Mac Naughton, 2003b, Chapter 9, for a detailed discussion of the theoretical and conceptual foundations of this school of thought.
- 94 See Lloyd-Smith and Tarr, 2000. For examples, see also Mac Naughton, 2001a, b, c; Campbell et al., 2002; O’Kane, 2000.
- 95 See Kukemala, 2003.
- 96 Campbell, 2001; Smith, 2003; Mac Naughton, 2000; Davis, 2004.
- 97 Mac Naughton (2005) offers a more detailed, theoretical discussion of possible research issues.
- 98 Crowley, 1997, page 106; see also Mac Naughton, 2005; Ghandi, 1998; Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1998.
- 99 See, for example, Cannella, 1997; Koamea, 2001; Mac Naughton and Davis, 2001.
- 100 Chow, 1993; Loomba, 1998; Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000.
- 101 Campbell and Smith, 2001.
- 102 Mac Naughton, 2000.

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ISBN 90-6195-093-7



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