

SILENCE ON GENDER IN THE DANISH DAYCARE REGIME



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Abstract

'Silence' in one word grasps the gendered structures within the Danish daycare regime. Through a rearticulation of this notion a detailed inquiry of processes with gendered effects within the public administration of the daycare regime is carried out.

Though public daycare is an universal welfare service with political attention where gender-issues are very present, and a general gender-mainstreaming obligation is formulated in Danish legislation, the public policies on daycare do not encounter social constructivist conceptions of gender.

Official documents and interviews both at national, municipal, and local level together constitute the primary empirical sources in an investigation of how the public administration of the daycare regime contributes to a construction of silence on gender-perspectives. Narratives in and around the public administration of the daycare regime are identified in a poststructuralist, feminist analysis.

It is found that tendencies towards New Public management are present in the daycare regime; educational ideals dominate; biologist-essentialist notions of gender are the norm; the individual child is in focus; and a complex, decentralized government of the daycare regime has effects on gendered structures. The discursive formations within daycare are intertextually connected, and certain logics of governmentality following the lines of the narratives mentioned above constitutes a daycare regime which is silent on critical gender perspectives. Gender is rather absent as a theme, structural perspectives on pedagogy are 'othered', and social constructivist perceptions of children's gender identities are silenced. The silence in the public administration is a barrier to everyday pedagogical practices' encountering of gender critically.

Key-words: Silence, gender, daycare-regime, public administration, governmentality, intertextuality, 'logics of appropriateness', Denmark.

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1. Introduction

“It is an established truth about the Danish welfare state model, that it more than other countries has an ambition of gender equality incorporated as a founding value”

(my translation, Sjørup, 2007: 171)

Psychologists across many different approaches emphasize early childhood (approximately 2-5 years) as crucial in the formation of children's gender identities

(Cole & Cole, 2001: 376-389)

In Denmark the majority of children at this age spend their everyday in daycare-institutions. Thus you would expect children's gender identities to be a theme in the highly professionalized public care of preschool children. In practice professional reflections on gender in Danish daycare-institutions are however very limited, which is a paradox considering the statements above.

This thesis concerns the gendered discourses and practices in the public administration of institutionalized professional daycare of small children.

In Denmark it is a very strong norm that preschool children attend daycare-institutions from the age of 1. Daycare is provided as a public service regulated preferably by the municipalities. The Danish daycare regime - a system of certain logics and truths, implicit and explicit norms (Dean, 2010) – is the subject of the following inquiry. Two norms in particular constitute the daycare regime: The labour market, with it's double-breadwinner ideal creates a demand for care; And pedagogical / psychological ideals of development for children ensure that daycare in the Danish context also has educational and social purposes (Borchorst, 2000).

In Denmark most children between 1-6 years of age spend their daytime in daycare-institutions, where primarily professional pedagogues care for them. At this age gender identities emerge, and if you observe the pedagogical practice in any Danish daycare-institution gendered structures are very visible, boys and girls have different clothes, they play with different toys, and they are met with different expectations.

There is an obligation within the public administration to gender-mainstream, so you would expect gender-issues in the daycare regime to be addressed, but that is not the case. This absence of gender in the public administration of the daycare regime is connected to the way discourses on both gender and daycare are constructed in Denmark. The daycare regime is complex, politicised, and governed by certain ideals of appropriate care. The ideas about gender in Denmark are generally rather stereotypical and superficial, under a surface of tolerance (Sjørup, 2007). The norms of the daycare regime intersect with general gender discourses in the everyday of the daycare-institutions, but not much academic attention has been given to this from a public policy point of view.

Hence the central problem of investigation in this thesis address the structural absence of gender perspectives in daycare with a focus on discursive formations:

How does the public administration of the daycare regime in Denmark contribute to a construction of silence on gender-perspectives within daycare?

To answer this question appropriately both the absence of social constructivist notions of gender in the public administration, and specific constructions of gender within the daycare regime are analysed. The analysis takes departure in four semi-structured interviews with key persons in the public administration, and a number of central legislative texts. Further external factors such as media, and academic discourses are considered, a comparison with Sweden is made, and a survey conducted among street-level pedagogues supplement the knowledge production of this thesis.

'Silence' is developed as a concept throughout the thesis to name not only the absence of gender perspectives in legislation and practice, but also to grasp certain logics within the administration of the daycare regime, and 'othering' of social constructivist ideas. The daycare regime encounter narratives and practices at different administrative levels, from local pedagogical managers of daycare-institutions, over the municipal level, to national legislation.

The theoretical point of departure is feminist poststructuralism. This is supplemented by specific relevant notions from the public policy-literature within political science. The thesis investigates 'silence' on gender in the Danish Daycare regime and its implications, with a primary focus on explanations found in the public administration.

Outline

Below the strategy of inquiry is briefly outlined.

The theoretical approach of the thesis is established in chapter 2. The inquiry and the results of the thesis are based on the poststructural concepts outlined here. In concert with a few other specific analytical notions these concepts facilitate a thorough understanding of the processes governing the daycare regime.

The methodological considerations in chapter 3 clarify the ways knowledge obtained is produced.

Before turning to the analysis chapter 4 contextualizes the daycare regime within the Danish welfare state, and presents an initial survey with indications of how gender is perceived by pedagogues.

Chapter 5 establishes and analyses the empirical findings of specifically four qualitative interviews, and a critical reading of official documents. This chapter clarifies the outlook of the daycare regime and constitutes the ground on which the thematic analysis stand, through mapping the administrative framework, and the discursive landscape.

In chapter 6 the theoretical concept of 'silence' is developed through the case of the Danish daycare regime. A diversity of discursive processes identified across the primary empirical material and secondary sources are uncovered. A brief comparison to Sweden is made to contextualize the findings.

The conclusion provides answers to the main question.

Finally chapter 8 on pedagogical implications gives the findings relevance, beyond the interest of bureaucrats, through a discussion of the consequences of silent social constructivist gender perspectives in daycare, and a discussion of possible changes in the public administration which could benefit these perspectives.

2. Approach

The Theoretical approach is feminist, poststructuralist, political science oriented, and focused on discourses, public administration, and the notion of 'silence'.

This thesis has a poststructural ontology and epistemology. Thus I assume that the daycare regime is an effect of different social constructions. To scientifically understand this it is important to scrutinize narratives, discourses, and dichotomies within an empirical body of representations (Lewis, 2000), in this case primarily interviews and official texts.

The thesis is especially centred around the concept of 'Silence', which describes processes related to practices, administrative structures, and articulations that work together in a production of 'taboo'.

A Foucauldian ontology, and an epistemology with roots in feminism, the concepts of 'silence', intertextuality, and governmentality constitute the core of the theoretical framework. On top of this a few specific theoretical concepts from more classic public policy-literature are used within the poststructural framework.

Feminist inquiry

The scrutinization of the daycare regime has a feminist point of departure. Feminism is many things though. This paragraph explains the specific feminist traits used in the thesis.

As I understand feminism it is basically about two things: Attention towards gendered structures in society, and a political imperative to break down these structures. The first point is elaborated in this paragraph where the theoretical understandings of gender are outlined; the latter is given attention in the methodology chapter on *Situated Knowledge*, and in chapter 8 on *Pedagogical Implications*.

The understanding of gendered structures encountered for here has roots in poststructural feminism. Thus gender structures are not fixed, they are historically specific (Connell, 2002). The traditional distinction between sex / gender and natural / cultural is problematic from a poststructural point of view because it is impossible to separate the two: Though sex refers to the natural differences between boys and girls the understanding of these differences are discursively mediated; and the social structures of gender on the other hand are connected to bodily experiences (Butler, 1990; Connell, 2002).

Gender is patterns of behaviour, structural settings, and bodily expressions that mark difference between boys and girls, or hierarchies, or appropriate certain identities. It is an analytical notion naming social relations concerning 'sex' (Connell, 2002: 7).

The term gender from a poststructural feminist perspective is inherent with great ambiguity. But even though gender-patterns are fluent and even if gender as a categorization is difficult to delimit, the presence of gendered structures is very relevant and obvious if you look for them.

A relevant notion within feminism in the investigation of gender in daycare is '*the heterosexual matrix*'. It grasps the often unconscious reproductions of gender structures which take place in the interaction with children forming their gender identity (Bromseth & Darj, 2010). With this notion Judith Butler describes how expectations about sexuality and gender are interconnected in a dichotomous system where behaviour outside the norm (e.g. homosexuality or transgender performances) are noticed, and often sanctioned. Butler's idea is that the norms of the heterosexual matrix are constantly and rather unnoticed reproduced through everyday gendered performances (Butler, 1990).

Gender concerns everything from the pink / blue clothes that newborn babies are given, over teenage explorations of sexuality, to hierarchical norms in a workplace, and even global issues. The point in poststructural feminism is that gender is a very strong and repressive normative structure, but at the same time gender is fluid and culturally specific (Connell, 2002).

This thesis is concerned with children's gender identities, though gender in daycare could also concern for instance employment patterns (Hjort og Baagøe, 2003). The thesis primarily focus on how the formation of gendered structures in children's lives are appropriated by the public administration.

Children's gender-identities are dependent on what has been called socialization, hence the norms that are dominant in the family, in society, and in the daycare-institution are inherited by the children. Following a poststructural perspective the traditional understanding of socialization is problematic though, because the direction of power only goes one way (Connell, 2002: 77-79). Children's identities are not just questions of inheritance but rather negotiations. In other words gendered identities in a postmodern society are created in an

interplay between the children, their background, and the daycare-institutions they meet (Connell, 2002: 80f.; Dencik 1999). Hence heteronormative stereotypes play an important role in the ambiguous process of gendered identity formation. Stereotypical conceptions of gender, are traced in my material together with other administrative features that indirectly create and reproduce a gender-structure affecting children's daycare-everyday.

Governmentality

The approach encounters a concern with language and discourses in the understanding of social policies. The focus is on regimes of knowledge, and on power as something relational. (Foucault, 1978; Dean, 2010). The public administration of daycare, ranging from national legislation, over municipal priorities in Copenhagen, to local daycare-institutions, together with discourses on good daycare and the well being of children constitute a regime of knowledge (Dean, 2010: 40) – named the daycare regime.

The ontological point of departure is social constructivist. But the emphasis on discourses is not excluding attention to more material aspects of the daycare regime, on the contrary a Foucauldian perspective also emphasize practices, such as legislation and the organization of the public administration. Thus epistemologically discourse and practice are both relevant as subjects of inquiry.

The Foucauldian approach in concert with the focus on the public administration of social policy, calls for attention to the concept of governmentality. This concept coined by Foucault and further developed by Dean (2010) describes processes within the state. Besides the focus on regulation and practices (government) which is also found in more traditional approaches, Dean emphasize the 'mentalities' that govern a certain regime. In the case of gender-issues within Danish daycare regime it is thus relevant to include discursive representations in the analysis (Dean, 2010).

Governmentality as an approach aims to uncover the logics of government, both unintended effects, practices, and the language behind.

Gail Lewis and poststructural analysis of welfare politics

“... for social policy analysts working within the post-structuralist perspective, difference matters not just because of the way it mediates inequalities of access to welfare resources but also because it draws attention to processes by which meaning is constructed.”

(Lewis, 2000: 16)

This thesis is theoretically inspired by Gail Lewis' *'Race', Gender, Social Welfare* (2000). She shows how social policies in Britain aimed at 'racialized' social problems are constructed and work discursively. Lewis' work is relevant because it elaborates a frame of discourse analysis of social policy. Specifically on two points she formulates theory useful for this inquiry: A multilayered discourse analysis which understands social policy as discursive processes on different administrative levels; And considerations about 'the blind eye' in policy formation. Lewis shows how policies, discourses, and narratives are woven together and function on different levels from a national legislative level until local identity formation. It is relevant to look at both the general political climate and local interpretations, and both at discourse and practice when the aim is to draw a picture of certain social policies. Through a Foucauldian notion of governmentality she establishes an understanding of social policy that encompasses discursive techniques of power alongside with more traditional governmental mechanisms (Lewis, 2000: 17&21ff.).

Following theoretical considerations inspired by Lewis the intention is to broaden the perspective on daycare and include different policy levels as well as both discourse and practice. Understandings of gender in the Danish daycare regime are both created and reconstructed at the governmental level through policies and discourses, at local administrative levels in municipalities, and in the interaction between children and professional pedagogues.

Silence

The core concept in this thesis is 'Silence'. Because I am interested in the absence of critical

gender perspectives in the Danish daycare regime the analytical process is dependent on theoretical considerations about what is silenced. 'Silence' has different sources of inspiration and is established as a theoretical concept in the following.

The notion 'silence' describes processes where certain perspectives are neglected or ignored in social policy. But silencing is not just about an absence of gender perspectives in legislation, it further describes how certain constructions within a regime normalize certain ideas and practices, while other perspectives are left as less relevant or even ontologically impossible (Dean, 2010). Thus Silence as an analytical concept is related to a poststructural urge to uncover the dichotomous and unarticulated constructions of the 'normal' (Bacchi, 2009).

This phenomenon has been studied before both in classical political science in the name of non-decisions (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962); and in feminist inquiries. To mention a few: Lewis' (2000) conception of 'the blind eye', Bacchi's (2009) interrogation of 'silences', and related to the thesis-topic *Køn i Pædagogik* (2010) use the term 'gender-blindness' (my translation).

Silencing as a concept cover as diverse processes as neglect, ignorance, ontological incompatibility, prioritization, discursive traps, and 'othering'.

Lewis elaborates on 'the blind eye' of social policy:

“Even if a policy is situated within a political situation where 'race' play a role, and even if this policy has clear consequences on the construction of 'race', considerations about 'race' is not necessarily explicit in legislation and public administration”

(Lewis, 2000: 44).

I find Lewis' observations of denial in legislative practice useful: She points out that silencing of 'race' as an issue politically does not mean that racialization is disappearing, on the contrary silence reconstruct differences based on ideas about 'race' and externalize problems, thus possibilities for change are missed (Lewis, 2000: 60).

Lewis' concepts of 'the blind eye', and 'denial' when it comes to structural or inconvenient explanations contribute to the understanding of silence on gender in the Danish daycare regime.

Carol Bacchi's (2009) methodological recommendations in 'Analysing Policy' is focused on what is neglected / silenced in representations of social policies. Her point is that a poststructural approach has the ability to look beyond the mere content of a policy and critically assess the consequences of silence. She mentions traditional feminist critiques of the public-private split as an example:

“... it is common in liberal democracies to suggest that governments need to limit their activities to the so-called public sphere, leaving people's private lives untouched. However, governments intervene in everyday living arrangements all the time, both by what they do and what they do not do. ... Hence, the public private dichotomy mystifies relationships between governments and individuals/families.”

(Bacchi, 2009: 13)

If this is translated into the case of Danish daycare, the definition of gender as something situated within the identity of the individual child, and thus in the private sphere, has consequences for the gendered structures within the daycare-institutions.

Silence in social policy formation does not mean irrelevance, it means lack of explicit strategies to address certain perspectives critically. From a poststructural (and feminist) perspective silences within social policies can be interpreted as sides in dichotomous relations (Lewis, 2000; Bacchi, 2009). Thus when structural gender-perspectives are neglected, the opposite: Biologist-essentialist conceptions of gender as something attached to the individual persists as the dominant discursive construction. Hence 'othering' of certain ideas or identities – discursive processes where the self is constructed as superior through a dichotomous relationship with an opposed other (Hansen, 2006; Lewis, 2000) – is one mechanism by which silence occurs.

Silence as the concept is elaborated above functions as an analytical tool uncovering the diverse processes which surround the lack of gender perspectives in the Danish daycare regime. As the concept is used in the analysis it is further elaborated and appropriated to this particular case.

Intertextuality

In 'Security as Practice' Lene Hansen (2006) outlines intertextuality as an analytical tool. She is inspired by the French linguist and poststructuralist Julia Kristeva in the elaboration of the concept.

“It [Intertextuality] highlights that texts are situated within and against other texts, that they draw upon them in constructing their identities and policies, that they appropriate as well as revise the past, and that they build authority by reading and citing that of others.”

(Hansen, 2006: 55)

It is important to see a given text in relation to other texts, the meaning of one text cannot stand alone, because it both explicit and implicit interacts with other texts about the same subject. Texts refer to each other in order to make sense. According to Hansen (2006) these references take different forms: They can be explicit through quoting and direct references; or implicit conceptual intertextuality could occur, as a connection to a body of other texts on the same subject. You could also talk about an intertextual link when a catch-phrase binds together texts. (Hansen, 2006).

Intertextuality takes place across genres, and Hansen (2006) argues that a text has to be analysed both in accordance to its intertextuality, and through an assessment of the logic of its genre. Thus academic articles has other logics and meanings of signs than political statements. The possibility to address discourses analytically as functioning across genres is relevant for this thesis. Because the construction of ideas about children's gender takes place in both everyday practices of daycare-institutions, academia, legislation, public debate, and in the logics of the public administration.

The concept of intertextuality is operationalized in Hansen's (2006) elaborations on intertextual webs. The premise is that texts through their interaction appropriate each other. When a text refers to an older text it borrows meaning and legitimacy from the first text, but at the same time the initial text gains legitimacy from being referred to, and it's meaning is appropriated by the way the new texts interprets it. Within a given subject an intertextual web

can be constructed (Hansen 2006: 58). For instance legal texts about Danish daycare are understood in connection with other texts in the daycare regime, and the intertextual web is an analytical tool to grasp these connections.

The discourse analytic frame of this thesis is based on intertextual relations, and thus describes how different organizations and articulations in the public administration are connected.

Concepts from Public Policy literature

Within the paradigm of public policy in political science a turn away from the traditional bureaucratic conceptions of the political process as top-down driven, with democratic feedback has occurred (Hall & Taylor, 1996). New approaches focus on processes of implementation in the public administration. The effects of certain policies depend on the institutional setting of the public administration in which they are implemented. Below a few concepts that function as analytical tools are outlined. Though they were not developed within a Foucauldian epistemology I find the particular notions relevant for the analysis. These public policy approaches are more actor-focused, but they have the ability to grasp both practice and language / discourse. Their focus on norms and culture within the public administration is the basis of using these concepts. In contrast with the poststructural concepts of governmentality, intertextuality, and silence which constitute the main analytical frame, 'logics of appropriateness', 'recipes', and 'street level bureaucrats' has specific explanatory value with respect to implementation of public policies. These concepts ensure detailed understandings of the processes in the public administration of the daycare regime.

March & Olsen (1989) make an important contribution to the understanding of public policies with their 'sociological institutionalism', because they emphasize explanations beyond the traditional understandings of democratic decision making. Their approach encounter the culture within organizations in the public administration, and the norms that govern these organizations. The focus on norms, language, and culture makes sociological institutionalism compatible with the poststructural frame of the thesis.

A central notion coined by March and Olsen (1989) is 'logics of appropriateness'. This concept describes how organizations i.e. within the public administration to a great extent act in accordance with norms in the bureaucratic structure. To enhance legitimacy and efficiency

in everyday practice organizations appropriate to both informal and formal expectations.

'Logics of appropriateness' emphasize how institutions behave more according to norms than according to rational calculations. March and Olsen have in several works, e.g. the garbage can model, showed how the implementation of public policy is dependent on flows of ideas, agendas, decision-makers, etc. The 'timing' of a policy is crucial: Both resources, ideas, presence of decision-makers, and organizational setting at a certain time, determines the success of a certain policy (March & Olsen, 1989).

The myth perspective of Christensen et. al. (2007) is related to March & Olsen's (1989) theories. It sheds light on particular discursive institutional processes. Myths / 'recipes' are relevant to encounter because external discursive influences on organizations in the public administration complement the internal organizational focus of 'logics of appropriateness'. Recipes, myths, or certain ideas of good practice, travel between organizations (Christensen et.al., 2007: 59f.) and produce input to the governmentality of the public administration. 'Recipes' are so to say narratives describing appropriate organizational behaviour. In the case of the daycare regime children's independence, and self government has been a dominant recipe since the 70's, but after the millennium there has been a greater focus on 'education' and on the skills of the individual child (Olesen, 2007).

Both 'logics of appropriateness', and the myth-perspective describe some of the same processes that in a poststructural terminology would be named hegemonic discourses. The norms and language of the public administration determine the bureaucratic priorities. And even though incremental change occur, certain 'hegemonic' norms set boundaries of what is relevant and what is acceptable within the administration of social policies (Bacchi, 2009; Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999: 61).

Though the public policy literature has a different terminology and refer more to the traditional bureaucratic conception of policy implementation, the two concepts above are commensurable with poststructural approaches because they reject intentional rational explanations (March & Olsen, 1989: 5). Further the concepts are important because they describe the processes specifically within public administration, where a concept like hegemonic discourses is more general.

Another relevant concept from public policy-literature for the understanding of the daycare

regime is 'street level bureaucrats'. Lipsky's (2010) classic concept grasps how the lowest level in the public administration – the street level bureaucrats - has a special double role, because they both have sympathies with the citizens, and bureaucratic / legal obligations. A central point is that street level bureaucrats have limited resources, which results in a pragmatic organization of their everyday, where some legislative purposes are prioritized over other. They are so to say policy-makers, because they perform '*discretions*' based on their professionalism, rather than on legislation (Lipsky, 2010).

3. Methodology

This chapter is about how the knowledge is produced: Considerations behind selection of texts, construction of interviews, and the methods used for collecting and analysing the data. Besides clarifying the unique methodology of this thesis it hopefully helps to establish the conclusions as authoritative knowledge (Ramazanoglu, 2002).

To begin with the inquiry is situated; translational challenges are outlined; then the choices behind the design, selection of texts, and the limitations of the data are enrolled; and finally the analytical logics behind the production of knowledge are explicated.

Situated knowledge

This thesis is certainly not a positivist project which attempts to reveal an objective truth about the Danish daycare regime. It is a feminist project which aims to display the insufficient gender perspectives in the administration of daycare. Thus the production of knowledge carried out here is situated.

Situated knowledge as a concept was put forward by Donna Haraway (1991), it describes a scientific approach that seeks to clarify the ideological and positional backgrounds of the author of a project. Especially with a poststructural approach it is impossible to claim any kind of objectivity, hence methodological clarification of bias in the inquiry validates it. Obviously there is an agenda behind this project, and of course my background plays a role in the formation of knowledge. These biased circumstances are pointed out below.

The point of departure is feminist, in the sense that I wish to contribute to break down traditional gender-structures. Through establishing authoritative knowledge about the absence of gender awareness within the daycare regime, I wish to shed light on an area of the Danish welfare state that through mechanisms of 'silence' reproduce inequalities among children. The aim of this thesis is to break the silence on critical gender perspectives.

I have a specific interest in the daycare area, because the Danish daycare regime is a welfare state construction which is admirable, but also because it has some unresolved potentials.

As an author of this thesis, I am situated in 'networks' that inspire the formation of knowledge

carried out in this thesis. First of all I am active in the network 'Køn i Pædagogik' (www.konipeadagogik.dk), much of my knowledge concerning gender in daycare is derived through this network, which promotes social constructivist and to some extent queer gender consciousness within the pedagogical field. Secondly I have had an informal corporation with BUPL (the largest union of pedagogues in Denmark), this collaboration forge attempts to make the results of the thesis translatable into recommendations for a more gender reflexive pedagogic in the future. Finally I have been employed for a long period in a daycare-institution, and have children of my own spending their everyday in daycare-institutions. The specific culture in these places shape my conception of Danish daycare-institutions.

Situated knowledge as a concept is further used in the analysis of my data, as the interviews and the documents assessed are situated within certain discursive formations. The knowledge assessed in this thesis is situated within a daycare regime with traits of a certain welfare state model, and a reluctant gender equality discourse. This situation of the data is established in the background chapter.

Translational challenges

The empirical material is collected in Danish, hence translation is needed. But in some cases the translation from Danish to English is problematic, because exact synonyms do not exist and because the language of the daycare regime is situated in a welfare state context that differ from the Anglo-American. Below two crucial terms are explained in the light of translation.

Karin Widerberg (1998) describes how certain concepts has contextual connotations, therefore the translation of the Danish concept 'køn' into gender is not precise. It results in loss of meaning. Not only 'køn' / gender is problematic to translate, also 'daginstitutioner' / daycare needs explanation in the translation, because these concepts are at the core of the thesis and because they are situated within a certain Danish context.

The notion 'gender' is defined in opposition to sex: *“As a dichotomy, the two terms give each other meaning: gender is understood as not-sex...”* (Widerberg, 1998: 134). This linguistic dichotomy does not exist in Danish. Thus I am aware that the Danish word 'køn' could both have social constructivist connotations and have roots in biological understandings. As the

thesis takes a social constructionist standpoint the English term gender translates 'køn' in this thesis. But attention towards the meanings of this central concept is important in the translation of the empirical material which is collected in Danish. The identification of difference between biologist-essentialist conceptions of 'køn' and social constructivist perceptions is not however translatable into the Anglo-american sex / gender distinction, why gender is the preferred translation of 'køn', also throughout the empirical material.

I use the concept 'Daycare' in the thesis to grasp both creches ('vuggestuer'), and kindergartens / preschools ('børnehaver'). I am aware that daycare in an Anglo-american context is connected to other kinds of care for young children, thus this explicitation. The semantic meaning of daycare, namely care during the daytime while the parents work, is the reason for this translation. In a Danish context most children are cared for outside their home in public institutionalised settings, by peadagogues: 98% of Danish children between 3-5 years went to 'børnehave' in 2010, and 90% of 1-2 year old children were in 'vuggestue' or 'dagpleje'¹ (NOSOKO, 2011), of these 1-2 year old children a majority of about 88% in the municipality of Copenhagen are in institutionalized care (KK, 2012). Daycare in this thesis generally refer to the institutionalized care during daytime of children between 1 and 6 years of age.

Even though the notion institution is understood broadly according to the theoretical grounds of this thesis, the specific term 'daycare-institution' (translation of the Danish word: 'daginstitutione') refers to the very tangible setting where a number of children (often between 20 and 100) are cared for during daytime and educated by preferably professional pedagogues.

Design

The design of this thesis departs in the paradox described in the introduction: Why do gender perspectives not intersect with the governmentality of the daycare regime? An inquiry of gendered 'silence' within public administration of the daycare regime resolves this.

Poststructuralism is focussed on discourses, it can grasp complexity, and problematize unarticulated power structures. The data has been conducted on these grounds: Which 'texts' are particularly relevant to gather in order to understand the logics of gender in the daycare

¹ Care provided by one carer (often not pedagogically educated) caring for 2 - 4 children.

regime. The methods used in the thesis refer to the theoretical approach, and they are relevant in relation to the subject of inquiry.

The construction of a theoretical framework was followed by data collection. The analysis refers to both, but it has not been a linear process though. On the contrary some theoretical concepts gained a more prominent place as a result of their relevance while others was downplayed, and the empirical point of departure was a survey conducted in October 2011. Even though the results are interesting, both the content (focusing on the street level) and the form (quantitative) of it makes it problematic as primary empirical source within a poststructural framework. Instead the survey serves as background for the semi-structured interviews and as source for identification of discursive tendencies.

The public administration and the processes within it can be approached through official articulations of legislation and strategy-documents governing a certain area. Therefore official documents and analysis of their content are at the core of the thesis empirically.

As addressed in the approach chapter though, some processes within the public sector, and priorities made by bureaucrats are not articulated in official documents. Hence four qualitative interviews with key persons in the public administration of the daycare regime are just as important empirical sources.

These two primary sources of data, together with a number of secondary sources are considered as texts with an intertextual relation in the analysis. The findings in the interviews are supplemented by a reading of the legislation. The analysis both refers directly to the collected data, and outlines narratives articulated across the intertextual web of the daycare regime.

Apparatus

The selection of data constitutes an empirical apparatus which represents a certain picture of the daycare regime. This apparatus both gives a picture of the daycare regime as such, and is specifically focussed on gendered aspects within the regime. The choices made to enhance validity of the empirical material are explained below.

Selection of texts is very important in respect of validity and clarity. Hansen (2006: 82f.) states that 3 different criteria are relevant in the selection of appropriate texts in a discourse

analysis. These criteria ensuring validity should not necessarily all be present. The three criteria are: *clear articulations*, *widely read and responded to*, and *formal authority*. Selection of primary texts in this thesis refer to the criteria of 'formal authority' primarily, because the purpose is to assess the public administration of the daycare regime, which is framed by a legislative structure.

Hansen's (2006) methodology is developed within IR, it is anyhow relevant for the public policy focus in this thesis, because it explicates how discourse analytical inquiries are validated. Even though the legislative framework is more important within a national setting, and clear articulations and respondedness could be more difficult to identify, all three criteria are considered in the text selection.

The focus on official documents does not imply that the analysis is based on instrumental explanations of change in the public sector. On the contrary this choice should rather be understood in connection with the Foucauldian approach, because legislation is a good place to identify the governmentality of the daycare regime. Legislation does not emerge in a vacuum (Dean, 2010), in my case the daycare legislation (Socialministeriet, 2011) is often revised according to the logics and discourses within the daycare regime. All texts considered in this thesis are situated in an intertextual web of the daycare regime, responding to each other, directly or indirectly (Hansen, 2006).

The selection of primary texts for inquiry was further influenced by an urge to limit the number of texts, this facilitates more in-depth analysis. Therefore the apparatus consists of the gender-mainstreaming legislation, national daycare legislation, a gender-mainstreaming assessment of this, two municipal policy documents and one local curricula. Many other texts has been considered, but these 6 texts has undergone very thorough scrutinization.

The selection of respondents and 'production' of interviews generally follow the same logics: They all posit a central place in the administration, and it was a priority to clarify the respondents' articulations on issues related to the research question.

The respondents and the legislative texts represent different organizations within the public administration, to ensure the multilevel aspects in the analysis.

The municipality of Copenhagen (and especially one area within Copenhagen) was chosen as case. This choice was made because Copenhagen as a big municipality emphasize

pedagogical development, thus more reflections on a subject like gender was expected. This choice however increases the complexity of the bureaucratic structure analysed, because Copenhagen has more organizational levels.

The selection of respondents was neutral in the sense that interview-persons were identified through official channels, such as official websites. A consultant in the Ministry of Gender Equality, two persons in different administrative units of Copenhagen's BUF-department, and a local pedagogical manager from a daycare-institution was interviewed.

The primary empirical material described above is carefully selected and thoroughly analysed, but the inquiry is also based on many secondary sources. This facilitates a broad knowledge about the daycare regime. The division in primary and secondary sources allows the thesis to preserve broadness and thereby reliability, while it is still a thorough interpretative piece of academic work, that reaches below the surface of absence of gender perspectives in the daycare regime (Hansen, 2006). The secondary material consists of academic literature, political documents, media representations, a survey conducted among 366 pedagogues, and documents (academic and legal) describing gender within the Swedish daycare regime.

The Danish daycare regime is compared to the Swedish. The methodological considerations behind this qualitative comparison is that Sweden and Denmark have rather similar welfare states, cultures, and daycare regimes, thus many external factors explaining variance between the different approaches to gender can be excluded (Peters, 1998). The comparison both validates the findings, and enhance specific understandings of the logics within the Danish daycare regime.

Questions

'Framing' and considerations about questions not asked are crucial in poststructural inquiry. The methodology is inspired by Bacchi's '*What's the problem represented to be*' -approach (2009). The thesis focus on the 'framing' of gender within the daycare regime. Methodologically an awareness of boundaries of the subject of inquiry and unarticulated problems is important. Below both the questions not asked and the framing of the questions I asked in the interviews are explained.

It is a choice made early in the process that the thesis primarily encounters the public

administration of the daycare regime. The design is inspired by Lewis' (2000) multilevel analysis of social policy, why scope limits are rather strict in other respects. Though I recognize that media representations, academic debates, and pressure from the parents, and trade unions just to mention a few things, influence the way gender is constructed in the daycare regime, these aspects are not analysed as thoroughly.

Further the street-level interaction between pedagogues and children, where the effects of the gendered administration occur, has been left out. Scope considerations resulted in this limitation, together with methodological considerations about the political science nature of the thesis. The anthropological effort to produce relevant data would be out of proportion. The fact that several relevant anthropological inquiries on gender in daycare has already been made (Olesen et.al., 2008; Scott, 2010; Fasmer & Nørgaard, 2010) conceals this choice.

The qualitative interviewing of key persons in the public administration follow some common lines, while each interview also has attention to the particular positions of the organizations represented by the interviewed. All four semi-structured interviews was conducted according to individual interview-guides (see enclosure 1-4) centred around three common themes: Impact of legislation on gender issues, the organizational position within the daycare regime (relations to other organizations), and the respondents' conception of gender in daycare. During the interviews certain tracks was given special attention, and it was a priority to follow up on some of the narratives and definitions that was expressed. The discourse approach under which the interviews are analysed informed both the interview-guides and the follow-up questions during the interviews, in an attempt to identify the respondents' articulation of narratives (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

Quantitative questions clearly does not have a prominent place within this thesis, but several quantitative measures has been used specifically in the initiating phase of the inquiry, and in the secondary material to achieve an overview of the field. It is limited how much information on narratives, identities, and intertextuality quantitative measures provide, but they play an important role in contextualizing the qualitative data (Ramazanoglu, 2002). Therefore both the results and statistical analysis of the survey, and an overview of the media-representations on gender in pedagogics are enclosed.

It should be clear that the diverse data are not used to proof causal relations. The thesis

intends to uncover discursive tendencies. Therefore certain questions was not asked, for instance who is responsible within the daycare regime. 'Interests' of certain actors are neither given particular attention, because the governmentality of the daycare regime in my conception is best understood as an intertextual web: Gender and discursive formations are constructed within relations of power in a Foucauldian sense (Ramazanoglu, 2002).

Analysing the Data

The outlook of the data is rather mixed, with both qualitative interviews, and official documents, supplemented by a survey, media representations, academic literature etc. But the methods used for analysing the empirical material follow the same logics with genre differences in mind.

The theoretical approach of poststructural feminism informs the ways in which the knowledge is acquired. Discursive formations, and practices within the daycare regime that influence the construction of gender are identified.

The theoretical approach guides the analysis. For example the concept 'logics of appropriateness' (March & Olsen, 1989), has led me to look for similarities in the discursive formations, and ask the respondents in the qualitative interviews how they interact with their organizational surroundings. The different theoretical concepts, and especially the concept of 'silence' has framed the reading of the empirical findings, but the analytical process has been dialectic and the findings in the scrutinization of the daycare regime has also played an important role in modifying and re-selecting relevant theoretical notions.

Generally the poststructural point of departure means three things methodologically: First of all a critical reading has been undertaken, the relevant material is scrutinized for articulations and practices which constitute nodal points, and discursive formations are identified (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999); Secondly I have been looking for dichotomies, in feminist methodology one of the central ways to inquire knowledge is to identify 'othering' of particular identities and discourses. If something is opposed to the norm its status is low, through 'othering' the norm gains power (Ramazanoglu, 2002: 107f.); Thirdly an intertextual web has been constructed, this serves both as my own overview, it provides clarity for the reader in the complex daycare regime, as well as it connects the relevant discursive formations represented within the thesis (Hansen, 2006).

4. Background

This paragraph presents the context in which the Danish daycare regime and the public administration of it is situated. The Danish welfare state has been characterized as both social-democratic and women-friendly (Borhorst & Siim, 2008). According to Esping Anderson's (1990) typology Denmark is a *Scandinavian welfare state* characterized by a high degree of redistribution, and a state that intervenes in areas like care, which are traditionally family issues, through the provision of universal welfare benefits.

The puzzle of this thesis is that a 'women-friendly' welfare state which takes a great responsibility in the raising of children could be expected to promote gender equality in the daycare-institutions, but this is apparently not happening.

Two aspects of the welfare state which intersect in this inquiry are scrutinized and described: The child-care regime, and the 'women-friendliness'. Thereafter the survey which was conducted in an early phase of the thesis is presented as background material for the analysis.

The Danish model of care

In Denmark the dual-breadwinner model is the norm, nuclear-families with two working parents are both the ideal and the most common. Though the division of domestic work has not been equalized, and alternative family constellations emerge, families normally consist of a working mother and a working father (Björnberg, 1999). As an effect of this the care of small children in Denmark is very defamilized.

The welfare state intervenes with family life in many different ways (Dencik, 1999, p. 252): E.g. a parental leave scheme, which compensates for parents loss of income in up to 50 weeks has been established over the years. Though Sweden has a more generous scheme the Danish scheme is rather similar to the other Nordic countries, except that the father typically in Denmark has a shorter parental leave (because none of the 50 weeks are reserved for the second parent) (NOSOKO, 2011).

This parental leave scheme, together with the dual-breadwinner model in the Danish labour market has fertilized a certain norm of public daycare (Borchorst, 2000). Most children begin in daycare (preferably 'vuggestue') when they are around the age of 1. This norm is strong,

and even unemployed parents tend to follow it. The municipalities subsidize the daycare with at least 75% of the price, and are obliged to offer daycare from the child's 26th week (NOSOKO, 2011).

Denmark is thus the Nordic country (and thereby probably also the country in the world) where institutionalized public daycare is most widespread (NOSOKO, 2011).

This care regime has the result that small children spend many hours away from the family, and attempts to 'socialize' them is not only performed by their parents. Dencik (1999, p 245f.) theorizes this as postmodern childhood, which is characterized by '*dual socialization*'. The point is that daycare-institutions also has a responsibility of the personal development of young children. With pedagogical efforts by educated staff in the daycare-institutions this obligation is met professionally.

The childcare regime described above has emerged as a result of development of professional pedagogics during the 70's and of women's entry to the labour-market (Borchorst, 2000; 2010).

Gender Equality?

The Scandinavian welfare states, including the Danish, has been labelled as '*woman-friendly*' because social policies aimed at gender equality in the labour market and a renegotiation of the public-private split are important characteristics (Borchorst & Siim, 2008). Though the '*woman-friendliness*' of these policies are contested especially from feminists who argue that the gender-system is still persistent, the gender equal self-consciousness in Denmark is in line with Helga Hernes' concept of '*woman-friendly welfare states*' (Borchorst & Dahlerup, 2003).

A dual-breadwinner model, and a childcare regime which allows women to have both children and career, and increasing equality in political representation, was in the 70's and 80's promising for a '*woman-friendly*' welfare state (Borchorst & Siim, 2008). But a segregated labour market with men primarily employed in the private sector, and women with carework in the public sector, and a gender system based on hierarchy and dichotomous gender roles compromise the '*woman-friendliness*' of the Scandinavian welfare states.

There are specific conditions in the Danish gender equality discourse, that differ from the Swedish institutionalization of feminism. In Denmark only first generation (rights focused)

and to some extent second generation feminism has gained power in the political discourse: Gender equality in public debate and especially in policy processes is limited to be either a private personal matter, or a labour-market issue (Borchorst & Dahlerup, 2003).

Though care in Denmark is a public matter, a discussion on the public-private split is still relevant, because this establishes boundaries and defines what is depolitized (Bacchi, 2009). In Denmark the public-private split has been rearticulated, so formation of gender identities, and gender roles within the family is a private matter, this depolitization of gender identity issues may have roots in a very liberal discourse on personal matters that emphasize 'free choice' and downplay structural understandings of inequality (Borchorst & Dahlerup, 2003; Borchorst & Siim, 2008).

In comparison with Sweden and Norway, Borchorst & Siim has a negative assessment of gender equality in the Danish welfare state:

“The Danish case represents the failure of state feminism. Since the change of government in 2001, there has been a growing gap between the official version of gender equality and feminist accounts.”

(Borchorst & Siim, 2008, p. 218)

Besides the general gendered traits of the Danish welfare state (dual-breadwinner model, state responsibility of care-taking, a gender segregated labour market, and a rearticulated public-private split), a gender-mainstreaming agenda has been adopted. This should develop gender equality in the Danish society, but both the goals and the means of this strategy are weak, thus the effects are very limited.

If the Danish gender-mainstreaming strategy is analysed in accordance with Judith Squires typology of different mainstreaming strategies, it is at best 'integrationist' with the aim of neutral policy-making, within the public administration, and with experts evaluating the bureaucratic aspects of gender equality as a tool (Squires, 2005). Though this narrow approach to gender-mainstreaming in theory could secure a more focused and effective effort, it is not the case in Denmark. On the contrary the institutionalization of the mainstreaming-

legislation is weak, and in many cases decoupled from the policy processes towards which it aims. (Borchorst & Dahlerup, 2003; Borchorst, 2010)

An example of the weak and decoupled gender-mainstreaming effort is the 'gender-equality-assessment' (my translation) of the legislation on curricula in daycare-institutions from 2004 (Socialministeriet, 2004) which is presented as a case of good practice. This 'gender-equality-assessment' was performed as result of the gender-mainstreaming obligation. The official document reveals a lack of balanced, and expert derived knowledge about gender in daycare. And it ends up with recommendations that only have symbolic character in the form of one loosely formulated sentence attached to the legislation: "*The educational work incorporate relevant considerations of the local context such as the composition of the group of children (ages, gender, 'handicap'², familybackground etc.), geographical place, and physical opportunities, etc.*" (my translation, Socialministeriet, 2004). This sentence was in the political process later excluded from the legislative text.

So even though the Danish national identity is linked hereto, gender equality has low political priority, and degree of institutionalization (Borchorst & Dahlerup, 2003). The gender-mainstreaming effort incorporated in Danish legislation around the millennium has not changed this substantially, and gender equality pertains to be a formal matter focused on labour market issues, while structures of the 'gender-system' are silenced by a strong liberal discourse of personal freedom, even within the gender-mainstreaming imperative in legislation (Borchorst, 2010; Borchorst & Dahlerup, 2003; Sjørup, 2007). Thus the discussions on the heterosexual matrix does not really occur in the public debate.

Further the premises on which gender-issues are discussed in the public opinion, in peoples everyday, and even in the political sphere are embedded in ideas of essential difference between boys and girls (Sjørup, 2007). '2nd generation feminist' ideas has to some extent reached the public administration through attention on equality between the two different genders, but only the '1st generation feminist' battle for equal rights has been fully institutionalised in Denmark (Sjørup, 2007). More nuanced conceptions of gender as social construction (3rd generation feminism) are still limited to academia in Denmark. Thus there is a rising discrepancy between 3rd generation feminist ideals that encounter for gender-

2 Note that the term disability has not reached the language of Danish legislation yet, this could be seen as a sign of lacking attention towards minorities perspectives, and towards structural understandings of norms.

identities and inequalities as socially constructed, with a following imperative to counter stereotypes on one side; and the general gender-norms which presumes natural difference and within the last 30 years has become much more distinct masculine / feminine in terms of performed gender on the other side (Sjørup, 2007). Within the pedagogical debate 3rd generation feminist viewpoints are also absent (Køn I Pædagogik, 2010), while children's gendered signs such as clothing becomes much more explicit (Sjørup, 2007).

Thus the understandings of 'køn' in the public debate, which are nested in the heterosexual matrix, seems to inform professional strategies concerning gender-issues in daycare with an emphasis on natural difference between boys and girls. While professional strategies based on social constructivist approaches to gender are rare in Danish daycare.

Survey

Prevailing the collection of primary empirical data a web-survey among pedagogues concerning attitudes towards gender in their professional practice was undertaken. The most relevant findings of this survey are presented below (The questions, distribution of answers, and a statistical analysis are found in enclosure 6 & 7).

The web-survey was made in collaboration with BUPL, among their members. The purpose was to reveal pedagogues' knowledge, opinions, and professional practice on gender.

In the table below basic information on the survey is summarized:

Table 4.1: Facts of the survey

Respondents	Nr. of questions	Time	3 themes in the questions
366 (21% of asked)	23 closed, 1 open + background info	October 2011	Pedagogues own practice Experience/observation of the children Opinions about gender in pedagogics

The survey indicates which themes, practices, and opinions about gender are dominant among pedagogues. This initial information serves as a background on which the rest of the data is collected and processed. It contributes to the understanding of discourses on gender within the daycare regime especially through the last qualitative / open question. Though the information about administrative processes is limited.

In spite of the sparse number of completed questionnaires, and the moderate percentage of respondents the reliability of the survey is acceptable because the respondents are representative of the population of pedagogues in Denmark, and because the results are used to grasp discursive tendencies, not to proof causal relations. There could very well be a bias among the respondents towards pedagogues who are aware of and was interested in gender ('køn') before though. So the attitude towards gender expressed in the survey may be more social-constructivist, more reflected, and clearer, than among all pedagogues.

The survey both broadens the scope of inquiry and validates some of the findings from the other sources of data. Focus is on constructions (discursively and in practice) of gender, hence the survey contributes to the poststructural exploration of the daycare regime. Though the quantitative character and lack of nuances in the answers of a survey limits the usefulness, its scope is a pragmatic method to uncover discursive tendencies.

Generally the answers given were pragmatic, and the main conclusion is that the Danish professional pedagogues are neither very conservative in their perceptions of gender, nor particularly urging for change. In the following some of the relevant findings are explained.

Practice and pedagogical methods

The survey reveals interesting information about the everyday practices of pedagogues in the Danish daycare system. First of all pedagogues generally do not work professionally with gender issues: Only about 5% of the daycare-institutions (and probably less considering the bias mentioned above) treat gender in their curricula beyond just mentioning. The extensive absence of gender perspectives in the written goals of the daycare-institutions is a symptom of lacking professional reflections on gender issues within the pedagogical practice. Further it is a mirror of the legislation, which is silent on expectations of gender in pedagogics. Despite this 58% of the respondents to some extent (50%) or indeed (8%) experience traditional gender roles among the children. So even though pedagogues see gendered patterns, it is not explicitly articulated in their professional strategies.

Concerning pedagogical methods, the attitudes towards three different practices was measured: A majority of respondents find occasional segregation of boys and girls appropriate to promote more versatile gender-performances, and only 7-8% dismiss segregation as a

pedagogical measure when it comes to children from 3 years and up; On the other hand only about 40% of the pedagogues consider storytelling that challenge traditional gender understandings as important; And only about a third believe that it is a pedagogical obligation to have awareness of the gendered language pedagogues use. This picture of the practices and pedagogical measures point in the direction of a perception of gender as something primarily inherent in the children, and not so much a matter of structures constructed by the practice and language in the daycare-institution and its surroundings.

Opinions about the children's gender

The picture is also ambivalent in relation to opinions about gender in daycare-institutions: Wishes to know more about gender in daycare are articulated, but most pedagogues are also affected by a reluctant discourse towards gender perspectives.

As much as 76% of the respondents believe that knowledge about gender roles should be part of the education of pedagogues. The same high percentage of the respondents think that daycare-institutions should work for gender equality, especially respondents situated in or around Copenhagen wish to work for gender equality.

A majority does not acknowledge it as a pedagogical task to break down traditional gender roles like in Sweden, but the longer their seniority the more open the respondents are towards working actively against traditional gender roles.

Questions 9-15 in the survey are constructed as different statements on gender in daycare, which has biologist-essentialist views on gender as a hidden premise:

Table 4.2: Statistics on questions 9-15: 1= agree with statement ... 5= disagree with statement

Question	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Do you agree that	Girls' nature to play family	Boys' nature not to sit still	Worrying if boys dress as princess	Worrying if girls only playing with boys	Male employees preferred as role models	Different pedagogical methods for boys and girls	Segregated playing is ok
n	362	363	364	363	361	363	360
mean	2,36	2,84	4,42	4,48	2,94	2,67	2,44
st. dev.	1,18	1,25	0,97	0,91	1,24	1,21	1,21

Questions 11 and 12 show that pedagogues have an open mind toward gender-atypical behaviour. But the answers of the rest of the questions reveal a tendency towards a biologist-essentialist views on gender. A mean close to 1 indicates a tendency towards biologist-essentialist conceptions of gender, while means towards 5 indicates the opposite (a prevalence of social-constructivist views on gender). The mean is generally below 3 but also a bit above two, so tendencies towards biologist-essentialist understandings of gender can be identified, especially when considering the bias from the percentage of response, but it is not extreme in any sense.

A very significant covariance between the seven statements above was expected, especially between some of them, e.g. questions 9 and 10 about the relation between sex and gendered play-patterns. But the answers did not match as perfectly as presumed. Hence the presumptions about biology, which was the premise in the construction of the statements did not seem to be in the mind of the respondents when they answered the survey. To test this a statistical review of the consistency in the answers from the respondents was performed (4 pairs of questions: 9+10, 11+12, 14+17 reversed, and 22+23 was crosstabulated) with an expected high consistence in the answers. Consistence between answers was found only to some extent: About 40% of the respondents answered perfectly consistent, and between 8-44% answered very inconsistently. (see enclosure 7)

The inconsistency in answers on questions with similar premises tells me that biologist-essentialist / social constructivist conceptions has limited influence on the pedagogues' views on gender. In other words the theoretical reflections on gender are not very prevalent among pedagogues.

Discourses

Generally the survey reveals limited knowledge among pedagogues about gendered structures, an absence of professional methods addressing gender, and opinions that to some extent are embedded in the general Danish discourses about gender: Gender equality is viewed as naturally Danish, and difference between boys and girls is emphasized. In other words social constructivist approaches to gender are silenced among pedagogues.

In the answers of the open question the picture that biologist-essentialist notions of gender are the most common is confirmed. Many of the respondents emphasize that there is difference

between girls and boys. Another tendency is a reluctance towards overdoing it, and an idea that the pedagogical practice already is providing gender equality indirectly through recognition of each individual child. A minority though wish to work more with gender. Lastly I find it interesting that only 5 of the respondents express 'pity for the boys' in daycare considering the presence of this discourse in media (see enclosure 7 for categorization of qualitative answers).

5. Analysis of the Empirical findings

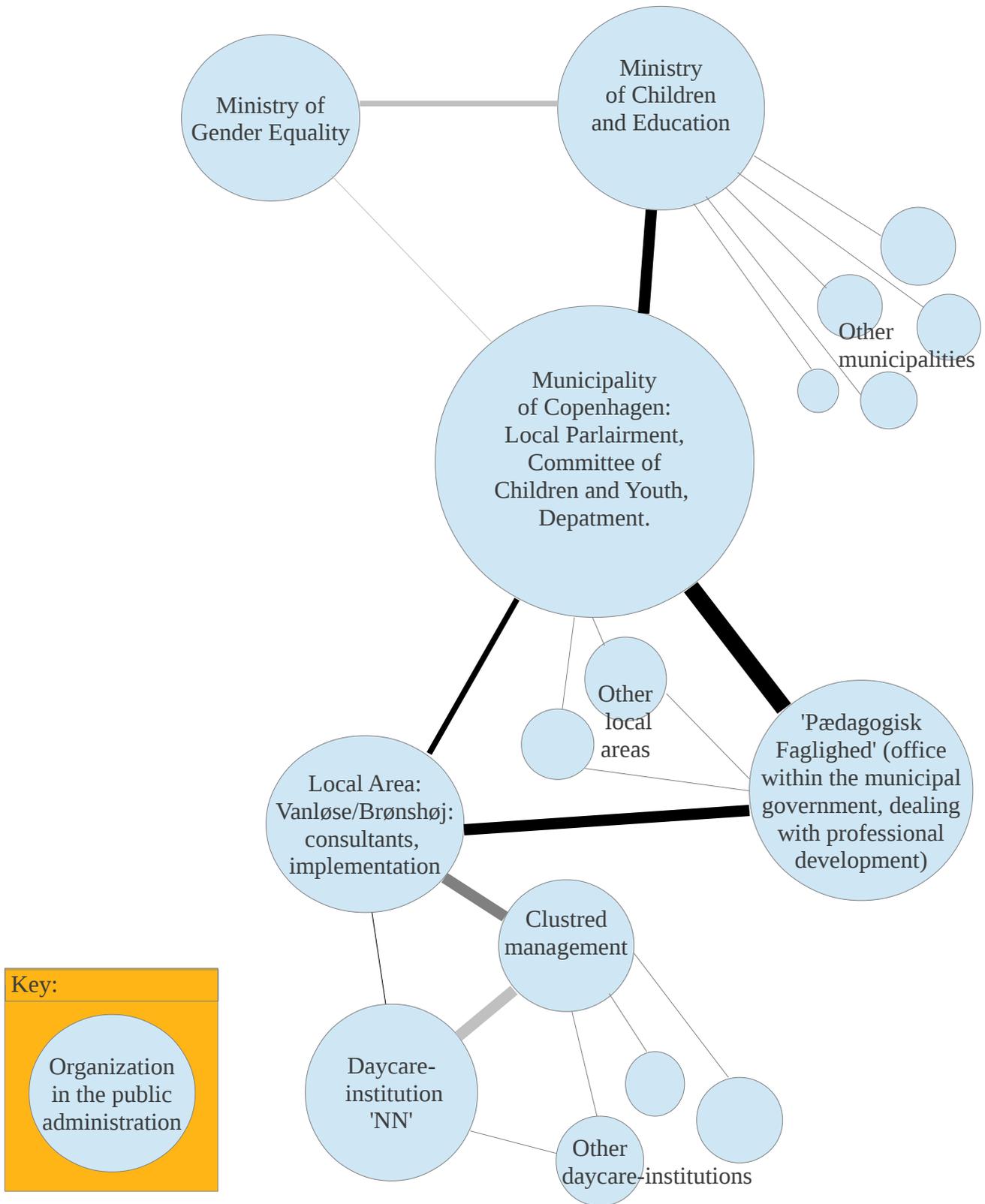
The primary empirical material is analysed and mapped below. It is the intention to create an understanding of the scope of empirical material, and an overview of the daycare regime as such. Towards the end of the chapter important discursive traits within the daycare regime are identified.

The two primary sources of knowledge are: 4 semi-structured interviews with persons holding different positions in the public administration of the daycare regime; and 6 official legislative texts situated both at national, municipal, and local level. The focus in this chapter is on the primary empirical material.

Administrative / legal framework

The administrative responsibility of daycare is primarily municipal, and the daycare is executed by small daycare-institutions, but the government of the regime also encounters the Ministry of Children and Education. The administration of the daycare regime has the outlook of a traditional welfare state bureaucracy. But it is more complex, than three organizational levels – local institutions, municipal administration, and national policy. Within and in between these levels the public administration of daycare takes many forms. The focus on gender further calls for the inclusion of the Ministry of Gender Equality in the administrative landscape. The figure below maps the administrative framework of the daycare regime - the area of inquiry in this thesis – with the array of different public organizations that govern the daycare regime.

Figure 5.1: Map of the Public Administration of Daycare in Denmark and Copenhagen



Interviews

Four semi-structured, qualitative interviews was conducted in different organizations within the public administration of the daycare regime: The Ministry of Gender Equality, the professional development unit of pedagogics ('Pædagogisk Faglighed') in Copenhagen, local area-unit Brønshøj-Vanløse in Copenhagen, a daycare-institution in the same area.³

Three overall themes guide all four interviews: The organizations' position in the public administration of the daycare regime, the presence / absence of gender considerations in their daily work, and their perception of children's gender identity formation in daycare. Within this general frame specific issues of each informant's / organization's role, position, and norms were discussed.

Below some of the most important findings from the interviews are outlined:

Interviewing a consultant in the Ministry of Gender Equality confirms the picture of a relatively weak ministry, and a vague gender-mainstreaming effort. She underlined that the ministry only 'administrated' the legislation on gender equality, they had a very sparse budget, they ran ad hoc projects that closed again after a couple of years, and she constantly pushed the administrative responsibility away from the ministry. In 2007-8 the ministry initiated a project where gender in 'børnehaver' was investigated by anthropologists (Olesen et.al., 2008). This was followed up by a guide to inspire pedagogues, and a children's book questioning gender stereotypes by turning them upside down. In the interview this material was appraised, though she also admitted that the evaluation of it was sparse, and only few daycare-institutions had used it and even less in the intended way. Finally in spite of an obvious engagement she avoided to present a political definition of gender equality, and just stated that "*some issues are a matter of sex and then there is not much to do*" (my translation). Despite fine intentions the interview revealed a Ministry of Gender Equality with very limited political impact on gender within the daycare regime.

The second interview was performed in 'Pædagogisk Faglighed' and focused on how pedagogical development takes place in Copenhagen. Their role as an organization within

³ An interview with a consultant in the ministry of Children and Education, the office concerning daycare, was also initiated, but after 5 inquiries, the interview was rejected, because of cuts in the ministry department. Answering the first inquiries it was mentioned though, that they could not contribute with much if the interview was concerning gender issues.

BUF (Children and Youth Department of Copenhagen) is both to provide politicians with analytical input concerning pedagogical development, and to define the frames for implementation of municipal legislation. In 'BUF' especially two efforts are on the agenda: 'integration' and 'inclusion'. Integration because many (up to 30-40%) of the children has a different heritage than Danish; And inclusion as a reflection of new directions within pedagogy, the goal being to widen the spectrum of normality through looking at structural boundaries for the well being of certain children (Pedersen et.al. 2009).

The interview revealed that besides the interaction within the public administration of the daycare regime (daycare-institutions, other departments, and politicians in this case), her knowledge and the position of 'Pædagogisk Faglighed' was influenced by especially two external institutions: The union (in Copenhagen many of the pedagogues are organized in 'LFS') which had great influence and was very concerned with the daycare-institutions' right to pedagogical independence; And pedagogical academia, though she stated that scientific inquiry on daycare was generally sparse, they used academic inquiries to develop the pedagogy of Copenhagen.

When the question of gender-structures was brought up the initial reaction was reluctant, but as the interview developed, she ended up thinking social constructivist notions of gender was an interesting perspective which could have some impact if an academic inquiry was presented to them. Besides that she characterized the Swedish legislative statement on daycare-curricula: "*Preschool must counter traditional gender-patterns and gender-roles.*" (my translation, Skolverket, 2010: 5) as 'beautiful'. Further in relation to gender she stated that: "*pedagogics is very much about having expectations*" (my translation), thus she primarily expressed social constructivist views on gender in daycare. Despite these articulations of social constructivist gender-views, and an imagined connection between gender perspectives and 'inclusion', the interview revealed a silence on gender in 'Pædagogisk Faglighed'.

The third interview with a pedagogical consultant in an area of Copenhagen (there are 6 administrative area-units within BUF) was much more focused on practice. Within the area-units of the municipality different roles are filled out to support the daycare institutions and schools, the respondent's specific role was to supervise daycare-institutions and schools. Implementation of legislation is performed by the area-units. Feedback to the rest of the

municipal administration from this organization was sparsely used though. On the other hand he characterized the municipality of Copenhagen as 'very oriented towards development', thus the direction of information in the public administration in this case was rather traditional hierarchical. The interview concerned the interplay between him / the area-unit and the daycare-institutions, and generally (in about 90% of the cases) he thought the implementation of different legislation went smooth. Some daycare-institutions though are reluctant towards new things, primarily he thought, because safe and known everyday practices are established. This reluctance towards change is in line with the public policy-literature's attention to organizational culture as an important factor in the implementation of public policies (Christensen et. al., 2007; March & Olsen, 1989). Most daycare-institutions to a great extent appropriate their practice to new legislation, and welcome input that could develop their pedagogical professionalism. The description of two different approaches to new things in the daycare-institutions is very much in line with Ole Henrik Hansen's (2011; 2012forthcoming) observations in 9 'vuggestuer'.

The interview also concerned 'inclusion' which according to him is *"probably the largest pedagogical progress in the municipality of Copenhagen in many years"*. Though it is primarily implemented voluntarily the impact is great, and the stories of success seems to spread between the daycare-institutions. Inclusion can be characterized as a new important 'recipe' within the daycare regime. The work with inclusion also show that pedagogical reflection and professional input can potentially change practice to the better. He saw a connection between 'inclusion' and pedagogics working against gender-stereotypes, and felt inspired by the conversation in the interview. He was explicit that his knowledge about gendered structures in daycare was only based on everyday experiences though. Despite this a biologist-essentialist understanding of gender was prevalent and articulated by the end of the interview. He reclaimed a focus on difference, and 'a pity for boys' in daycare institutions and schools.

The last interview was performed at the lowest administrative level in the daycare regime, with a pedagogical manager in a municipal daycare-institution. Her role was to manage the pedagogical work. A new reform (clustered management) had taken away some of her administrative tasks, given an obligation to participate in the everyday care and education of the children, and as she pointed out increased the distance between the municipality and the

daycare-institutions. This she regretted because she was very oriented towards pedagogical input. It was clearly a daycare-institution with pedagogical ambitions, and willingness to implement new things.

Generally she was open and satisfied with the strategies and policies that the municipality implemented, but they were not adopted uncritically. An example of her engagement was participation in the local implementation and development of the strategy on 'inclusion', and she was very satisfied with this program, except she had a hard time to find finances to educate the staff and herself.

In the curriculum ('årsplan') gender equality is mentioned why this particular daycare-institution was selected for interview, as it is rather rare. They did not however have a pedagogical professionalism on gender issues, but they reflected on it and discussed gender issues internally. Her reflections concerning gender was that *"it was important to give the children the same possibilities and meet them with the same pedagogical means in spite of gender"*, and even though she observed gender differences (perhaps coming from the children's homes) she saw children that generally had patterns of play that was not gendered as such. She had never experienced any input from the municipality concerning gender at all.

These four interviews are considered as representations of perspectives on gender from different positions within the public administration of the daycare regime.

Body of texts

In this paragraph the legislative texts on daycare both nationally and in the municipality of Copenhagen are read discursively. Hence they are critically assessed with a specific attention to gender and articulations that are related hereto.

To understand the legislative silence on gender in the daycare regime the context in which these legislative texts are situated must be addressed. The primary texts are selected according to the criteria of formal authority, while secondary texts (the context of the legislative frame) are primarily identified on basis of clear articulations and the criteria of respondedness (especially their references to legislation) (Hansen, 2006: 82).

The content of the primary texts is analysed; Thereafter the important contextual relations of this legislative frame (when it comes to gender) are identified and an intertextual web is

depicted on the basis of the legal / administrative framework.

Primary texts of inquiry

A few legislative texts have a central position in the intertextual web of organizations, articulations, and context of the daycare regime. These official texts govern the daycare regime through marking out obligations of the actors concerned (disciplining), and not least through defining discursive ideas about good practice (governmentality). The primary texts described below constitute the primary field of inquiry (Hansen, 2006), together with the qualitative interviews.

First of all the national legislation on daycare is scrutinised: In 2007 the legislation which was fragmented and situated preferably in legislation on social services, was unified in one text, this legislation was changed slightly in 2011. '*Dagtilbudsloven*' (Socialministeriet, 2011) primarily outlines the tasks of daycare-institutions, the obligations of municipalities, and the rights of parents that send their children to daycare. The legislation articulates a threefold purpose of daycare: care (ensuring parents labour market participation), education / development of the children, and prevention of negative social legacy. Three subjects are given special attention in the legislative text: curricula (focus on education), language assessment, and the individual child. Lastly it should be pointed out that New Public Management (NPM) inspired ideas of public administration such as a consumerist view on the citizens (the parents in this case), and a self-governance logic based on clear goals of output ('capable children'), are recognized in the text.

In 2004 the legislation on curricula ('pædagogiske læreplaner'), which is now part of '*Dagtilbudsloven*' was passed and a gender-equality-assessment was made by the Ministry of Social Affairs - responsible for the daycare area at that time (Socialministeriet, 2004). This assessment is brief (one page), in a superficial and insufficient manner it evaluates the gendered consequences of the legislation. The only substantial conclusions are that boys and girls are different, and pedagogues should be aware of that. The text was located on the ministry of gender-equality's website as an example of good practice in gender-mainstreaming.

From the municipality of Copenhagen two legislative / strategic texts are identified as central.

They describe the values and practices of the daycare regime in Copenhagen:

1) The municipal policy on children and youth (KK, 2008a) outlines the overall values governing schools, daycare-institutions, and other services for children between 0 - 18 in the municipality of Copenhagen. This text was signed by the two mayors responsible for the area and passed by the municipal parliament ('Borgerrepræsentationen'). Two of the main goals are democratic participation with respect of diversity, and focus on socially vulnerable children. Generally this text though defines 'the good life' for children in the municipality as consisting of development of the individual child's competencies on one hand, and of recognition and well-being on the other (KK, 2008a). Thus the logics of governmentality in this policy-document both encounter the individual child's development and solidarity values.

2) '*Delstrategi Kerneområde Dagtilbud*' (KK, 2008b) which is a strategic paper pointing out the priorities and values of the work specifically within the daycare-institutions in Copenhagen. The document outlines the public administrative challenges of the area, such as inclusion of more children within the 'normal' daycare, recruitment, legislative framework implementation, and economy. Further it establishes four areas of special attention in the daycare regime of Copenhagen: Pedagogical professional focus on 'inclusion'; corporation with parents in the local daycare-institutions; Education and focus on professional pedagogues; and finally a reform of the management structure. (KK 2008b)

These two texts articulate the political and pedagogical priorities within the municipality of Copenhagen in the daycare area. In comparison with the national legislation the priorities of Copenhagen are more detailed and focused on 'inclusion', integration and solidarity. But the focus on the individual child is still strong here.

Finally I have read an array of curricula ('årsplaner') from daycare-institutions. The daycare-institutions are obliged to formulate their own curricula every other year and explicitate the values of the daycare-institution, pedagogical priorities, and the practice of the institution. In particular I have analysed the 'årsplan' of the daycare-institution in which the fourth interview was conducted. This particular 'årsplan' (see enclosure 5) follows a general frame institutionalized by the curriculum obligation in national legislation with six thematic priorities⁴, Further the text explicitates the specific values of the daycare-institution, and one

4 These six themes must be addressed in every daycare institution in Denmark: 1) Diverse personal development, 2) Social abilities, 3) Language skills, 4) Body and movement, 5) The nature and its phenomena, 6) Cultural

of these is gender equality. It is central in this 'årsplan' like in many other that the children are recognized and have a say, and it is explicit that the pedagogues have the responsibility of the children's well-being and development.

The documents above contain many buzzwords, of which many are emptied of meaning (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999). The reading presented is based primarily on what is emphasised in the texts, but also on my knowledge of the field, an attempt to identify radical articulations (Hansen, 2006: 82f.), and finally on what is central for the analysis of silence on gender.

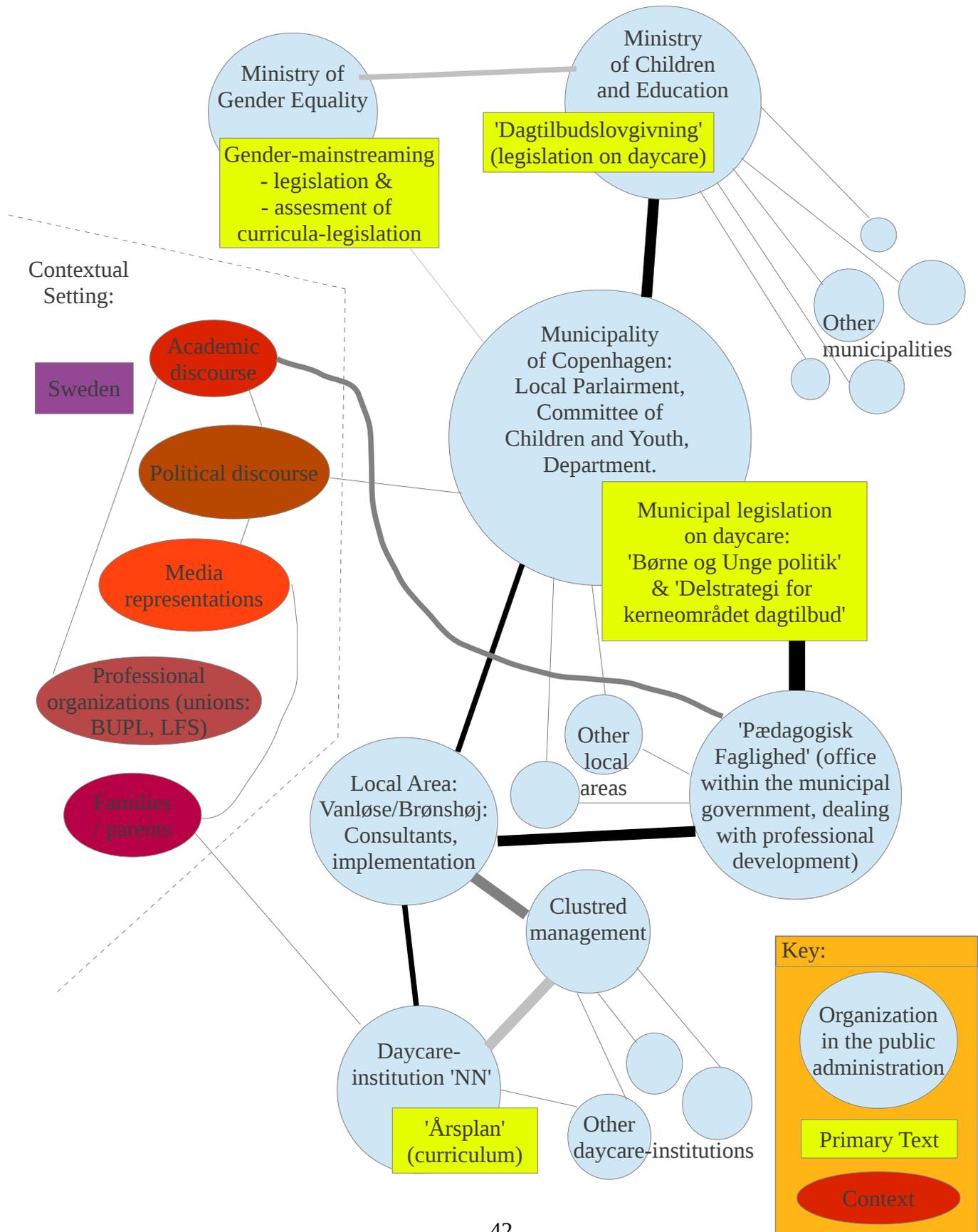
Intertextual web

The norms, tasks, and articulations of the organizations expressed in the legislative texts outlined above are situated within an intertextual context, hence their interpretation must take into account other texts, organizational structure, and external discourses. The concept of intertextuality used here encompass organizational settings, and context. The qualitative interviews is thus also considered as textual representations of the daycare regime. The interviews ensure that buzzwords are overlooked in the analysis if they are empty, while on the other hand the issues which are at the heart of the daycare regime are noticed by the respondents. Further the strength of the interrelations between different organizations is clarified through the interviews. It strengthens analysis and establishes the inquiry as poststructural and critical to look beyond official texts in this way (Bacchi, 2009).

The figure below identifies intertextual connections represented as lines between organizations, texts, and context. The intertextual web which the map is a representation of clarifies the logics of appropriateness under which the organizations operate, because it shows where the discursive links between the organizations of the daycare regime are strong (thick lines). Thus this framework allow public policy theories to unfold, within a poststructural framework.

expresions and values. (my translation, Dagtilbudsloven, 2011).

Figure 5.2: Map of Intertextuality in the daycare regime of Denmark and Copenhagen.



Identification of basic discursive traits related to Gender

A few important discursive traits (Hansen, 2006) of the daycare regime are identified by analysing articulations in the interviews and in legislative texts. An array of factors are at play within the daycare regime, e.g. a new administrative reform ('clustered management'), and not all discursive traits are analysed. The basic discourses identified below has a specific relation to gender within the daycare regime.

A very important discursive trait throughout the daycare regime is the pedagogical focus on the individual child as the target of both care and educational efforts. I read this as being in a dichotomous relationship with structural approaches to pedagogy. The focus on education and development of the children's individual competencies is especially dominant in the national legislation on daycare: *"Daycare-institutions must in corporation with parents provide care and support the versatile development and self-worth of the individual child..."* (Socialministeriet, 2011).

In the past few years however 'inclusion' has emerged as a pedagogical buzzword: It is an approach to include more children within 'normal daycare' (Pedersen (ed.), 2009). Inclusion is a narrative within the daycare regime which presents itself as a 'recipe'. As I understand inclusion the focus on the individual child is expanded by a pedagogical attention towards the social structures that exclude children. Inclusion is primarily concerning children with special needs though. The opposites of inclusion are according to Bent Madsen (in Pedersen (ed.), 2009) exclusion and integration. The dichotomous relationship with integration (which aims to make the individual fit the community), highlights the focus on structures and the attention towards changing the common / normal setting. The 'recipe' of inclusion is articulated very much in the three last interviews, but also found in the municipal strategy-papers, and traits of it are found in the national legislation. Though inclusion focus on structures it is not antagonistic to the individual child discourse: In texts throughout the daycare regime the two strategies are represented as part of the same 'chain of equivalence'.

When it comes to gender, the most obvious discursive trait in the material is an admitted lack of knowledge. All four informants interviewed are very conscious about the absence of pedagogical insights concerning gender. They recognize that gender is at play in daycare, and articulate a 'naïve curiosity'. Gendered practices are described as based on routine,

stereotypes, and everyday-knowledge. This absence of professional gender-knowledge in the daycare regime is further underlined by an almost absolute silence on gender in the legislative texts. The sparse and professionally doubtful recommendations from the gender-equality-assessment was not even included in the national legislation. (Socialministeriet, 2011)

'A pity for boys' in daycare is articulated in three interviews, especially in the Ministry of Gender Equality and the local area-unit. This discursive formation did not surprise me though I did not initiate it in any way, because a 'pity for boys' has been a very strong discourse in the public debate over the last 20 years (Hjort & Baagøe Nielsen, 2003). The 'pity for boys' reconstructs the heterosexual matrix in the daycare regime. It is claimed that daycare is a feminized sphere⁵, where boys miss both challenges that match their gendered nature and role-models, this normative assumption is discursively connected with the fact that boys compared to girls have difficulties in the educational system.

The last discursive trait identified is an idea of essential difference between academia and practice: The practitioners seem to have great confidence in their own experience, the professional pride of pedagogues very much lie in their everyday-work, and there is a strong tradition of daycare-institutions as self-governing units. On the other hand there are also reluctance to intervene in the everyday of the daycare-institutions from the parts of the public administration that draw on academia. This is specifically visible in the interviews with the Ministry of Gender Equality and with 'Pædagogisk Faglighed'.

The basic findings of this chapter constitutes a starting point of the analysis below.

5 According to BUPL (2006) 83,5% of pedagogues are women.

6. Thematic Analysis

This chapter is the heart of the thesis where the threads are connected, and different aspects of silencing in the daycare regime are scrutinized.

First the legislative puzzle is resolved with focus on complexity and important legislative 'narratives' within gender-mainstreaming, national daycare legislation, and municipal legislation / strategies. Hereafter specific notions of gender articulated in the empirical material are analysed, and the concept of Silence is explored with respect to the daycare regime. Finally a comparison with Sweden contextualizes the results of the analysis.

Legislative puzzle

The legislation regulating gender within the daycare regime consists of two rather separate bodies, gender-mainstreaming and daycare.

The mainstreaming agenda and its effects

The gender-mainstreaming legislation was not analysed in the previous chapter but presented in the background chapter. Though this legislation should have potential for increasing gender awareness according to its purpose, its effects are limited: According to Squires (2005) typology of mainstreaming strategies, the Danish policies are clearly focused on '*Inclusion*', because the gender perspective is *equality*, the mainstreaming efforts are aimed at *bureaucratic* processes, and the goal is *neutral policy-making* (Squires, 2005). But the institutionalization of gender perspectives within the public administration is rather weak (Dahlerup & Borchorst, 2003), which was clearly expressed in the interview with the ministry of gender equality. The gender-mainstreaming impact on the daycare regime is coincidental and project based, and the effects visible in the empirical material are next to absent. In Squires (2005: 374) words, a '*rhetorical entrapment*' has occurred, because the mainstreaming effort appears as merely buzzwords, with *depoliticizing* effects.

Because the intertextual interplay between the gender-mainstreaming agenda, and both the daycare legislation, and the municipal government is very limited the gendered aspects of legislative influence on the daycare regime must be identified within the daycare-legislation

itself. In '*Dagtilbudsloven*' (Socialministeriet, 2011) gender perspectives are not present, and in municipal legislation (KK, 2008a&b) gender is merely mentioned a couple of times as a buzzword without further clarification or prescriptions. This absence clearly contributes to the silencing of gender-perspectives within the daycare regime. To use Bacchi's (2009) concepts, *presuppositions* about gender are not present in the legislation, and thereby the area is '*left unproblematized*'.

The absence of gender in legislative texts and the *rhetorical entrapment* following this is not the only silencing feature of the legislation though.

Complexity

The government of social policies on daycare is complex (see figure 5.1), but the governmental framework behind the daycare regime is even more complex (Dean, 2010). The logics of governmentality are both influenced by the silent legislation, the discourses on gender within the public administration, external pedagogical narratives, local practices, and the institutional setting. The latter is treated below.

The institutional setting of the daycare regime is complex. Many organizations in the public administration govern the area, daycare has a rather high political priority, and powerful organizations outside the public administration, such as unions (BUPL & LFS), umbrella organizations representing daycare-institutions, and parents' organizations also participate in the governmentality of daycare. This institutional complexity makes it difficult both for me as a researcher, but also for the involved organizations to define their own role within the public administration as distinct. So within the organizations and in their relation to each other a need for common norms to navigate by is obvious. As a result the organizations very much act according to 'logics of appropriateness'. In the interviews this was articulated as very pragmatic attitudes, and insecurity about setting new agendas as an organization independently from the rest of the administrative regime. March and Olsen's (1989) work suggests that 'logics of appropriateness' often obscure change. Thus the complexity of the daycare regime results in a certain reluctance towards new pedagogical thoughts. This reluctance was identified in all four qualitative interviews and at 'street level' among the pedagogues responding to the survey. The pedagogical consultant in area-unit Brønshøj-Vanløse expressed it like this: "*It is a matter of timing, it is not possible to just pour on new*

initiatives from the administration [on the daycare-institutions]” (my translation).

When the gender-mainstreaming agenda is weak and the public opinion is not pushing for gender-perspectives to emerge within pedagogy in Denmark, the complexity and reluctance in the institutional setting results in persistent silence on gender in daycare.

Further the public administration of daycare is characterized by a high degree of decentralization. The legal responsibility is municipal. And the pedagogical priorities are defined locally by 'street level bureaucrats' (Lipsky, 2010): Pedagogues, local managers, and to a little extent local daycare-institution boards, and municipal politicians.

Decentralization makes the governmentality approach relevant because the daycare institutions govern themselves according to norms / 'mentalities' (Dean, 2010), and act as policy makers (Lipsky, 2010). Hence professional and public opinions (narratives) about gender plays a central role. Discourses and norms are both epistemologically within the poststructural framework and in practice in the administration of the daycare regime, crucial. The discursive framework defining the governmentality of the daycare regime consists in this inquiry of narratives within legislative texts, the public opinion about gender in daycare, and professional pedagogical discourses on gender.

Legislative narratives

In the daycare 'legislation' (both national legislation, municipal strategies, and local curricula) certain logics and ideas about good practice occur. In the following a couple of the dominant themes which are not explicit on gender are scrutinized, these general narratives have silencing effects on gender-perspectives though.

Clear traits of NPM are identified. Lise Togeby et.al. (2003) describes how the public administration including the daycare regime has developed from bureaucratic government to 'governance', and from hierarchical steering towards NPM. NPM is reforms of the public administration characterized by a focus on decentralization of management, output assessment, goal achievement, and marketization in the form of e.g. consumer approaches to citizens. NPM occurs as a recipe within much modern public administration (Togeby et.al., 2003; Christensen et.al., 2007).

Within the daycare regime obvious traits of NPM are identified both through interviewing and

not least through reading of legislative texts: The decentralized administration of the area is typical of NPM; A weight on freedom of choice (parents as consumers), and participation by citizens in administration of the daycare-institutions through parent-boards are clearly identified in the national legislation (Socialministeriet, 2011); Management reform (clustered management) aimed at efficiency was a dominant theme in my interviews; And finally not least the introduction of curricula in the daycare-institutions made the practice of the daycare-institutions more focused on goal assessment: The pedagogues achieved awareness on 'delivering' children with school-readiness (Olesen, 2007). In other words focus has shifted from process towards output.

Though clear traits of NPM are identified in the administration of the daycare regime, other logics that govern the area are still strong such as the ideal of social pedagogy (Borchorst, 2000; 2010). The 'liberal' NPM logic though clearly has the effect that certain things such as school-readiness, parent (consumer) satisfaction, and budget control are prioritized over e.g. the goal of preventing negative social legacy articulated in '*Dagtilbudsloven*' (Socialministeriet, 2011).

In the national legislation (Socialministeriet, 2011) special attention is given to curricula, and language tests, the legislative narrative in practice emphasizes educational purposes over care and prevention of negative social legacy. Though it is more nuanced in Copenhagen's strategies on daycare, the focus on children's development of skills and competences has a high priority: one of four central themes in the municipality's policy is that children should be "*Ready for the future – a focus on challenges, knowledge, and, competences*" (my translation: KK, 2008a). Learning has become a buzzword within the daycare regime (Olesen, 2007), and though educational purposes are not hegemonic within pedagogical discourses this narrative leaves less room for focus on 'care' and social legacy. This discursive trend is marked by an administrative relocation: In the course of the governmental shift in Denmark in September 2011, the daycare area was moved from the Ministry of Social Affairs to the Ministry of (Children and) Education.

The third legislative narrative identified as central in this analysis - *inclusion* - is pointing in a different direction. The focus on inclusion is present in legislation, within many recent pedagogical discussions, and not least in the interviews. It is difficult to judge if this new recipe within pedagogy should be seen as a backlash towards individualization, liberalization,

and educational focus, but it clearly marks new perspectives within the daycare regime.

Inclusion has been a very strong buzzword in pedagogical discussions in the last 5-10 years, it has high priority in Copenhagen (this is articulated both in the primary texts, and in the interviews). Even in the national legislation it is stated that one of four purposes is to: “*prevent negative social legacy and exclusion*” (Socialministeriet, 2011: §1)

Inclusion is about having pedagogical attention to the way norms within a community should not exclude especially children with different conditions (e.g. children with mental disabilities). Inclusion was essentially critical towards norms, but it is primarily used in relation to children falling outside the norm of ability, and in many municipalities it has been used to cut budgets through closing special pedagogical services (Pedersen et.al., 2009; Scott & Kirk, 2011).

This legislative narrative has a different pedagogical ontology than the two above, but it is not articulated in opposition to these in the legislative texts or in the interviews. Inclusion is a powerful agenda within the daycare regime, and it could be a crack in the otherwise individual-focused, learning and efficiency discourses, that opens up for more structural perspectives on pedagogical practice, such as critical gender perspectives. But there are strong tendencies within the daycare regime to co-opt inclusion within narratives of better value for money, and recognition of the individual child.

The three narratives above NPM, educational focus, and 'inclusion' has dominant positions within the daycare regime. They are part of the intertext in the legislative framework, though especially NPM is not explicitly articulated, these narratives are recognised in all of the texts and they constitute the basis of constructions of knowledge within the daycare regime. The governmentality of gender in daycare is closely connected to these, because the ideas about NPM and learning is in a dichotomous relationship with structural / critical views on pedagogy, such as norm-critical pedagogy and considerations about gender as socially constructed. And the narrative on inclusion has ambiguous effects on critical gender perspectives within the daycare regime, because the ontology open a door for structural perspectives, but inclusion in practice is often used to legitimize the NPM- and individual child-narratives (Scott & Kirk, 2011).

Notions of gender

In this paragraph 'mentality' is in focus where the 'govern' part of Dean's (2010) concept was also part of the scrutinization above. The governmentality of the daycare regime is of course intertextually connected across genres. An analytical choice is made to distil discourses surrounding the public administration in this paragraph, these are primarily identified in the interviews and in secondary texts.

Public opinion

The construction of gender in the daycare regime is highly dependent on national narratives on gender. Gender equality is generally perceived as already accomplished, as primarily concerning the labour market, and gender differences are viewed as primarily natural (Borchorst & Siim, 2002; 2008). These gender discourses are also visible in the public opinions about gender in daycare.

The media landscape throughout the last couple of years has been scrutinized for articles about gender in pedagogy (see enclosure 8). Occasionally debates and / or cases about gender in pedagogics occur in the public debate. Generally the media representations are balanced between a biologist-essentialist conception of gender and social constructivist viewpoints.

Two main subjects have been discussed: One is a discussion on how boys have a hard time in daycare-institutions. Many of the debaters that express a 'pity for boys' in daycare, blames the 'feminization' of the daycare-institutions, they claim that boys cannot live out their natural instincts and lack male role-models.

The other main debate recognized in media within the last years concerns a Swedish daycare-institution named *Egalia*, which practices queer-pedagogics. This has been put forward as an example of something that is not compatible with Danish viewpoints. Especially the fact that *Egalia* use the un-gendered pronomen 'hen' (neither he or she, but both in one word), has created a reluctance towards the 'Swedish' model. Even though *Egalia* is quite unique in a Swedish context, and their main goal is to break down norms, the conclusion in the Danish debate is that 'we do not want to force our children into gender-neutrality'.

Though social constructivist perspectives are not absent in public debate, the subjects which are discussed and the way they are framed, clearly reconstructs the heterosexual matrix in the

public sphere in relation to the care of children. Though diversity is appraised in daycare it is obvious that a dichotomous construction of children's gender identities is fundamental for the understanding of gender-issues in the daycare regime. The premise is that boys and girls are different, and the effect is that gender stereotypes are reconstructed rather uncritically. Further biologist-essentialist viewpoints are easier to communicate within this heteronormative construction of reality (Køn i Pædagogik. 2010).

Professional pedagogical discourses

The pedagogical discourses on gender are uncovered in the interviews, through a literature review of the issue within the pedagogical field, in the survey, and through personal discussions with persons within the pedagogical field, especially people engaged in 'Køn I Pædagogik'.

The professional discussions on gender within the daycare regime, does not have an ontological character: How children's gender identities are constructed, and which role the pedagogical practice play in these constructions is not very discussed. The consequence is that the rather stereotypical presumptions on gender which occur in the Danish society in general becomes the ground on which the pedagogical practice is based.

Academic attempts to change this picture has been made (Kampmann, 2000; Hjort og Baagøe, 2003; Olesen et.al., 2008; Køn I Pædagogik, 2010;). The effect of these interventions is probably that seeds to constructivist understandings of gender within pedagogy has been planted, but these discussions has not really influenced the public administration of daycare or the daycare-institutions' discretions.

In the journal for pedagogues published by BUPL: 'Børn & Unge', gender is a reoccurring theme and Issue 19, November 2011 had specific focus on social constructivist approaches to gender in pedagogics (Børn & Unge, 2011). Previous reviews of this journal has however confirmed rather biologist-essentialist notions of gender (Køn I Pædagogik, 2010).

Within the pedagogical field there are voices promoting critical social constructivist approaches to gender, but as the survey shows, and the impression from the interviews indicates, the dominant approach to gender has biologist-essentialist assumptions. From the qualitative interviews it was clear that reluctance towards social constructivist approaches to

gender was rooted in stereotypical – non-professional ideas about gender, rather than in disagreement.

To be more specific, both the qualitative interviews and the open question in the survey reveals a narrative which is constantly reconstructed, where differences between boys and girls are emphasized and to some extent naturalised. “*We must accept that there is a difference between boys and girls*” (my translation of specific articulation repeated 5 times in the open question of the survey). This emphasis on differences is not controversial, but because it is often re-articulated and posits a dominant place in the intertextual web of the daycare regime, social constructivist approaches which are in a dichotomous relationship with the idea of natural difference are 'othered'.

Another idea within the pedagogical field articulated several times in my empirical material is that pedagogues believe that they promote gender equality though recognizing⁶ the individual child. Thereby they oversee the structural aspects of gender. Gender is socially constructed, and not inherent in each child, therefore recognition of the individual child does not change the constructions of gender significantly. Bjerrum-Fisher (2010) points out that recognition of children can even result in confirmation of stereotypes and reconstruction of gendered structures which limit the children.

The status of the pedagogical profession in the Danish society has decreased over the decades which led to a strategy from BUPL towards a professionalization. Through this professionalization pedagogues has gained more control over their work, and a certain professional consciousness (Togebjerg et. Al, 2003). But a side effect is that the pedagogical profession has become more closed, input from other professions and politicians are met with reluctance, in order to protect one-self against criticism (Willig, 2009).

In all four interviews a lack of knowledge on social constructivist ideas about gender was admitted. An urge to learn something about gender was articulated though. The lack of professional knowledge about how gender-identities are constructed among children is also confirmed by the inconsistency in the answers given in the survey (see enclosure 7).

The last discursive trait in the pedagogical profession identified, is the 'pity for the boys' agenda. What is interesting about this is not so much its presence though but the location of

6 Recognition has for many years been the most important buzzword within pedagogy – you have to see the children where they are, and recognize their experiences.

this presence. The discussion about boys in daycare has been identified both in the media landscape, and in 3 of 4 qualitative interviews on initiative of the respondents. It is striking though that the manager on street-level did not mention it, and in the survey, only very few respondents used the open question to express a pity for boys. This reveals that strong public opinions spread into the daycare regime, but they do not necessarily reach the street level, if the ideas are not compatible with practice.

Certain narratives, such as 'a natural difference between boys and girls' or 'recognition of the individual child' can be identified throughout the daycare regime. There is a strong intertextuality in the pedagogical discussions of the daycare regime, which also include scientific pedagogical interventions, and strong trade unions. This was especially articulated in the interview with 'Pædagogisk Faglighed'.

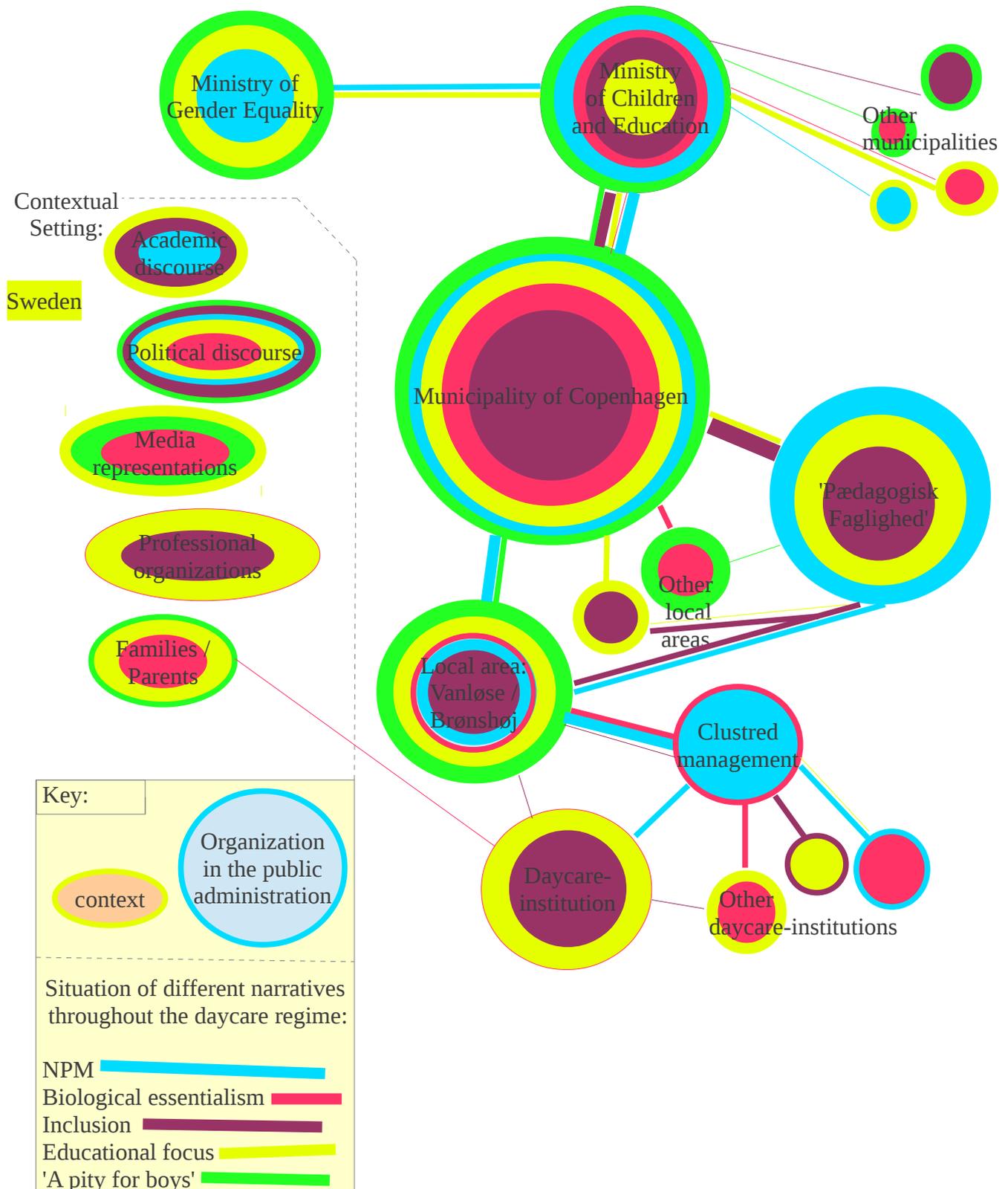
The pedagogical profession has a governmentality of pragmatism, because pedagogues as street level bureaucrats has to balance political priorities, and professional ideals with everyday care of many children (Olesen, 2007). And because the different organizations in the pedagogical field act according to 'logics of appropriateness', they protect themselves through adapting to legislative demands, to pressures from the public opinion (and parents), and to the surrounding organizations in the regime.

Mapping the Narratives

The figure below explains the situation of five of the 7 most important narratives identified above. Each colour represents one narrative, so to read the figure it is best to look at one colour at a time, or one organization. The two last important narratives within the daycare regime: Emphasis on the individual child, and pedagogical interaction based on recognition, are completely hegemonic. They occur as unproblematized in every corner of the regime, where as the five important (and only almost hegemonic) discourses depicted in the map have varying strengths in different places of the regime.

Figure 6.1: Map of prominent narratives within the intertextuality of the daycare regime:

Each colour represents one central narratives, and depicts the narratives' prevalence in the regime. Though it is difficult to judge, the colours depicted in the centre of the organizations represent the most established narratives.



Silence

The silence on social constructivist gender perspectives in the Danish daycare regime, has different faces. A reluctance to work with the children's gender identities critically originates as shown above both from the legislation, the organizational setting, and the discursive landscape surrounding the regime.

The effects of the daycare regime is silence on gender-issues, and this results in constructions of gender identities without pedagogical intervention, even though this aspect of children's identity is very important (Cole & Cole, 2001). Further stereotypical often biologist-essentialist notions of gender become dominant, because they are easier to cope with in practice and because structural perspectives on pedagogy are 'othered'.

The silencing processes can roughly be divided into three different mechanisms. These three are interrelated but they also describe the array of different processes that silence gender within the Danish daycare regime:

- 1) An absence of gender (the word 'køn') in legislation, and lack of awareness of the topic of gender in the daycare regime articulated in the interviews is one important aspect of the silence. This results in neglect of the issue gender and thereby unreflected reconstruction of stereotypes. The legislative absence and neglect of gender perspectives is the basis of the widespread silence throughout the regime.

- 2) The different organizations in the public administration act according to 'logics of appropriateness' (March & Olsen, 1989) which silence gender as a theme. The daycare-institutions experience double pressure (Olesen, 2007) from both parents that are not particularly interested in social constructivist gender perspectives, and from the bureaucracy which demands many different things to be implemented, but not gender awareness. At the municipal level the different organizations in the public administration of Copenhagen are restricted by relations to other organizations, to the politicians, and they further try to limit their pressure on the daycare-institutions, so the initiatives to secure pedagogical development are limited. The interviews articulated that success was achieved in municipal administration when initiatives are appropriated the institutions and the politicians. Hence critical gender perspectives has not been prioritized, even though the attitude of the two respondents in the

municipal administration was open-minded towards this. On national level a reluctance towards legislating and regulating too much in detail on the daycare area occur, probably as an appropriation towards labour unions and the municipal administrations. In a public policy regime where silence is present in relation to a certain topic, 'logics of appropriateness' reinforce this silence. (March & Olsen, 1989)

3) The third main silencing mechanism identified within the public administration is 'othering' of structural approaches. Palludan (2005) describes some of these processes on street level "*The pedagogues narratives on the children's differences are connected to ideas about the children being something: They posit a core or essens*" (my translation, Palludan, 2005: 165). The biologist-essentialist tendencies and the focus on recognition of the individual child, as Palludan describes it above, was also identified in my empirical material especially in the interview with the local area-unit and in the primary texts. Together with a focus on education and NPM tendencies in the administration, this strong biologist-essentialist narrative in the daycare regime place structural views on identities in opposition. Social constructivist thoughts disrupt these ideas, expressed in poststructuralist terms, perspectives such as critical gender approaches are 'othered'.

Comparing with Sweden

In the course of social policies on daycare of preschool children Denmark and Sweden has rather similar regimes, with a vast majority of children attending public daycare, with pedagogical professionals as carers, and with daycare-institutions organized as public services supplied by the municipalities (NOSOKO, 2011). But when it comes to gender in daycare the two countries are different:

The daycare legislation of Denmark followed the pattern of Sweden and built an educational purpose on top of the 'social pedagogical' (Olesen, 2007). Both countries introduced curricula in the daycare-institutions, Sweden in 1998 and Denmark in 2004; and last year Denmark reorganized the public administration so daycare on a national level became a part of the ministry of education, like in Sweden.

A comparison of the two countries' curricula-legislation however reveals that the approaches to gender are different. In the Swedish daycare-legislation gender is explicitly addressed:

“Daycare should counter traditional gender-patterns and gender-roles. Girls and boys must be given the same opportunities... without limitations from stereotypical gender-roles” (my translation, Skolverket, 2010: 5). The Danish legislation does not even mention gender.

A general comparison of the legislations concerning curricula in daycare (Socialministeriet, 2011; Skolverket, 2010) reveals similarities: They are both focused on children's development, well-being, and ability to function in a community; They both emphasize pedagogical professionalism and corporation with parents; And finally the municipalities are responsible for the implementation of the legislation in both countries.

Differences between the two legislative texts governing the pedagogy of the daycare regimes are also obvious though: The Swedish legislation is longer, more specific, and more value-based. An example is that the Danish legislation prescribe daycare-institutions to work with *“nature and natural phenomena”* (my translation, Socialministeriet, 2011), where the Swedish legislation states that: *“Daycare should contribute to children learning to approach nature and environment with care, and understand their own position in the cycle in nature.”* (my translation, Skolverket, 2010). Besides the explicitation of values the Swedish legislation also express a more structural perception of pedagogy and constructivist understanding of children's identities, both in relation to gender, to ethnicity, and to class. The Danish legislation only indirectly address class and ethnicity with a focus on the individual child's possibilities, where the Swedish acknowledge that differences are socially constructed.

Where the Danish legislation is silent on gender the Swedish is both explicit on gender, more specifically value-based, and nested in social constructivist perceptions of identity formation.

These differences between the two legislations follow the same lines as the general discourses on gender, touched upon in the background chapter. The public opinion and the public administration in Sweden has incorporated feminism (also third generation) to a certain extent, while silence on social constructivist approaches to gender remain in Denmark (Borchorst & Siim, 2008). The political gender regimes and the discursive attitudes towards social constructivist perceptions of identity are very recognizable in the specific daycare regimes of the two countries. Where feminism has a prominent place in the Swedish public opinion, Danish narratives on gender are either absent or based on first and second generation feminism.

The same pattern of difference is recognized in the educational scheme of pedagogues. In Sweden supplementary education in gender issues, and local in-service training of pedagogues has been established to secure implementation of gender perspectives at the street level of the daycare regime. In Denmark this is not available, and most pedagogues did not even meet critical gender perspectives in their ordinary education.

Following the legislative focus on gender in the Swedish daycare regime, evaluations of the gender-equality-efforts in the daycare-institutions has been performed by the Swedish ministry of education (SOU, 2004; 2006). An assessment of the gendered aspects of pedagogical practices has also been initiated in Denmark from the national level (Olesen et.al., 2008). But in contrast with the Swedish evaluations, the Danish rapport was according to the interview with the Ministry of Gender Equality only followed up to a limited extent.

In the Swedish daycare regime a professionalism on gender in pedagogics has been established, through an educational scheme, and an administrative (and legislative) commitment. In the daycare-institutions and in the public administration (at least at national level) gendered silence as a result of this is attempted broken.

The implementation of gender perspectives in the Swedish municipalities however is not just a success story (Edström, 2009). The decentral / municipal public administration of the daycare regime and the focus on the individual child are also in the Swedish context barriers to gender perspectives integration in the daycare-institutions. Edström (2009) has analysed how the obligation in the Swedish daycare-legislation to work with gender has been implemented, and she finds a rather big local variance. All four municipalities inquired have worked with gender, but they have different approaches, understandings, and commitments to the effort. She further finds that when the administrative pressure from the national level diminish, the focus on gender in daycare tend to decrease in the municipalities.

Though the Swedish daycare regime clearly encounter gender perspectives, the picture is not black and white. Local variety in the efforts is obvious, because the municipal commitment in the daycare regimes follow 'logics of appropriateness' (Edström, 2009) as seen in Denmark (Olesen, 2007); and because discretions in the implementation at street level (Lipsky, 2010) are crucial especially in the daycare regime, which is very decentralized. Where the Danish legislation, the organization of the public administration, and not least the narratives of the

daycare regime has silencing effects on gender; The Swedish public administration has during the last decade attempted to break this silence on gender in daycare.

7. Conclusions

This thesis has scrutinized gendered traits of the Danish daycare regime: Through the concept of silence a poststructural inquiry reveals the effects of specifically the public administration on the constructions of children's gender-identities. In spite of a daycare regime characterized by highly educated professionals, de-familialization of care in the Danish society, and focus on children's development, professional perspectives on gender are silenced. This is a paradox considering the discursive appraisal of gender equality in Denmark.

Explanations of silence on gender in the daycare regime can be found on different levels: It relies on political priorities, on gender-conceptions in the Danish society as such, and of pedagogical choices on the street level. In this thesis specifically explanations found in the public administration are analysed. The inquiry above is focused on discursive traits within public policy.

The Danish gender-mainstreaming commitment has not really had impact on the daycare regime, in spite of an attempt in 2008. The legislative obligations are doubtful and the political narratives about gender does not articulate children's gender identities as political. The gender-mainstreaming effort is very weak, and based on second generation feminist assumptions emphasising difference.

In the 'legislative' texts concerning daycare – both national legislation, municipal strategies, and local curricula – considerations about gender are practically not articulated. This absence of gender was also recognized in interviews with key persons, the interviewees further demonstrated limited knowledge about social constructivist gender perspectives. The legislative absence of gender-perspectives together with a decentralized structure of the daycare regime as a policy-area leaves the responsibility for integrating social constructivist notions of gender in the pedagogical work with local daycare-institutions primarily.

The daycare-institutions define their own pedagogical practices, primarily on the basis of general political and pedagogical discourses. These discourses does not encourage critical gender perspectives, why gender only occur as a pedagogical priority in less than 5% of the daycare-institutions, and of these far from all have social constructivist points of departure. Further the street level bureaucrats experience a double pressure, and neither the

administrative level nor the citizens (parents) and the surroundings demands feminism in daycare. Thus the decentral organization of the daycare regime has silencing effects on gender-awareness.

Another important finding is that the daycare regime is very complex, many organizations interact, and they all follow 'logics of appropriateness' to protect themselves from conflict. This results in a certain conservatism within the regime in general, and new perspectives that compromise the premises of the narratives in the regime are silenced. The organizational structure encourage different organizations within the public daycare regime to appropriate, each other, the labour unions, parents wishes, and the public opinion. An intertextual understanding of what appropriate daycare is has been identified throughout the regime. Though the organizations have different priorities, some general key words of the daycare regime are education, recognition, professionalism, and inclusion.

A certain governmentality throughout the daycare regime is the result of 'logics of appropriateness' and strong intertextuality between narratives articulated at different levels:

Within the Danish public administration in general, and also in the area of daycare, New Public Management ideals have spread as a recipe: Focus on efficiency in the local management of the daycare-institutions, goal-assessment e.g. in the form of curricula and language test, and not least a consumer-rhetoric which emphasises the individual child and it's parents. These NPM tendencies in the public administration of daycare shifts the focus away from social aspects of daycare, such as gender or class relations. In other words the governmentality of the daycare regime is in opposition to an attention on inequalities.

Two other governmental logics identified: Educational focus, and recognition of the individual child are difficult to argue against, but these priorities push structural perspectives on pedagogy in the background. Within the professional pedagogical discourses the idea of 'recognition' and a social pedagogical self-consciousness enhance a reluctance to change. On top of this a scepticism in media towards certain Swedish methods in pedagogy addressing gender from social constructivist perspectives were identified. The educational focus has a strong tendency to emphasise competencies of the individual child. Thus the pedagogical discourses clearly has 'othering' effects on social constructivist approaches to pedagogy, because they are seen as inconvenient and strange. Critical perspectives on gender are

marginalized.

This marginalization of gender perspectives are further expressed as a lack of knowledge about children's gender identities. Both the qualitative interviews and an inconsistency in the answers of the the survey indicate that gender-structures are not a part of the professional pedagogical consciousness.

Despite the different trends away from structural approaches to pedagogy identified in the daycare regime (or perhaps as a reaction towards this) the inquiry has also revealed 'inclusion' as a strong pedagogical recipe emerging in the daycare area. As I see it inclusion could be an entry point for structural / norm-critical approaches to pedagogy. But inclusion so far is more a buzzword with the purpose of cutting budgets, and with legitimizing effects on the daycare regime as it is. Though inclusion has the potential to break the silence on social constructivist gender perspectives, it has not happened yet.

The narratives above constitutes a governmentality of silence within the daycare regime. This silence on social constructivist approaches to gender is persistent and has many different faces. Silence is political in a poststructural sense, because power is exerted through dichotomous constructions of knowledge, and the opposite norms are strengthened as certain perspectives are neglected and marginalized. The effect of silence on gender within the daycare regime is thus more biologist-essentialist conceptions of gender relations.

This thesis has explored the logics of silence in the case of critical gender perspectives on children's identities within the public administration of the Danish daycare regime. Silence is much more than just neglect or ignorance; it also occurs because the intertextuality within a certain policy-area pertains logics which are difficult to compromise, such as the focus on recognition of the individual child; 'Othering' processes that marginalize social constructivist interventions are at play; and the governmentality of the regime with traits of NPM and educational focus does not leave much room for attention towards inequalities, or self-reflection about norms.

8. Pedagogical Implications

This chapter answers two questions: Which implications does the silence on critical gender perspectives described above have on the everyday in daycare-institutions? And what are the possibilities for breaking the silence?

Gender in daycare is an important issue because children's gendered identities are constructed in early childhood (Connell, 2002; Cole & Cole, 2001). In the Danish case where children spend many hours in daycare, this identity-formation relies to a great extent on what happens in the public daycare-institutions. Though children do not internalize norms one-to-one, pedagogical interventions concerning gender are important, not least because daycare-institutions teach children to function in a community, and here gender is a convenient method / code to structure the everyday after.

An array of different anthropological and pedagogical studies throughout Scandinavia show how stereotypical gender patterns are reproduced in daycare, especially when pedagogues are not aware of gender-issues (Olesen et.al.,2008; Scott, 2010; Bjerrum Fischer, 2010; Fasmer & Nørgaard, 2010; SOU, 2004; Askland & Rossholt, 2011; Kampmann, 2000; and Wahlström, 2005).

The latest scientific intervention on the Danish daycare regime has been very debated because it is critical towards the pedagogical profession as such. Though I find Ole Henrik Hansen's (2011, 2012forthcoming) contribution to the daycare debate too simplistic, he has an interesting analysis of 'vuggestuer' which is also relevant to daycare as such, and the issue of gender in particular. A main point in his observations is that the quality of daycare is dependent on structuring of the everyday (good pedagogical management), pedagogical self-reflection, and professionalism. If these parameters for quality in daycare are transferred to the issue of gender, the Danish daycare-institutions with only few exceptions have 'a big room for improvement'. The silence on gender in the daycare regime results in pedagogical practices, which are not organized to incorporate reflection on constructions of children's gender-identities.

Silence on gender certainly does not mean that gender is not at play, on the contrary pedagogical practices lacking reflections about gender tend to reinforce subtle processes,

where children are disciplined to perform within certain gendered norms (Olesen et.al., 2008). The indirect effect of silence on social constructivist gender perspectives is that biologist-essentialist conceptions of gender influence the pedagogy, because these notions of gender are easier to handle uncritically. This is problematic, because biologist-essentialist conceptions of gender in pedagogy in Denmark are based on doubtful knowledge (Gerlach, 2008); Because such views naturalize a dichotomous gender difference; Because it compromises the effects of pedagogical intervention; And not least because the stereotypical gender conceptions that spring from biologist-essentialist perspectives limit children's possibilities to explore their own identities (Køn i Pædagogik, 2010). It is crucial that social constructivist perspectives are 'un-silenced' because the effects of the silence on the gendered everyday in daycare-institutions are unwanted.

Further pedagogical debates that go hand in hand with legislation have potential to influence parents' ways to raise their children⁷.

The public administration of the daycare regime and its organization play a crucial role in silencing critical gender perspectives. A change in the narratives of the public administration, together with a greater discursive recognition of social constructivist approaches to gender in general, and legislative change could break the silence. Change in the daycare regime can come from both the top (legislation), from the bottom (the pedagogical profession), and from within (the public administration), I believe it is best if these different levels change in concert:

Education of pedagogues, legislation which commit the daycare regime to become more aware of gendered structures, and a change in the discourses on gender in daycare could each and especially in combination lift the quality of Danish daycare.

The discursive formations about gender within daycare, and the governmentality of the daycare regime in general are clearly projected in national legislation as showed above. Both the legislation and the discursive landscape constitute silent barriers to a pedagogy with special attention on social constructions of gender. I believe that a change of the legislation followed by debates on how to integrate a gender perspective within daycare could have a potential to break the silence. But only if this legislative 'trojan horse' into the daycare regime

⁷ As an example of this debates on recognition together with the ban of the right to punish children physically has improved children's lives in Denmark drastically to the better.

has a clear social constructivist notion of gender as a premise.

As the daycare regime is governed in a very decentral manner and with a strong pedagogical professional identity at heart, top down interventions has to be followed by education of the pedagogues and support from the unions that organize the pedagogues (Olesen, 2007). Both supplementary training of pedagogues in employment within daycare, and a reform of the education of new pedagogues would be relevant. Education can be an eye-opener to gendered aspects of children's identity, and to pedagogical methods which could be used in the work with gender.

In Sweden different pedagogical approaches to gender has emerged especially in the last decade, and it would be relevant to seek inspiration here, in spite of the fact that some of these methods has been subject to critique in the Danish debate. The most widespread approach in Sweden is probably compensating equality-pedagogics (my translation of 'kompensatorisk ligestillingspædagogik') represented by Kajsa Wahlström (2005) among others. This approach intends to lessen the differences between boys and girls through an awareness on giving the girls some of the competences that is normally connoted with masculinity and vice versa. Compensating equality-pedagogics is nested in a social constructivist conception of gender, but it is problematized because there is a risk that a dichotomous conception of boys and girls is reconstructed especially if the children are divided according to gender which is a common method within this approach. On the fore of this critique new approaches named norm-critical- or queer-pedagogics are emerging in Sweden. These approaches both widen the subject to include e.g. sexuality, ethnicity, and disability, alongside with gender, and they take a critical position towards norms. The aim of norm-critical pedagogics is to problematize norms and power-relations within groups of children, and change the everyday through breaking down structural inequalities and stereotypes. (Bromseth & Darj, 2010)

Though these two Swedish approaches to gender in pedagogics are ontologically different, they have an array of practical measures in common. The brief version is that a social constructivist notions of gender is crucial, because it means that pedagogical intervention makes sense. Both approaches emphasize that the pedagogues awareness of gender is the first step; Observations of your own practice and critical reflection is the next step; Also many of the pedagogical interventions are the same: Expect the same of the children in spite of their gender, use language that does not confirm stereotypes, discuss gender with the children, and

read stories that turn things upside down.

If the Danish daycare regime became more gender aware, and the pedagogues was given opportunities to work professionally and reflected with the children's formation of identities I believe that it would have positive effects for both boys girls and the society as such: A daycare regime without silence on gendered structures would in the long run give boys better opportunities in their future education and participation in communities because they would not be restricted by certain masculine expectations; Girls would gain more self-confidence and have less experiences of sexism; And the society would be more prosperous both economically and socially, because gendered conflicts would decrease and norms would be less restrictive.

Executive Summary

This thesis is a contribution to the academic inquiry on the Danish daycare regime. It investigates *how the public administration of the daycare regime in Denmark contributes to a construction of silence on gender-perspectives within daycare?*

Despite the fact that children's gender identities are formed in preschool age; that the Danish daycare regime (a set of norms, logics, and practices governing daycare) is based on pedagogical professionalism within the public sector; and that there is an obligation in Danish legislation to gender-mainstream all public policies, professional considerations on gender are not articulated in the public administration of daycare.

Specifically **critical, social constructivist notions of gender** are silenced. This '**silence**' is scrutinized within different levels of the public administration of daycare.

Gender concerns many things within daycare, this thesis specifically encounter the circumstances around children's gender identities in public daycare. Gender is considered as a social construction, thus bodily expressions are not neglected but the focus is on how discourses and practices within the daycare regime constitute gendered structures and identities. The inquiry is feminist poststructuralist in the sense that it aims to uncover gendered discourses, and is situated in a tradition of producing knowledge to uncover and counter inequalities.

The daycare regime is build upon a certain **governmentality**. Alongside with traditional understandings of public policy emphasis on the 'mentality' behind daycare is central. Certain logics and narratives have effects on normative assumptions governing the area. The governmentality of the daycare regime relies on **intertextuality** between different organizations. The most important governmental trait identified here is a 'silence' on critical gender perspectives. This Silence cover different processes: A simple absence of gender both in legislation, and in professional discussions; Focus on efficiency identified as New Public Management tendencies in the public administration of Daycare. Together with focus on education, and recognition of the individual child, this does not leave much room for gender-perspectives; Thirdly structural perspectives and critical perspectives on pedagogy are 'othered', because they are opposed to the governmentality of the daycare regime.

An intertextual web of articulations is constructed to understand the silencing processes within the daycare regime. At the heart of this intertextual web are 6 central official texts, and the 4 semi-structured interviews conducted at different places within the daycare regime. It is an important point that the daycare regime is constituted on different levels of the public administration, from the street level, over the municipal administrative level, to the national legislative level. The two primary empirical sources reflect these different levels. Methodologically the primary texts, and the four interviews are treated as discursive representations, and analysed critically with a focus on the discursive formations articulated in the daycare regime. Empirically this is supplemented by an array of secondary sources, such as academic interventions, other official documents, a survey conducted among pedagogues, and media representations, which contextualise and validate the findings.

The thesis identifies a number of narratives within the daycare regime, which directly or indirectly have an effect on how gender is perceived and performed in Danish daycare-institutions:

It has become a very central priority within the daycare regime that children's competencies must be developed through learning. This **educational focus** is an important narrative in it self, and closely connected to an emphasis on the individual child;

The individual child focus is also recognised as a discursive trait in the formal organization of the regime, where a **New Public Management** narrative has been identified: Documentation e.g. in the form of curricula has been implemented as an administrative tool, the focus on consumers (parents) has increased, and the administration has moved its emphasis towards output and management. The educational focus, the emphasis on **the individual child**, and the NPM-traits are not as such gendered but they push the focus within the daycare regime in a different direction from critical gender perspectives;

Specifically concerning gender a **biologist-essentialist** narrative on difference between girls and boys is identified. This emphasis on difference occur with varying strength throughout most of the regime, and in some places were this conception of gender is specifically strong 'a pity for boys' (for being situated in a feminized daycare-sphere) is articulated. At street level this pity is not articulated though;

Finally a discursive trait which expresses **lack of pedagogical knowledge** about gender in

daycare is identified. This is both explicitly articulated in the qualitative interviews as a self-critique, and implicit throughout the entire empirical body as vague, stereotypical, and brief statements about gender. A pedagogical professionalism on gender is simply not really present in Denmark.

Besides these narratives within the daycare regime as such which have silencing effects on gender, the thesis demonstrates how the Danish gender-mainstreaming effort is both too weak in its set up, and too vague in its understanding of gendered structures concerning children's identities. Hence the daycare regime is in practice not bureaucratically gender-mainstreamed.

The Daycare regime can be characterized as very **decentralised**, and the scrutinization of the public administration has revealed a noticeably **complexity**. The organizations within the daycare regime are situated in a politicised area with external pressure from both unions, parents, and politicians. Together with a complex pattern of internal pressure in the regime, this makes the different organizations act according to '**logics of appropriateness**'. Thus the different organizations appropriate their bureaucratic behaviour, so that it both match the immediate surroundings, and the general normative conceptions of 'good daycare'. And social constructivist gender perspectives are generally not appropriate, both because there is a limited room for new pedagogical initiatives pointed at the daycare-institutions, because the conceptions of gender are not developed in this direction, and because the general norms about daycare are difficult to couple with critical gender perspectives.

The notions of gender are generally connected to a biologist-essentialist ontology, but social constructivist traits are also identified throughout the empirical material. The conception of boys and girls in daycare is generally stereotypical and unreflected, there is however an interest among the persons interviewed in the administration to enhance knowledge about construction of gendered identities in daycare. Further the new buzzword within pedagogy in Denmark – '**inclusion**' – has an unresolved potential to link critical gender perspectives with daycare. Though cracks in the discursive landscape are identified, the general picture is a reluctance towards gender perspectives within the public administration of the daycare regime.

The Danish daycare regime is silent on gender, because administrative and professional knowledge is absent, because the focus within the daycare regime does not leave room for

social constructivist conceptions of gender, and not least because critical structural approaches to pedagogy are '**othered**': The focus on the individual child, and on efficiency is opposed to structural conceptions of pedagogy, why approaches that are too explicit on changing structures rather than individuals are placed outside the norm. As an example the Swedish daycare institution 'Egalia', which practice norm-critical gender-pedagogy, is in the Danish debate emphasized as something you should distance your self from.

Compared to Sweden the Danish public administration does not attempt to break silence on children's gender identities. In Sweden both legislation, educational efforts, and administrative evaluation of the daycare regime are aimed towards gender issues. Though some of the same obstacles occur in the administration of the Swedish daycare regime, structural perspectives on pedagogy such as critical gender perspectives are not 'othered' in the same degree as in Denmark.

This thesis analyses gender in the public administration of the Danish daycare regime, and finds that critical gender perspectives are not only absent, they are also silenced as a result of certain discursive formations in the regime, which is not in line with gender and thus have 'othering' effects. This silence 'articulated' in the bureaucratic system has implications for the everyday in the daycare institutions: The administration of the daycare regime and the narratives within this regime constitutes an important normative frame for the pedagogical work in the daycare-institutions, and thereby for the majority of Danish children. When critical gender perspectives are silenced, unreflected pedagogical measures and stereotypical notions of gender are imposed on the children. The administrative silence is not the only barrier, but it is crucial to break it, if Danish children are to be freed from stereotypical ideas about what appropriate boys and girls do.

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Enclosure 1: Interviewguide prepared for interview with the Ministry of Gender Equality.
(in Danish).

Interview med fuldmægtig i Ligestillingsafdelingen, ministeriet for kirke og ligestilling. Interviewet fandt sted over telefon i oktober 2011.

Præsentation af mig og mit projekt: Undersøgelse af holdningerne til køn, samt tilstedeværelsen/fraværet af et kønsperspektiv i administrationen af de danske daginstitutioner. Undersøgelsen baserer sig på interviews som dette på forskellige niveauer i forvaltningen. Endvidere en diskursanalyse af officielle dokumenter samt debat omkring køn og daginstitutioner, samt et survey om pædagoger og daginstitutionsledere om køn i daginstitutioner.

Det jeg gerne vil have belyst i dette interview er Ligestillingsministeriets position i forvaltningen af daginstitutionsområdet, hvordan gender-mainstreaming forpligtelsen konkret bliver implementeret, samt hvilke ligestillings perspektiver du/I ser på daginstitutionsområdet.

Følgende spørgsmål vil være omdrejningspunktet for et semistruktureret interview.

Præsentation af dig?

Har du haft noget med daginstitutionsområdet at gøre?

En redegørelse for Ligestillingsministeriets beføjelser og muligheder i forhold til at implementere et fokus på køn i danske daginstitutioner...

jeg kender godt til bekendtgørelserne der efterlader ligestillingsspørgsmål hos de enkelte resortministerier, og så koordinerer I 'bare', men alligevel kan ministeren sætte fokus på særlige områder, hvordan foregår det, og hvilke beføjelser har hun/han til at gå ind på andre ministeriers område?

Hvordan er jeres relation til hhv Børne og Uddannelses-ministeriet (tidligere Socialministeriet), og **kommunerne**. - lovgivningen gælder vel alle dele af den offentlige administration, hvordan sikres det at kommunerne gender-mainstreamer deres politikker?

Ministeren (Eva Kjer Hansen) igangsatte et tema i 2007 omkring køn i daginstitutioner, hvordan var beslutningsprocessen i forbindelse med dette.

Hvilken opfølgning har der været på dette tema.

Hvordan er rapport, inspirationsguide samt børnebog blevet modtaget?

Hvad mener du man fremover kan gøre på daginstitutionsområdet i forbindelse med arbejdet med køn?

Ser du i forhold til daginstitutionsområdet en ændring når det kommer til ligestilling som følge af regeringsskiftet?

Var der på samme måde ændringer som følge af ministerudskiftninger i den borgerlige regering?

Gender-mainstreaming

Vil du kort redegøre for hvordan gender-mainstreaming dagsordenen konkret bliver udmøntet i danmark?

Mener du at den gender mainstreaming/ligestillingsvurdering er der blevet foretaget i forbindelse med indførelsen af de pædagogiske læreplaner i 2004 er efter bogen?

og er der ligeledes gennemført en ligestillingsvurdering ifbm. oprettelsen af en særskilt dagtilbudslovgivning i 2007?

Til sidst vil jeg gerne spørge om du fornemmer en forskel i den måde ligestillingsministeriet ser på køn i daginstitutioner, og resten af forvaltningens syn på dette område?

Under spørgsmål / det jeg gerne i øvrigt vil have ud af interviewet: opfattelsen af daginstitutionsområdet, hvilke ord bliver brugt, hvor væsentligt virker det, hvor stor viden er der om det; Hvilken mainstreaming strategi er central (Squires: Inclusion? Not reversal or transformation!)

Enclosure 2: Interviewguide for interview with consultant in 'Pædagogisk Faglighed', BUF, Københavns Kommune, 27 oktober 2011.

(in Danish)

Indledning:

Præsentation af mit projekt og idéen med dette interview: Jeg vil i mit speciale gerne undersøge hvordan køn som tema behandles i administrationen af daginstitutionerne. Det er i den forbindelse også interessant at få afdækket hvis kønsproblematikker i forbindelse med det pædagogiske arbejde ikke er fremtrædende.

Interviewet med pædagogisk faglighed, sigter dels på at afdække hvordan den pædagogisk faglige udvikling finder sted i forvaltningen af daginstitutionsområdet, og dels på at afklare hvilken rolle køns spørgsmål har i den forbindelse.

Spørgsmål:

I det følgende er der formuleret en række spørgsmål inden for tre temaer som vil være de centrale i et semistruktureret interview med en medarbejder i pædagogisk faglighed.

Forvaltningen

Præsentation af dig, dine arbejdsopgaver og pædagogisk faglighed.

Hvilken rolle spiller Pædagogisk Faglighed i forvaltningen af daginstitutionsområdet i KK?

Herunder hvordan forholder i jer til krav fra lovgivning, kommunens politik (fx perspektivplanen), og de enkelte institutioner?

Det pædagogiske udgangspunkt

Kan du kort skitsere det væsentlige i Københavns Kommunes pædagogiske udgangspunkt (man kan jo læse sig til meget, men hvilke tiltag arbejder i særligt med?)

De pædagogiske læreplaner er en stor udvikling på området. Hvordan forholder I jer til udformningen af indholdet i læreplanerne i de enkelte institutioner?

Inklusion er hevet ind som et nyt mål for det pædagogiske arbejde i kommunen, kan du beskrive hvad der ligger i begrebet konkret (hvem skal inkluderes? Hvordan forholder man sig til eksklusion?)

Køn mv.

Kender du til nogen københavnske daginstitutioner der arbejder systematisk pædagogisk med kønsproblematikker?

Hvordan skal man forholde sig som pædagog til de kønsproblematikker der findes til daglig i daginstitutionerne, hvis man skal være i tråd med kommunens politik på daginstitutionsområdet?

Hvad gør man f.eks. hvis børn holder hinanden udenfor på baggrund af køn? Eller hvis et barn har kønsatypisk adfærd?

Er du bekendt med ligestillingslovgivningens bestemmelser i forbindelse med al offentlig forvaltning?

Når man læser strategipapirer, perspektivplan, læreplanslovgivning og de fleste daginstitutioners lokale årsplaner, læreplaner mv. er køn stort set fraværende, hvad tænker du om det?

Er det uvæsentligt, er der ikke ressourcer til det? Er det at blande sig for meget i børnenes identitet?

I modsætning til køn har der været stor fokus på etnicitet og integration i Københavns kommune, hvilke ting har i forbindelse med dette fokus været vigtige at tage hånd om i forvaltningen?

Enclosure 3: Interviewguide for interview with pedagogical consultant, local-area Brønshøj-Vanløse, Københavns Kommune.

The interview was performed on December 20th, 2011.
(in Danish)

Nedenfor er den overordnede ramme for interviewet beskrevet i form af spørgsmål

Introduktion:

Præsentation af mit projekt/speciale: I hvor høj grad og hvordan er køn et tema i forvaltningen af daginstitutionsområdet i Danmark. Speciale i Gender Studies/Statskundskab i Lund

Præsentation af Johnny: arbejdsopgaver, forholdet til resten af BUF, mødet med institutionerne, og en kort beskrivelse af Brønshøj-Vanløse (børnesammensætning, særlige udfordringer, mv.)?

Forvaltning

hvordan håndterer i konkret lovgivning mv. fra kommunen og ministerierne? (er der evt. nogle konflikter mellem jeres område og 'forvaltningen')

Hvis man tager udgangspunkt i lærplanslovgivningen hvordan er implementeringen af den så forløbet?

Hvad er jeres pædagogiske fokus? Er der noget som I for tiden har en særlig indsats omkring i mødet med institutionerne?

Om køn:

Hvordan ser du at der bliver arbejdet pædagogisk med køn i daginstitutionerne i jeres område? (hvilket syn på køn er fremherskende?, hvor meget fylder køn i det pædagogiske arbejde?)

Har du erfaringer med selv at arbejde med kønsproblematikker, sammen med de institutioner I rådgiver?

Kender du til nogen institutioner i jeres område som har et særligt fokus på køn? Og i givet fald hvordan arbejder de så med det?

I Sverige har de en læreplanslovgivning som har et helt klart mål om at daginstitutionerne skal forsøge at nedbryde de traditionelle kønsroller. Hvad tænker du om det: Er det noget der ville kunne overføres til Danmark eller Brønshøj/Vanløse? Og hvilke ting skulle i så fald laves om set ud fra et områdeledelses-perspektiv?

Afrunding.

Enclosure 4: Interviewguide for interview with manager in daycare-institution 'NN' Brønshøj-Vanløse.

The interview was performed on January 9th, 2012.
(in Danish)

Præsentation

Er I en kommunal eller selvejende institution?

Hvordan er børnesammensætningen i institutionen?

Kan du kort fortælle om jeres børnesyn/pædagogiske ståsted?

Har I ofte en studerende?

Om relationen til forvaltningen

Hvordan oplever I samarbejdet med kommunen?

Oplever du at de krav der bliver stillet oppefra, i form af regler og målsætninger, er rimelige?

Hvordan forholder du dig som leder til et nyt tiltag fra forvaltningen? (eksempler på dette kunne være læreplanslovgivning eller KK's nye fokus på inklusion)?

hvorfra kommer presset?

på hvilke områder er der særligt krav?

hvor høj grad af selvbestemmelse oplever du I har?

Omkring køn og ligestilling

Hvordan ser I på børns køn?

- i hvor høj grad oplever du at børnenes identitet er bundet op på deres køn?
- Er der nogen aktiviteter/kompetencer som er særligt knyttet til hhv. drenge eller piger?

Hvordan arbejder I pædagogisk med børnenes køn (forestillinger, identitet, særlige behov?, jer som pædagoger)

I skriver i jeres årsplan bl.a. at:

”Vi vil sikre, at alle børn: - Oplever sig som en del af fællesskabet, uanset barnets baggrund og forudsætninger, alder og køn.” og

”I håb og forventning om, at vi har gjort en forskel, ønsker vi, at børnene har tilegnet sig nedenstående normer og egenskaber når de forlader 'NN'. ... Ligestilling”

Hvordan arbejder I for at nå disse målsætninger?

Kender du til følgende materiale som ligestillingsministeriet udgav i 2008: ”Inspirationsguide til pædagoger om børn og kønsroller: Børnehaver med Plads til PippiPrinser og PiratPrinsesser” og børnebogen ”Den dag da Rikke var Rasmus - Den dag da Frederik var Frida”

Enclosure 5: A selection from NN's (anonymized) curricula.

It was written in 2009, and function as governing tool for the daycare-institution 'NN', where the pedagogical manager was interviewed in January.

The original curricula is 36 pages, only relevant parts are enclosed.

... means that something has been cut out of the document.

(in Danish)

Årsplan for Daginstitution 'NN'

NN har en vuggestuegruppe og en børnehavegruppe

...

Københavns kommunes Pædagogiske Perspektivplan danner grundlaget for NNs pædagogiske principper.

Pædagogisk perspektivplan er baseret på en antagelse om, at børns udvikling foregår i en vekselvirkning mellem deres egen aktivitet og omverdenens krav og forventninger. Det betyder blandt andet, at en vigtig forudsætning for børns trivsel og udvikling er, at der gives rum for medbestemmelse og medansvar, så børnene senere kan indgå i demokratiske processer.

For at understøtte den bedste trivsel og udvikling, må man have følgende børnesyn:

- *Børn er selvstændige individer, der aktivt bidrager til egen udvikling via relationer og krav til omgivelserne.*
- *Børn er et produkt af det samfund, de lever i, de sociale relationer de indgår i og de krav, der stilles til dem.*
- *Børn har – fra de bliver født – brug for tæt følelsesmæssig relation til voksne.*
- *Børn fødes med biologiske forudsætninger, men de har brug for aktivt samvær med og positiv interesse fra andre mennesker for at udvikle deres alsidige personlighed.*
- *Det enkelte barn er unikt og har krav på at blive mødt med respekt for sin person og baggrund.*
- *Børn er født med mange potentialer og har lyst til at lære og udforske verden, men udviklingshastigheden varierer fra barn til barn.*

Københavns Kommune har et fælles værdigrundlag for arbejdet i kommunen, som består af fire grundværdier:

- *respekt*
- *ligeværdighed*
- *dialog*
- *tillid*

Det betyder, at samarbejdet mellem forældre, børn og personale skal bygge på gensidig tillid, ligeværdighed og respekt for den enkelte og den enkeltes baggrund. Dialog mellem forældre og personale om børnene er nødvendig for at skabe større helhed i børnenes verden.

...

Årsplanen er organiseret omkring de seks læreplanstemaer:

Sociale kompetencer

"Børn skal støttes i at etablere venskaber med andre børn og lære at indleve sig i, hvordan andre føler og tænker. Børn skal tilegne sig de sociale spilleregler og opleve at være en del af et ligeværdigt forpligtende fællesskab" (Citat: Pædagogisk perspektivplan)

...

Personlige kompetencer

"Børn skal støttes i at udvikle en positiv selvopfattelse og tillid til andre mennesker. De skal også støttes i at udvikle nysgerrighed, selvbeherskelse, udholdenhed og evnen til at motivere sig selv. Børn skal støttes i at udvikle en begyndende forestilling om sig selv og udvikle identitet." (Citat: Pædagogiske perspektivplan)

...

Sprog

"Børn skal støttes i at tilegne sig sprog, begreber og symboler så sproget kan bruges til tænkning, planlægning og i kommunikation med andre børn og voksne." (Citat Pædagogisk perspektivplan)

...

Krop og bevægelse

"Børn skal støttes i fysisk og motorisk aktivitet, så de får mulighed for at opleve glæden ved beherskelse af kroppen, udviklingen af deres sanser og mulighed for udvikling af kropsbevidsthed" (Citat: Pædagogisk perspektivplan)

...

Kulturelle udtryksformer og værdier

"Børn skal støttes i at bruge deres sanser, fantasi, kreativitet og deres musiske evner og derigennem udvikle deres forestillingsevne. De skal have adgang til viden og indsigt i forskellige kulturelle udtryk og værdier.

Gennem deltagelse i alsidige aktiviteter får børn inspiration til at skabe og udtrykke sig i forskellige aktiviteter" (Citat: Pædagogisk perspektivplan)

...

Naturen og naturfænomener

"Børn skal støttes i deres udforskning af omgivelserne, så de får mulighed for at undre sig over tingenes sammengæng og får en begyndende forståelse for omverdenen og de sammenhænge, som børn oplever i deres hverdag" (Pædagogisk perspektivplan s. 24)

...

NN's målsætning

- Syn på børn
- Grundlæggende principper for det pædagogiske arbejde.

Vi mener, at børns udvikling sker i en vekselvirkning imellem børnenes egne aktiviteter/lege og omverdenens modspil, krav og forventninger.

For at understøtte dette samspil, er der nogle grundlæggende principper, som skal være til stede: Vi vil sikre, at alle børn:

- Oplever sig som en del af fællesskabet, uanset barnets baggrund og forudsætninger, alder og køn.
- Oplever succeser således, at barnet har lyst og mod til at løse flere opgaver og møde nye udfordringer.
- Oplever aktive, positive og imødekommende voksne.
 - Oplever en tæt følelsesmæssig relation til de voksne.

• Mål

Vi ønsker at arbejde for et anerkendende barneperspektiv, hvor vi vil skabe rum for relationerne imellem barn – barn, barn – personale, forældre – personale med vores værdier som fundament. Da anerkendelse fra de betydende mennesker i barnets miljø er grundlæggende for barnets udvikling af selvværd, vil vi i relation til barnet være meget opmærksomme på, at anerkende barnets valg og ikke bruge vores "magt" til at fremme egne mål.

• Pædagogik (menneskesyn)

Pædagogik har vi elementer af den humanistiske pædagogik med vægt på et holistisk livssyn. Det vil sige, at barnet er både krop og sind.

Barnet er et selvstændigt individ med tanker, følelser og behov, som skal tages alvorligt.

Vi går "foran" barnet, "ved siden af" og "bagved" barnet. Det er den voksne der har overblikket og ansvaret for barnets trivsel og udvikling ved at følge det tæt.

• **Udvikling og læring**

Dagligdagen

I dagligdagen vægter vi at komme i øjenhøjde med det enkelte barn, for derigennem at signalere, at "du er noget, fordi du er dig". Det er vigtigt for barnets selvværd, at føle sig set og forstået og at barnets udspil svares på en anerkendende måde.

Vi vil tilbyde varierende aktiviteter, som appellerer bredt og opfordrer børnene til at prøve sig selv af med aktiviteter, de normalt ikke ville vælge.

Vi vil samtidig være lydhør overfor børnenes signaler og børnenes spor, det vil sige, at lytte til hvad der rører sig i børnegruppen, hvad de interesserer sig for, at være lydhør overfor børns nysgerrighed.

For at kunne kræve ansvarlighed af et barn, må barnet nødvendigvis have et reelt medansvar. Vi vil

søge at skabe rum for barnets aktive medskabelse af egen hverdag. Dette sikre vi bl.a. ved at tage børnene med på råd når der skal planlægges aktiviteter. Men også ved en organisering af hverdagen,

som tilgodeser både individ og gruppe, som eksempelvis levner rum for at få børn kan lege ude selvom resten vil være inde.

Vi mener, at barnets egne aktiviteter anses for værende lige så vigtige som de voksenstyrede. Derfor

vægter vi en hverdag, hvor respekten for leg er i fokus. Dette gør vi ved, at være bevidste om, at undgå unødige afbrydelser, som forstyrrer barnets ret til fordybelse i egen leg.

• **Inklusion**

Det er vores opgave, at sikre barnets ret til deltagelse i fællesskabet, fordi det er gennem fællesskabet, at børnene udvikler sig. Barnet er en del af et socialt, forpligtende og udviklende fællesskab, hvor vi betydende voksne hjælper det til at kunne fungere. Samtidig har de andre i fællesskabet ansvar for at kunne inkludere/acceptere og respektere det enkelte barn.

Det at være en del af fællesskabet, skaber rummelige og tolerante børn, som oplever sig som hele mennesker.

• **Når vi siger farvel**

I håb og forventning om, at vi har gjort en forskel, ønsker vi, at børnene har tilegnet sig nedenstående normer og egenskaber når de forlader Eventyrhuset.

Rummelighed – tolerance

Selvforvaltning – selvbestemmelse – selvregulering – selvhjulpethed

Ligestilling

Nysgerrighed – turde nye ting

Lyst til at lege – fantasi

Selvværd – glæde – begejstring – tålmodighed – empati

Respekt for omverdenen

At være en god kammerat

...

Apart from the general municipal goals, the 6 curricula themes, and the specific pedagogical priorities of 'NN', the Årsplan has different pedagogical examples from the everyday of the institution, and a lot of practical information which is not included in this enclosure.

Enclosure 6: Results of Survey

The questions (in Danish) from the survey concerning pedagogues opinions about gender and pedagogy collected among members of BUPL's 'medlemspanel' are listed in tables with information on the number (antal) and percentage (procent) answering in certain ways.

The last question is an open question, on which 132 responded.

The surveydata also include background data of the respondents. The table below show how the background information are distributed.

Age (year of birth)	Over 50 (1940-61)	40-50 (1962-71)	Under 35 (1977-83)	No info
	47,5%	31,70%	21,50%	0,3%
Municipality of work (Arbejdskommune)	Copenhagen & suburbs	Nordsjælland (8,8%) + big towns (14,9%)	Provins/countryside /small cities	Not working (2 people) + dont know
	22,40%	23,70%	52,00%	1,90%
Type of institution	Daycare: Børnehave 26,0% Vuggestue 6,8% Int. inst. 23,2%	Before and after-school care. 6-9 years: 9,3% 10 years up: 1,3	Other, e.g. Supportpæd: 0,5% shcool: 0,8%	No answer
	56,00%	10,60%	10,90%	22,40%
Sex	Woman	Man		
	314 – 85,8%	52 – 14,2%		
Manager?	Yes, Manager	No	missing	
	56 – 15,3%	232 – 63,4%	78 – 21,3%	
Member of the union (BUPL)	Yes	no	missing	
	303 - 82,8%	8 - 2,2%	55 - 15%	
Seniority: Years of membership	0-5 years 7,1 + 18,6	6-20 years 17,5 + 18,3	21-50 years 12,6 + 3,6	missing
	94 – 25,7%	131 - 35,8%	59 – 16,2%	82 – 22,4%
Position of trust? (tillidshverv)	Yes	No	missing	
	89 - 24,3%	222 - 60,7%	55 – 15%	

Question 1	Total	
Oplever du, at børnene i din institution er præget af traditionelle forestillinger om, hvordan drenge og piger bør opføre sig?	Procent	Antal
Ja i høj grad	8%	29
I nogen grad	50%	184
I mindre grad	30%	108
Nej slet ikke	11%	39
Ved ikke	2%	6
Total	100%	366

Question 2	Total	
Mener du, at der er behov for en større bevidsthed omkring køn i det pædagogiske arbejde?	Procent	Antal
Ja i høj grad	16%	59
I nogen grad	42%	152
I mindre grad	27%	99
Nej slet ikke	14%	50
Ved ikke	2%	6
Total	100%	366

Question 3	Total	
Mener du, at de danske daginstitutioner skal arbejde for ligestilling mellem kønnene?	Procent	Antal
Ja i høj grad	42%	155
I nogen grad	34%	123
I mindre grad	14%	53
Nej slet ikke	6%	22
Ved ikke	4%	13
Total	100%	366

Question 4	Total	
Mener du, det er pædagogernes opgave at forholde sig til børnenes kønsidentitet eller er det et privat anliggende, som først og fremmest ligger hos forældrene?	Procent	Antal
Det er pædagogens opgave	3%	10
Det er forældrenes opgave	2%	9
Det er både forældrenes og pædagogernes opgave	92%	338
Ved ikke	2%	9
Total	100%	366

Question 5	Total	
Mener du, at det skal skrives ind i dagtilbudsloven, at de danske daginstitutioner skal arbejde på at modvirke de traditionelle kønsroller?	Procent	Antal
Ja	17%	62
Nej	60%	221
Ved ikke	23%	83
Total	100%	366

Question 6	Total	
I hvilken grad er overvejelser om børns kønsroller skrevet ind i den pædagogiske læreplan, der hvor du arbejder? Du bedes sætte kryds ved det udsagn, som passer bedst på jeres læreplan	Procent	Antal
køn er ikke omtalt i den pædagogiske læreplan	83%	303
køn omtales ca 1-2 gange	10%	38
køn omtales 3 eller flere steder	2%	9
køn er et selvstændigt delmål	1%	3
arbejdet med køn er et overordnet mål i læreplanen	4%	13
Total	100%	366

Question 7	Total	
I hvilken grad er overvejelser om børns kønsroller skrevet ind i øvrigt pædagogisk materiale, der hvor du arbejder, såsom hjemmeside, årsplan, forældremateriale eller lignende?	Procent	Antal
køn er slet ikke omtalt	72%	264
køn omtales ca 1-2 gange	19%	71
køn omtales 3 eller flere steder	3%	11
køn er et selvstændigt delmål	0%	1
arbejdet med køn er et overordnet mål for vores pædagogiske praksis	5%	19
Total	100%	366

Question 8	Total	
Hvis du sammenligner med vigtigheden af de nuværende 6 fokusområder i de pædagogiske læreplaner. Hvor vigtigt mener du så, det er at have pædagogisk fokus på børns kønsroller?	Procent	Antal
Mere vigtigt	4%	16
Lige så vigtigt	36%	131
Mindre vigtigt	46%	169
Slet ikke vigtigt	7%	27
Ved ikke	6%	23
Total	100%	366

Question 9	Total	
Det er en del af pigers natur, at de generelt leger mere "far, mor og børn" end drenge	Procent	Antal
enig	23%	84
delvis enig	43%	159
hverken enig eller uenig	13%	49
delvis uenig	12%	43
uenig	7%	27
ved ikke	1%	4
Total	100%	366

Question 10	Total	
Drenge har fra naturens side svært ved at sidde stille	Procent	Antal
enig	12%	44
delvis enig	36%	133
hverken enig eller uenig	20%	74
delvis uenig	16%	60
uenig	14%	52
ved ikke	1%	3
Total	100%	366

Question 11	Total	
Det er bekymrende, hvis en dreng ofte leger prinsesselege og tit vil gå i kjole	Procent	Antal
enig	1%	4
delvis enig	5%	19
hverken enig eller uenig	12%	45
delvis uenig	13%	48
uenig	68%	248
ved ikke	1%	2
Total	100%	366

Question 12	Total	
Det er bekymrende, hvis en pige kun leger med drenge	Procent	Antal
enig	1%	4
delvis enig	5%	17
hverken enig eller uenig	8%	31
delvis uenig	16%	60
uenig	69%	251
ved ikke	1%	3
Total	100%	366

Question 13	Total	
Mandlige medarbejdere er ofte at foretrække frem for kvindelige, fordi drengene mangler forbilleder	Procent	Antal
enig	9%	33
delvis enig	34%	126
hverken enig eller uenig	26%	94
delvis uenig	13%	46
uenig	17%	62
ved ikke	1%	5
Total	100%	366

Question 14	Total	
Piger og drenge kræver generelt set forskellige pædagogiske tilgange	Procent	Antal
enig	15%	55
delvis enig	39%	144
hverken enig eller uenig	19%	69
delvis uenig	16%	57
uenig	10%	38
ved ikke	1%	3
Total	100%	366

Question 15	Total	
Det er i orden, hvis drenge ikke gider lege med piger og omvendt	Procent	Antal
enig	23%	85
delvis enig	37%	134
hverken enig eller uenig	19%	68
delvis uenig	11%	42
uenig	8%	31
ved ikke	2%	6
Total	100%	366

Question 16	Total	
Det er en pædagogisk opgave at sikre, at både drenge og piger får de kompetencer, som man traditionelt set tillægger det andet køn	Procent	Antal
enig	20%	72
delvis enig	29%	106
hverken enig eller uenig	22%	82
delvis uenig	10%	37
uenig	14%	53
ved ikke	4%	16
Total	100%	366

Question 17	Total	
Danske daginstitutioner skal i langt højere grad arbejde for at nedbryde de traditionelle kønsroller	Procent	Antal
enig	13%	47
delvis enig	24%	87
hverken enig eller uenig	32%	118
delvis uenig	17%	61
uenig	12%	45
ved ikke	2%	8
Total	100%	366

Question 18	Total	
I hvor høj grad mener du, at det er en god idé at adskille drenge og piger i nogle situationer i vuggestuen?	Procent	Antal
I høj grad	4%	13
i nogen grad	26%	95
i lav grad	31%	112
slet ikke	30%	108
ved ikke	10%	38
Total	100%	366

Question 19	Total	
I hvor høj grad mener du, at det er en god idé at adskille drenge og piger i nogle situationer i børnehaven?	Procent	Antal
I høj grad	13%	46
i nogen grad	50%	183
i lav grad	25%	93
slet ikke	8%	29
ved ikke	4%	15
Total	100%	366

Question 20	Total	
I hvor høj grad mener du, at det er en god idé at adskille drenge og piger i nogle situationer i sfo/fritidshjem?	Procent	Antal
I høj grad	17%	62
i nogen grad	52%	192
i lav grad	17%	61
slet ikke	7%	27
ved ikke	7%	24
Total	100%	366

Question 21	Total	
I hvor høj grad mener du, at der skal undervises i børns kønsroller i pædagoguddannelsen?	Procent	Antal
I høj grad	25%	91
i nogen grad	51%	188
i lav grad	16%	60
slet ikke	4%	14
ved ikke	4%	13
Total	100%	366

Question 22	Total	
I hvor høj grad synes du, det er en pædagogisk opgave at tænke over sit sprog i mødet med børnene? Så man for eksempel siger "børn" eller "unger", når man kalder på en gruppe af børn og ikke "drengene" eller "piger"	Procent	Antal
I høj grad	9%	33
i nogen grad	25%	93
i lav grad	29%	107
slet ikke	34%	125
ved ikke	2%	8
Total	100%	366

Question 23	Total	
I hvor høj grad synes du, det er et vigtigt redskab at fortælle historier, hvor det for eksempel er prinsessen, der redder prinsen?	Procent	Antal
I høj grad	10%	35
i nogen grad	31%	112
i lav grad	30%	110
slet ikke	26%	94
ved ikke	4%	15
Total	100%	366

Question 24	Total
Er der noget du mener er særlig vigtigt, at have fokus på i arbejdet med køn og pædagogik?	132

Enclosure 7: Statistical analysis of survey-data

Below the statistical analysis of the survey data, which are described in the thesis are presented in detail, with calculations of significance, figures and tables:

Geography and urge for gender equality

Urbanity causes a wish for gender equality. This is rather significant:

(Copenhagen is coded with value 1, value 2 is the suburbs within the municipality, 3 is municipalities surrounding Copenhagen, 4 is the rest of Sjælland, 5 is big provincial cities, 6 is Fyn, and 7 is Jylland.)

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: menerdu (Question3)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	14,125 ^a	6	2,354	2,962	0,01
Intercept	631,220	1	631,220	794,338	,000
provins	14,125	6	2,354	2,962	,008
Error	270,181	340	,795		
Total	1450,000	347			
Corrected Total	284,305	346			

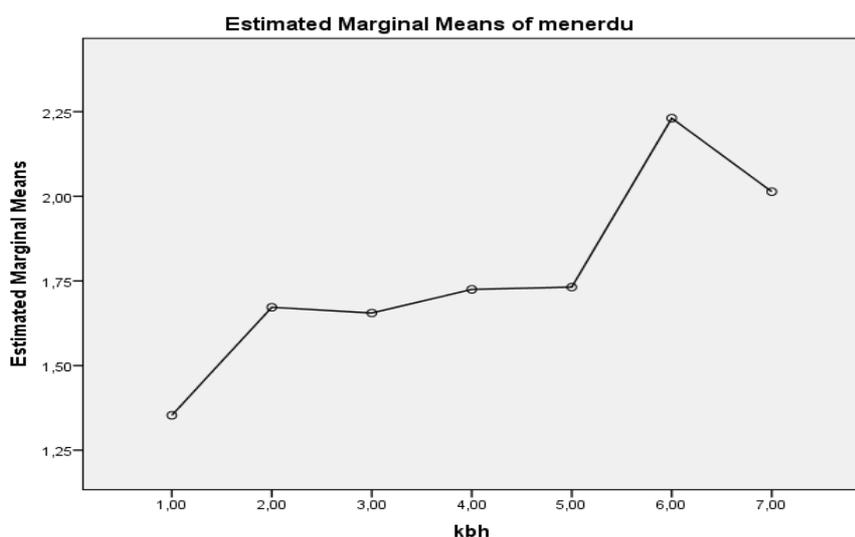
a. R Squared = ,050 (Adjusted R Squared = ,033)

Parameter Estimates

Dependent Variable: menerdu (Question3)

Parameter	B	Std. Error	t	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Intercept	2,014	,074	27,295	,000	1,869	2,159
[provins=1,00]	-,661	,228	-2,892	,004	-1,110	-,211
[provins=2,00]	-,342	,136	-2,513	,012	-,609	-,074
[provins=3,00]	-,359	,181	-1,978	,049	-,715	-,002
[provins=4,00]	-,289	,159	-1,815	,070	-,602	,024
[provins=5,00]	-,282	,158	-1,790	,074	-,592	,028
[provins=6,00]	,217	,258	,841	,401	-,290	,725
[provins=7,00]	0 ^a

a. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.



Parameter Estimates

Dependent Variable: menerdu (Question 3)

Parameter	B	Std. Error	t	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Intercept	1,414	,119	11,850	,000	1,180	1,649
provins	,086	,022	3,824	,000	,042	,130

Seniority and willingness to break stereotypes

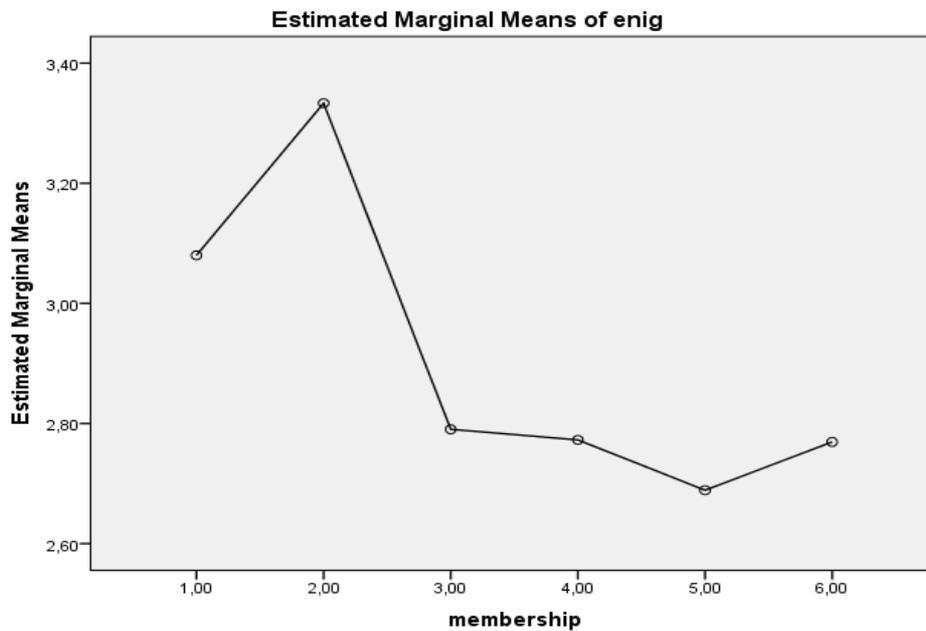
When it comes to the seniority of the pedagogues one significant correlation is found. Namely that the longer your membership of BUPL has been, the more willing you are to break down traditional gender-roles.

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: enig (question 17)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	10,239 ^a	1	10,239	7,505	,007
Intercept	461,519	1	461,519	338,295	,000
seniority	10,239	1	10,239	7,505	,007
Error	375,169	275	1,364		
Total	2754,000	277			
Corrected Total	385,408	276			

a. R Squared = ,027 (Adjusted R Squared = ,023)



Inconsistency in perceptions of gender

The respondents were asked to agree or disagree with 9 different statements. These statements treat different themes within the subject of gender in daycare. The 7 first statements were constructed with biologist-essentialist understandings of gender as premise. Thus the answers are expected to: 1) show if the pedagogues have biologist-essentialist, social constructivist, or combined views on gender in daycare; and 2) to show if a consistency between the answers is present, or if the pedagogues answer the questions in a more random manner, thus without conscious considerations about the premises and thereby no clear ideas about what gender is?

First a table indicating the views on gender:

Statistics

		q9	q10	q11	q12	q13	q14	q15	q16	q17
N	Valid	362	363	364	363	361	363	360	350	358
	Missing	4	3	2	3	5	3	6	16	8
Mean		2,3646	2,8430	4,4203	4,4793	2,9391	2,6667	2,4444	2,6943	2,9162
Std. Deviation		1,17672	1,25268	,96878	,91427	1,23677	1,21304	1,21377	1,32238	1,19931
Range		4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00

Below crosstabulations with both observed and expected values of two statements with rather similar presumptions are listed:

Question 9 * question 10 Crosstabulation

		9					Total	
		1,00	2,00	3,00	4,00	5,00		
10	1,00	Count	25	32	15	7	5	84
		Expected Count	10,0	30,7	17,2	14,0	12,1	84,0
	2,00	Count	15	70	33	21	19	158
		Expected Count	18,8	57,8	32,4	26,3	22,8	158,0
	3,00	Count	2	14	17	7	9	49
		Expected Count	5,8	17,9	10,0	8,1	7,1	49,0
	4,00	Count	1	12	7	20	3	43
		Expected Count	5,1	15,7	8,8	7,1	6,2	43,0
	5,00	Count	0	4	2	5	16	27
		Expected Count	3,2	9,9	5,5	4,5	3,9	27,0
Total		Count	43	132	74	60	52	361
		Expected Count	43,0	132,0	74,0	60,0	52,0	361,0

Question 12 * question 11 Crosstabulation

		12					Total	
		1,00	2,00	3,00	4,00	5,00		
11	1,00	Count	2	1	0	0	1	4
		Expected Count	,0	,2	,5	,5	2,7	4,0
	2,00	Count	0	7	3	2	5	17
		Expected Count	,2	,9	2,1	2,2	11,6	17,0
	3,00	Count	1	4	21	1	4	31
		Expected Count	,3	1,6	3,8	4,1	21,2	31,0
	4,00	Count	1	3	11	29	16	60
		Expected Count	,7	3,1	7,3	7,9	41,0	60,0
	5,00	Count	0	4	9	16	222	251
		Expected Count	2,8	13,1	30,4	33,2	171,5	251,0
Total		Count	4	19	44	48	248	363
		Expected Count	4,0	19,0	44,0	48,0	248,0	363,0

This crosstabulation is reversed, because statement 14 has a biologist-essentialist presumption, while statement 17 has social constructivist presumptions.

Question 14 * question 17 Crosstabulation

			14					Total
			1,00	2,00	3,00	4,00	5,00	
17	1,00	Count	11	13	14	8	9	55
		Expected Count	7,2	13,4	18,2	9,4	6,8	55,0
	2,00	Count	17	41	47	23	13	141
		Expected Count	18,6	34,4	46,6	24,1	17,4	141,0
	3,00	Count	7	10	35	8	6	66
		Expected Count	8,7	16,1	21,8	11,3	8,1	66,0
	4,00	Count	6	17	11	16	7	57
		Expected Count	7,5	13,9	18,8	9,7	7,0	57,0
	5,00	Count	6	6	11	6	9	38
		Expected Count	5,0	9,3	12,6	6,5	4,7	38,0
Total		Count	47	87	118	61	44	357
		Expected Count	47,0	87,0	118,0	61,0	44,0	357,0

The same principle as the two first crosstabulations is behind the crosstabulation of the answers on questions 22 and 23 about pedagogical methods:

Question 22 * question 23 Crosstabulation

			22				Total
			1,00	2,00	3,00	4,00	
23	1,00	Count	12	8	7	3	30
		Expected Count	3,0	9,5	9,5	8,0	30,0
	2,00	Count	10	49	23	8	90
		Expected Count	9,1	28,4	28,4	24,1	90,0
	3,00	Count	6	29	55	15	105
		Expected Count	10,6	33,2	33,2	28,1	105,0
	4,00	Count	7	24	25	67	123
		Expected Count	12,4	38,9	38,9	32,9	123,0
Total		Count	35	110	110	93	348
		Expected Count	35,0	110,0	110,0	93,0	348,0

Consistency between the view on girls and boys nature; between worries about gender atypical behaviour; reversed between pro different pedagogical methods for boys and girls vs. a wish to work against traditional gender-roles; and between storytelling and language awareness as pedagogical measures is doubtful. See table below showing a count of the percentage of consistent answers, answers with minimal inconsistency, and inconsistency in the answers.

	Consistency, the degree of agreement with the two different statements are the same	Small deviation: the answers differ with one category	Inconsistency: two or more difference in the answers
Pige natur vs drenge natur (9 vs. 10)	25+70+17+20+16=148 148/n:361= 41,0%	32+33+7+3+15+14+7+5=116. 116/n= 32,1%	15+21+9+7+19+5+2+12+2+1+4+0=97. 97/n= 26,9%
Bekymrende, dreng vs pige (11 vs. 12)	2+7+21+29+222=281 281/n:363= 77,4% (16,2 without 5-5 mtx)	1+3+1+16+0+4+11+16=52. 52/n= 14,3%	0+2+4+0+5+1+1+3+9+1+4+0=30. 30/n= 8,3%
forskellige pæd. tilgange Omvendt af modvirke trad kønsrol. (14 vs. 17 reversed)	6+17+35+23+9=90 90/n:257= 25,2%	6+10+47+8+6+11+8+13=110. 110/n= 30,8%	7+41+14+17+13+11+11+16+6+6+7+9=158 158/n= 44,2%
Metoder: sproglig opmærksomhed vs historiefortælling (22 vs. 23)	12+49+55+67=183 183/n:348= 52,6%	8+23+15+10+29+25=110. 110/n= 31,6%	7+8+3+6+24+7=55 15,8%

The results can of course be blurred by the fact that the statements are not completely symmetrical. But despite that I would have expected more consistence in the answers. The great inconsistency, and the fact that less than half of the respondents generally answer in a consistent way tells me that the answers are not given after considerations about gender as either biological or socially constructed. When the observed numbers are compared with the expected numbers in a crosstabulation there is a general pattern which shows more consistency between the answers than if the answers were completely independent of each other. It is clear that for answers in same categories the observed number is significantly (no test performed though) higher than expected, and for answers that deviate in value between the two statements the observed number is clearly smaller than the expected. This pattern is more or less the same in all the crosstabulations, though in the crosstabulation between q14/q17, where a reversed correlation was expected this pattern is very vague. This comparison between observed numbers and expected show that there are connections

between answers in the statements/questions paired. But it would also be very strange if this connection did not show, because the content of the statements and questions are so strongly connected in its presumptions about either a biologist-essentialist view on gender (q9, q10, q11, q12, q14) or a belief that gender-patterns can change with a reflected pedagogical approach (q17, q22, q23).

This noticeable inconsistency is surprising because the intention with the statements was to see whether a biologist-essentialist view on gender (defined as a low score on the 7 statements aggregated) in a factor analysis was affected by some of the background variables, or if it results in certain opinions about e.g. gender equality. But as the respondents did not seem to base their answers on clear conceptions of gender this does not make much sense.

Open Question

Question 24 asked the respondents if they had anything to add regarding Gender in pedagogics. Slightly more than a third of them (132) responded. These answers have been read, and different themes in the answers has been identified and coded. One answer can in this categorization of the qualitative answers contain different themes/discourses. The table below show something about which discourses are dominant within the field of gender in pedagogy among the professional pedagogues:

Attention on and recognition of the individual children is in line with anti-sexism	37
There is a (biological?) difference between girls and boys	28
You should not over-do your pedagogical attention on gender	13
The pedagogues are role-models, and their behaviour and practice is important	12
It is crucial to have men employed in daycare-institutions	11
It is fully accepted for children to 'cross over' the gender stereotypes	11
It is relevant to compensate for children's gender-specific abilities	10
There is a danger that gender-pedagogics creates neutral/grey children	10
It is important to break down norms	5
It is a pity for the boys (that the daycare area is feminized)	5
Education of pedagogues in gender-matters is important	2

This categorization of course does not encounter for the specific details in the qualitative answers, but the answers were read thoroughly and they are considered in the analysis beyond this table. The scheme above just structures this reading.

Enclosure 8: count of media representations

Generally gender in daycare is not a subject with many media-representations, but once in a while certain debates about the area take place, also in national newspapers.

Below a count based on Infomedia's database reviews the presence of gender in daycare/pedagogics in the most important Danish newspapers. This count was performed on october 26th, 2011.

Combination of words searched for, vs. search criteria (newspapers, and time)	Latest 10 years, 6 national newspapers : BT, EB, Berlingske, Jyllands Posten, Politiken, Information	Latest 10 years, 6 national newspapers + Børsen, Metro, Urban, Århus og Fyns stiftiderne	Latest 2 years 6 national newspapers : BT, EB, Berlingske, Jyllands Posten, Politiken, Information	Latest 2 years, 6 national newspapers + Børsen, Metro, Urban, Århus og Fyns stiftiderne
Køn + Pædagogik*	175	260	45	71
Køn + Daginstitution*	262	377	57	95
Køn + Børnehave*	561	863	113	199
Køn + Vuggestue*	187	251	39	58
Dreng* + Pædagogik*	889	1419	177	322
Dreng* + Daginstitution*	1198	1993	217	441
Dreng* + Børnehave*	3999	6888	638	1299
Dreng* + Vuggestue*	883	1296	170	286
Pige* + Pædagogik*	741	1168	129	254
Pige* + Daginstitution*	1025	1716	162	325
Pige* + Børnehave*	3707	6439	568	1139
Pige* + Vuggestue*	840	1242	123	211
Dreng* + Pige* + Pædagogik*	393	613	88	165
Dreng* + Pige* + Daginstitution*	474	787	95	179
Dreng* + Pige* + Børnehave*	1658	2807	261	502
Dreng* + Pige* + Vuggestue*	341	487	57	101
køn	21687	32925	4062	7069
Dreng* + pige*	32671	54868	5361	10398
Daginstitution*	14204	30224	2422	6436
Børnehave*	25712	61673	4537	12439
Vuggestue*	7487	13735	1569	3235

A more close reading has been performed of the 197 articles in the last two years concerning the word 'køn' (gender) in combination with either 'daginstitution' (Daycare-institution), 'pædagogik' (pedagogy), 'børnehave' (kindergarten), or 'vuggestue' (creche).

80 % (157) of these articles did not concern gender in daycare as such.

Of the 40 relevant articles found 20 was debate, 18 was journalism, and 2 book-reviews.

At least 5 articles from different newspapers had a clear biologist-essentialist conception of gender in daycare; 10 articles had a social-constructivist point of departure (with the exception of one in 'Politiken', these were all found in the newspaper 'Dagbladet Information').

8 articles concerned the theme: 'a pity for the boys'. Besides that the Swedish daycare institution 'Egalia', and a political proposal from S and SF concerning more effective legislation and education around gender in daycare, was reoccurring as themes.

Since October 2011, the media-representations around gender in daycare has been followed, and the picture is the same as in the systematic review above. 'a pity for boys' occurs as a voice in the debate repeatedly over time, and negative attitudes towards the Swedish daycare institution 'Egalia' continued to be expressed for a while. Finally a new debate has occurred over the summer concerning the 3-year old boy Herbert, and his passion for wearing dresses.