Exploring Histories of ECEC to Reconceptualize "Normalcy" through Mad Studies: A Critical Proposition for Early Childhood Education and Care Post-Secondary Programs

Davies, A.W., Watson, D., Armstrong, B., Spring, L., Brewer, K.C., Shay, B., Purnell, A., & Adam, S.

Abstract

This article engages with the dominance of developmentalism within Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC)—including its ongoing emphasis in post-secondary ECEC programs—in Ontario and Canada. We describe the potentials and possibilities for new directions for post-secondary ECEC curricula through Mad Studies investigations and inquiries. By describing Mad Studies, Fricker's (2007) theorization of epistemic injustice, and the relevance of encouraging post-secondary ECEC students to engage with intellectual questioning and curiosity, we – the authors – argue that post-secondary ECEC students' relationships with knowledge can provide new opportunities to disrupt developmentalism, normalcy, and encourage critical inquiry.

Key words

mad studies; post-secondary education; pre-service ECEC; developmentalism; madness

Author Biographies

Author 1: Dr. Adam Davies (they/them), Assistant Professor, Family Relations Relations and Human Development, University of Guelph

Dr. Adam W.J. Davies (they/them), PhD, RECE, OCT is an Assistant Professor of Family Relations and Applied Nutrition at the University of Guelph in Guelph, Ontario. Adam's research interests are critical disability studies, mad studies, queer theory, and poststructural feminism in Early Childhood Education and Care. Adam's SSHRC-funded research includes: an investigation of men and masculinities in Early Childhood Education and Care in Ontario, Canada; issues of gay, bisexual, and queer men, masculinities, body image, and nutritional supplement uptake; and, mental health and illness and professional identity in pre-service Early Childhood Education and Care. Adam holds a PhD in Curriculum Studies and Teacher Development, Sexual Diversity Studies and Women and Gender Studies from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario.

Author 2: Drew Watson (she/her), BASc, Child, Youth, and Family Student, University of Guelph

Drew Watson (she/her) is a fifth-year undergraduate Bachelor of Applied Science student at the University of Guelph studying child, youth, and family, with an interest and a minor in psychology. Drew is passionate about working with children and hopes to complete future graduate studies with a focus on child development, family relationships, and education.

Author 3: Ben Armstrong (he/him), Psychology BAH student, University of Guelph

Ben Armstrong (he/him) is a Bachelor of Arts student at the University of Guelph studying Psychology. Ben is on track to continue his education with a Masters of Arts in Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology. He looks forward to being able to help children and their families better understand mental health and reducing the stigma behind it.

Author 4: Lauren Spring, Teaching and Learning Consultant, Conestoga College

Dr. Lauren Spring is a Teaching and Learning Consultant with Conestoga College. She holds a PhD in Adult Education from the University of Toronto, and an MA in International Development and has been teaching for more than 15 years in Adult Education, Global Studies, Sociology, Gender Studies, Equity Studies, and with the School of the Environment and the Interdisciplinary Centre for Health and Society at the University of Toronto. Her primary research interests include arts-based approaches to adult education and community-building, trauma, critical disability and mad studies, research-based theatre, museum studies, unpaid care feminist pedagogies and ethics of care. Lauren has also worked as an Art Educator with diverse adult populations at the Art Gallery of Ontario since 2009.

Author 5: Bronte Shay (she/her), BASc, Couple and Family Therapy MSc Student, University of Guelph

Bronte Shay (she/her) is a Master of Science student at the University of Guelph studying Family Relations and Applied Nutrition, with a specialization in Couple and Family Therapy. Bronte looks forward to practicing in Ontario as a registered psychotherapist and anticipates focusing on the impacts of mental health stigma in Canada's Healthcare system. She plans to help address the major implications of such stigmas and the effects on those experiencing mental health crisis.

Author 6: Kailyn C. Brewer (she/her), Undergraduate Psychology Student, University of Guelph

Kailyn Chelsea Brewer is a recent Psychology graduate with her Honours Bachelor of Arts in both Psychology and Family Relations and Applied Nutrition (FRAN) at the University of Guelph. She is pursuing a MSc in Family Relations and Human Development to further her studies in clinical psychology, family relations, and human development. She is interested in romantic and family relationships through the lens of Queer Studies, and Mad Studies.

Author 7: Alexander Purnell, Undergraduate BASc student, University of Guelph

Alexander Purnell is an undergraduate student going into his final year at the University of Guelph. He is completing his degree in the Adult Development program with a minor in Psychology. He currently works as a Direct Support Worker with Community Living Guelph Wellington, which is an organization that supports over 500 adults living with developmental disabilities. As a mixed-race male, he is passionate about researching and dismantling social structures that oppress marginalized groups of people. Purnell's current research interests are focused on Mad Studies and its implications for early childhood education.

Author 8: Simon Adam, Associate Professor, York University

Simon Adam is a social scientist in nursing. His program of scholarship focuses on the mental health industry, its various institutional and discursive dimensions, the consumer/survivor/mad experience, and alternative and counter-hegemonic ways of conceptualizing human illness, suffering, and crisis. His work considers what is currently termed 'mental illness' as largely a product of social, economic, and political apparatuses, while examining how education, professionalization, and pop culture reproduce a medicalized way of understanding what is otherwise a normal human condition. Simon works with various communities, including psychiatric survivors and psychiatric consumers, mad people, neurodivergent people, and people who use drugs.

Exploring Histories of ECEC to Reconceptualize "Normalcy" through Mad Studies: A Critical Proposition for Early Childhood Education and Care Post-Secondary Programs

At this moment of "post" COVID-19 pandemic discourses, the continued devaluation of Early Childhood Educators (ECEs) and the field of early childhood education and care (ECEC) can be considered representative of the greater societal disregard towards care work, relationality, and feminine labour (Davies & Hoskin, 2021, 2022; Davies et al., 2022). Accordingly, we -the authors- turn to the crucial importance of post-secondary ECEC programs at both the college and university levels as sites for critical analysis. Such programs and spaces need to encourage critical questioning, inquiry, and engagement with both the histories of ECEC (Davies, 2022b) and new potentialities as we work against calls to "return to normal" (Karmiris, 2022). We argue that the pre-pandemic "normal" is not sustainable and is informed by violent histories and knowledges that continue within ECEC today, in particular, the ideology of developmentalism. As such, it becomes necessary to examine how norms and orientations toward developmentalism have been produced in post-secondary ECEC programs. This examination necessitates critical ruptures with past practices and knowledges (Souto-Manning, 2021), which we propose through Mad Studies (Davies, 2022a; LeFrançois et al., 2013) and new ways of imagining *the relationships* between post-secondary ECEC students, knowledge, children, education, and care, during "post" pandemic times.

We argue that it is crucial to bring critical questions and conversations regarding *epistemology* into post-secondary ECEC classrooms so that students can question what they know and how and why they know such "truths." Epistemology, broadly defined as the study of knowledge, "truth," and how individuals acquire knowledge (Osborne, 2001), is an important realm of reflection for post-secondary ECEC students. Specifically, we advocate bringing questions of epistemic injustice (Fricker, 2007) and critical frameworks, such as Mad Studies (LeFrançois, 2013), into the post-secondary ECEC classroom (Davies et al., 2022). Such critically important but under-discussed frameworks have the potential to instigate classroom conversations about knowledge, reality, and different ways of knowing. Critical conversations offer students an opportunity to reconsider the taken-for-granted and unearth the relationship between hegemonic forms of knowledge—such as developmentalism—and structures of white supremacy and cis-heteropatriarchy (Burman, 2016; Cannella, 2005; Kessler & Swadener, 1992). We believe that social justice work in post-secondary ECEC involves cultivating opportunities for students to challenge ideas of normalcy and think critically about *the relationships* between knowledge production, history, and ECEC in the present.

In this article, we will explicate some of the histories behind both the foundation of ECEC in a Canadian context and post-secondary ECEC programs, including how historical ideas regarding children and development from the 18th–20th centuries have informed current emphasis on developmentalism in post-secondary ECEC. We acknowledge that this history is extensive and multifaceted in its scope; however, we bring together diverse sources to map out some of the foundations of ECEC in Canada. While doing this work, we describe how both the historical founding of developmental psychology and child studies in Canada informed the creation of nursery schools and eventually ECEC in Ontario. We then define *epistemic injustice* (Fricker, 2007) and elaborate on how it is embedded within post-

secondary ECEC in current times (through normative constructions of children and development) to make an argument for an increased focus on questions of epistemology in post-secondary ECEC. We draw attention to refocusing on Mad Studies and critical frameworks in post-secondary ECEC education to address epistemic injustice and issues of normalization in ECEC.

The Foundations of ECEC in Canada: Situating the Field

The history of ECEC in Canada is rooted in the philosophies of eighteenth-century Europe, specifically the writings of German pedagogue Frederich Froebel and Swiss philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Bertrand & Gestwicki, 2015; Bertrand, 2022). Developmentalism, defined as the scientific study of human development over the lifespan, focuses on normative development (Ali 2020), which "assumes that in their lifetime, an individual body will reproduce the same developmental stages as the development of the species body—what is known as cultural recapitulation" (Mills, 2020, p. 605). Developmentalism is highly informed by Enlightenment philosophies that emphasized children's unknowingness and pathway towards independence in adulthood through growth and maturation, ideas that impacted later developmental theorists, such as Jean Piaget (Epp & Brennan, 2018).

Though developmentalism has often been presented uncritically in ECEC research and teaching—as noted by reconceptualist critiques of developmentalism in ECEC (Cannella, 2005; Kessler & Swadener, 1992; see also Grieshaber & Blaise, 2019; Berman & Abawi, 2019)—it has been widely established by critical scholarship within and outside of psychology that developmentalism is entrenched in White cis-heteropatriarchal knowledge formations (Burman, 2016; Gill-Peterson, 2018; Mills, 2020; Varga, 2020). The theories of Froebel and Rousseau, as well as other Enlightenment philosophers and thinkers of the 18th–19th centuries, heavily influenced developmental psychology and theories

on childhood, particularly notions that children were nature-like, innocent, and unfinished (Garnier, 2020; Hilgard, 1996). Enlightenment philosophical constructions of children, while still heavily deployed in developmental psychology and ECEC, have been critiqued for centralizing the subjectivities of White able-bodied heterosexual cisgender middle-class constructions of children (Burman, 2016; Varga, 2020). Correspondingly, it is important to note how such Euro-centric ideas of children that infiltrated the philosophies of the Enlightenment went on to inform child development theories and ECEC.

The first infant school in Europe was established by John Frederic Oberlin in France in 1770 to establish "good habits" in young children as a form of early intervention (Prochner, 2000). At this time, other infant school programs were almost non-existent until a refuge for infants was established in Paris in 1800 by Adelaide de Pastoret to assist working-class mothers. Both these programs were designed to aid the socioeconomically disadvantaged and to teach practices related to basic human hygiene, social manners, and practical skills (Prochner, 2000). Nineteenth-century public health developments emphasized moral interventions in the lives of the poor—in particular, poor mothers and children—through discourses that focused on the "moral deviancy" of the lower classes and the potential for socioeconomically disadvantaged children to become "criminals" (Pacini-Ketchabaw, 2006a). The first infant school in Canada was opened in Montreal, in 1828 (Prochner, 2000). In a similar fashion to European infant schools, Canadian infant schools offered care to socially disadvantaged children with the hope of providing quality living conditions and a moralizing education (Johnston et al., 2020; Prochner & Howe, 2000; Pacini-Ketchabaw, 2006a, 2006b). This history is important for contextualizing how education and care in the early years evolved throughout the 19th century as a means of social conditioning and intervention.

Infant schools were required to act as a "replacement home" by providing love to children and replicating mother–child dynamics to ensure children's ultimate

obedience and social conditioning (Prochner, 2009). An 1834 report in Montreal described infant schools using ideas of love and affection: "Inasmuch as the fundamental principle of the Infant School system is love, it should be the constant endeavour of the Teacher to win the affection of the children, and then cause them to feel pleasure in submission to his will" (British and Canadian Infant School Society 1834, p. 4, as cited in Prochner, 2009, p. 27). As Richardson (1989) explained, shaping children's moral development was a primary focus through the 19th century as children were not thought to have the capacity to be "mad." Towards the turn of the century, however, the focus shifted toward medicalizing childhood, developmental psychology, and child psychiatry (Richardson, 1989). Throughout both the 19th and 20th centuries, "good habits" were fostered in children by observation and by creating ideal social conditions for their development; this ensured that children's development could be fashioned, and ideal citizens could be produced (Prochner, 2009; Richardson, 1989). As will be noted, such interventions prescribed in the child studies and mental hygiene movements were targeted towards both socioeconomically disadvantaged mothers, who were considered in need of assistance to ensure they developed feminine and nurturing qualities, and their children, who were positioned as "at risk" due to their mother's societal standing (Gleason, 1999; Richardson, 1989). Moreover, discourses relating to developmentalism and adultist heroic approaches that intervene in children's behaviours and moral character speak less of children's need for "development" and intervention and more of an ontological[i] hierarchy, generated to situate adults as the ultimate arbiters of knowledge and conveyors of purported beneficial interventions onto the not-yet-fully-human[ii] child.

The Child Study Movement: Normalizing the Child

Interest in the development of children and the subsequent child study movement was initiated by American psychologist, G. Stanley Hall (Bradbury, 1937). In 1904, Hall published a book about his research into how (White middle-class) children develop (Varga, 2020), combining his interest in the study of children and the Mental Hygiene Movement and influencing later research in child development (Bradbury, 1937; Wright, 2000). Notably, the child study movement informed the foundations of day nurseries across Canada, particularly in Ontario, and post-secondary ECEC training programs' emphasis on developmental psychology (Varga, 1997, 2000). Despite developmentalism's roots in eugenics, exemplified in Hall's theorizing that child development replicates the development of the "human race" (Varga, 2020), many post-secondary ECEC programs still teach developmentalist theories informed by Hall without contextualizing their highly problematic and often violent histories (Davies, 2022a, 2022b; Davies et al., 2022).

The Mental Hygiene Movement also became influential in early twentieth-century Canada (Wright, 2000), with the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene (CNCMH) established on January 26th, 1918, by Clifford W. Beers and C.M. Hincks (Richardson, 1989). Wright (2000) shows how the Mental Hygiene Movement provided the rationale for the University of Toronto and McGill University to open nursery schools to study children, with the goal of learning how to prevent adult mental illness. These two movements created the need to train teachers "properly" to be prepared to meet the needs of every child (Varga, 2000). As such, "Normal Schools," which were institutes for training future educators as well as women in the domestic sciences, were established to fill this need (Weigley, 1974).

Before the establishment of Normal Schools, very few credentials were needed to teach children (Varga, 2000). The goal of the Normal Schools was to cultivate idealized future teachers in terms of self-presentation, personality, and attire to ensure all future educators of children were "normalized" or standardized (Varga, 2000, p. 68). A notable Normal School was the Macdonald Institute at the University of Guelph, established in 1903; the Institute also housed domestic science programs for women in the 20th century (Falconer, 2016; Wilson, 2009).

The two main course offerings within the Institute were domestic science teaching and professional housekeeping (Wilson, 2009). These courses were designed for women and were structured to teach them to act and adhere to gender roles, including domestic caretaking, cooking, and eventually childrearing (Snell, 2003).

Essentially, these courses taught women how to be domestic figures and caretakers (Varga, 2000). The belief was that schools could be sites for intervention for socioeconomically disadvantaged children and their families (Pacini-Ketchabaw, 2006a). By training future educators, society would provide what was believed to be the best care for children (Prochner & Howe, 2000). More troubling, these courses included material that supported the eugenics movement and taught women extreme views on controlling reproduction to eliminate the "feebleminded," deemed ontologically inferior, and not-fully-human (Kelly et al., 2021, p. 18). Researchers have investigated classes taught at the Macdonald Institute to uncover significant histories of eugenics content and discovered the institute historically taught material about classifying "fit" and "unfit" societal groups, including those with disabilities and Indigenous children (Stonefish et al., 2019, p. 13).

The Mental Hygiene Movement was inspired by the general mistreatment of those classified as mentally ill; Clifford Whittingham Beers, himself a victim of the treatments of the day during a stay at an asylum, attempted to improve mental health care by calling for a health agency devoted to mental hygiene (Žalnora & Miežutavičiūtė, 2016). The Mental Hygiene Movement spurred a shift in viewpoints on treating mental health—from treatment and prevention to the "promotion of robust mental health" (Wright, 2000, p. 96), leading the charge for what is now known as developmental psychology (Wright, 2000). The Mental Hygiene Movement looked at how one can help mental health through societal factors (Žalnora & Miežutavičiūtė, 2016). In contrast, eugenicists believed that the only way to cure mental illness was to eliminate "bad genes" by sterilizing those deemed "unfit" for reproduction.

G. Stanley Hall's (1904) theorizing in child studies forwarded recapitulationist rhetoric (i.e., that individual development repeated the development of the race) that drew from eugenicist thinker Ernst Haeckel (Varga, 2020). According to Varga (2020), the early foundations of the child study movement and developmental psychology forwarded beliefs in an "animal–racial evolutionary interpretation of behaviour" (p. 3) that posited that the habituation of the normative development of the White child was a way to promote the "betterment" of the White race (p. 3). This line of thought linked animality to other-than-White races, equating racialized subjectivities to barbarism and a marginality whose historical strands remain tightly woven within the ECEC discipline today. Such racist and eugenicist teachings were entrenched in the child studies movement of the early twentieth century (see Kelly et al., 2021; Varga, 2020). Hall's student, Arnold Gesell, influenced the common "ages and stages" approach to developmental psychology and theorized "a timetable of normative chronological development of children's emotional, social, physical, and mental abilities" (Varga, 2011, p. 144). Gesell reportedly believed that White upper-middle class values were to be encouraged in children's development—even choosing to only research this demographic himself—and saw the reproduction of such values as a component of "racial betterment" (Varga, 1997, 2011). Gill-Peterson (2018) describes how "Hall saw the science of Child Study as leading directly to the practice of cultivating children and adolescents into normative adults, for nature alone was insufficient to the project of evolution" (p. 48). These discourses fueled ideas of proper mothering and idealized images of ECEs.

What's Harmful about Developmentalism?

Developmentalism and theories of child development superimpose a certain idea of "normalcy" and place children in the position of aspiring to be "normal" (LeFrançois, 2020). The developmentalist and dualistic logic of viewing children as "normal" or "abnormal" in post-secondary education means ECEs

entering the field are contributing to the normalist culture whereby children are compared to White upper-middle class cis-heterosexual children (given psychiatry's roots). Post-secondary students—especially Mad post-secondary ECE students—experience epistemic injustice due to a lack of alternative theories to developmentalism.

A critique of developmentalism is its utilization of normative developmental stages in childhood, which marginalizes children who do not follow these stages, reinforcing positivism's reign on post-secondary ECEC programs (Ali, 2020; Kessler & Swadener, 1992; Lubeck, 1998). Another criticism of developmentalism is that it views children according to their future activities and value as an adult, in particular assessing children in relationship with seemingly universalized standards that are heteronormative, ableist, and ethnocentric (Burman, 2016; Johnston et al., 2020; Lubeck, 1994). Specifically, children are understood as being in a critical period of development in which they must achieve developmental milestones to become productive and skilled adults within a neoliberal capitalist economic system that reproduces societal inequities (Johnston et al., 2020; Lubeck, 1994). Again, what is demonstrated here is evidence of the generation of a certain ontological stratification, where the child, as an "incomplete adult," must conform to specific and rigid developmental stages in order to develop into the adult possessing a fully human status. Developmentalism has also been critiqued since the research in the field has been based on Westernized North American and European populations, leaving out vast cultural and societal sectors (Cannella, 2005; Ali, 2020; Lubeck, 1994). Moreover, developmental studies, particularly those from a positivist framework, lack a focus on understanding children's development from the perspectives of children (Ali, 2020).

Another concern early childhood researchers have raised about developmentalism is a minimal interest in alternative perspectives to the psychological sciences (Kessler & Swadener, 1992; Lubeck, 1994, 1998; Zaman & Anderson-Nathe, 2021). For example, Piaget's cognitive developmental theory is still being taught to post-secondary ECEC and elementary education students and is favoured in early childhood education, with the history of developmentally appropriate practice (DAP) in ECEC curricula being informed by Piaget's cognitive and stage-based ideas (Cannella, 2005; Steele & Nicholson, 2019; Zaman & Anderson-Nathe, 2021). Such notions are particularly harmful towards queer and transgender children, who are considered to be "too young" to know their own gender or sexual identity. This advances the construction of children as "innocent" and unable to comprehend content on queer and trans identities and families, for example (Davies et al., 2021; Steele & Nicholson, 2019).

Epistemic Injustice: Considering Mad Knowledges to Disrupt Developmentalism

Despite significant critiques of developmentalism (e.g., Burman, 2016; Cannella, 1997, 2005), it remains the dominant epistemology within post-secondary ECEC programs and training worldwide (Davies, 2022a; Krieg, 2010; Wong, 2022). Knowledge frameworks that critique developmentalism, particularly frameworks informed by critical theory or cultural studies, are not often deemed relevant for post-secondary ECEC students. For example, Mad Studies, or critiques of the social stigmatization, psychiatrization, and devaluation of individuals who are deemed Mad, identify as Mad[iii], or who have experienced psychiatrization and sanist discrimination (Beresford & Russo, 2021; LeFrançois, 2013; Reaume, 2021) are not frameworks taught in post-secondary ECEC coursework (Davies, 2022a, 2022b; Davies et al., 2022). Moreover, Mad Studies specifically critiques how psychologized, psychiatric, and scientized conceptions of children reinforce "normalcy" by attempting to enforce pre-determined ideas of development that are taught as unquestionable, universal truths (LeFrançois, 2020) and denying Mad children, youth, and adults' understandings and interpretations of their distress (Golightley, 2020; Procknow, 2019). Post-secondary ECEC students are generally not provided with

opportunities to reflect on the knowledge they learn, its history, or who is silenced or ignored by dominant frameworks. Within the field of ECEC, post-secondary ECEC students, educators, and children face *epistemic injustice* (Fricker, 2007) through the denial of different ways of knowing and through accreditation standards that present developmentalism as the most important form of knowledge for post-secondary ECE students' professional practices and learnings (Davies, 2022a). Specifically, for Mad post-secondary students, the lack of alternative frameworks being taught prevents students from accessing Mad Studies and knowledge to help them understand their own mental and psychological experiences outside of pathology.

This contemporary epistemic problem, having been influenced and regulated by the problematic discourses we discuss here, is contingent on a certain ontological structuring of the child in relation to the adult and the racialized child in relation to the White child. Given our contention of the framing of children as ontologically inferior and "incomplete" humans, the epistemic issue becomes entangled with the issue of ontology, and both epistemic and ontological injustices surface. Thus, while we refer to epistemic injustice in this paper, we likewise understand that this extends to ontology and combines as onto epistemic marginality[iv].

Sanism, or the systemic discrimination against and dismissal of those diagnosed with a mental illness or perceived to be mentally ill (LeBlanc & Kinsella, 2016; Perlin, 1992), is a form of social oppression that is interconnected with other inequalities, such as sexism, classism, and racism and is based on the unjust negative stereotyping of Mad individuals and madness (Gosselin, 2022). LeBlanc and Kinsella (2016) articulate how sanism produces forms of *epistemic injustice* that Mad individuals experience. Epistemic injustice (Fricker, 2007) is the systematic neglect, dismissal, and discreditation of groups based on negative stereotypes and stigmas based on the ascription of infrahuman status to those who identify as Mad (LeBlanc & Kinsella, 2016). As explained by Mills and LeFrançois (2018), "the infantilization of colonized, mad and 'crip' subjects

has over time become enshrined within Western legal doctrines and legislation, all the while reproducing the notion that children themselves are naturally incompetent" (p. 517). This further enhances the idea of normalcy, and places children, especially mentally ill children, as unequal citizens who cannot access understandings or share their experiences in ways that could assist them in making sense of their world. Mills and LeFrançois (2018) note how the discrediting of children's lived experiences and those deemed "mentally ill" is propagated through developmentalist ideas that construct children and those with mental illness as inferior, incomplete, and irrational. Hence, mad children are doubly ontologically marginalized, first in relation to adults, given their "incomplete" humanity, and second, in relation to other children deemed "mentally intact."

Listening to children and honouring their voices and experiences are central tenets of ECEC (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2014). Despite increased conversations regarding children's rights in ECEC, dominant developmentalist knowledge frameworks in the field position children's understandings of their experiences as incomplete in comparison with biomedical and developmental knowledges from adult "expert figures" (Abawi & Berman, 2019; Davies, Simone-Balter, & van Rhijn, 2021; Langford, 2020; Steele & Nicholson, 2019). Questioning and challenging children's understandings of the world and imposing developmentalist and interventionist frameworks as interpretations of children's behaviours can be considered a form of epistemic injustice (Steele & Nicholson, 2019).

Epistemic Injustice: Testimonial and Hermeneutic

Fricker (2007) describes epistemic injustice in two forms—testimonial injustice and hermeneutic injustice. Testimonial injustice occurs when an individual's voice and opinions are not heard or listened to due to systemic discrimination, stigmatization, or discreditation that prejudices the listener's perspective (LeBlanc & Kinsella, 2016). LeBlanc and Kinsella (2016) relate this to how sanist ideologies actively discredit Mad individuals

as speakers and knowledge holders of their own experiences. Such discrimination against Mad people hinders academic scholarship by maintaining psychiatric hegemony through the dominance of the psychological and psychiatric disciplines and ignoring critiques of medical institutions such as psychiatry or medicine (Newbigging & Ridley, 2018). The hegemony of psychiatry and psychology within helping professions such as ECEC can be seen through the incorporation of special education into post-secondary ECEC without consideration of the voices of disabled individuals.

Hermeneutic injustice is defined as the mis-interpretation and silencing of one's perspectives and perceptions (Fricker, 2007). This misinterpretation and silencing is due to distorted and discriminatory views that exclude specific identity groups and communities from creating and producing their own knowledge and understandings of the world (LeBlanc & Kinsella, 2016). Hermeneutic injustice presents itself through individuals being denied the resources or knowledge to make sense of or interpret their own lived experiences, indicating a prohibition on the ability to express oneself (LeBlanc & Kinsella, 2016). Citing Fricker (2007), Leblanc and Kinsella (2016) describe how not providing a plethora of perspectives and frameworks to understand Mad people's experiences can reify their subjugation under biomedical conceptions of madness and pathology. For example, though "mental health/illness" has received much attention in recent years, and corporate-sponsored "de-stigmatization" campaigns are ubiquitous, most often the stories that are shared follow a similar, straightforward narrative that focuses on *recovery* instead of *resistance*. Costa et al. (2012) call attention to how mental health organizations often co-opt consumer/survivor narratives to serve their interests (primarily economic). In their article, Costa et al. (2012) offer suggestions for mad-identified folks to ensure their "whole" story is told on their terms, and not commodified by external forces in ways that uphold existing narratives that pathologize and individualize what Burstow (2014) would refer to as "problems in living" (p. 83). Personal narratives are one very powerful tool to disrupt social and epistemic injustice.

Another example of hermeneutic injustice is reflected in LeFrançois's (2020) work as they describe how children and young people diagnosed with mental illnesses "are not seen as knowledge holders because of their status as 'mentally ill' and they are seen as lacking insight because their understandings are not consistent with biomedical explanations" (p. 182). Such forms of epistemic injustice enact what Mills and LeFrançois (2018) describe as "a dual epistemic injustice, whereby those deemed childlike and actual children are seen as cognitively subpar, while at the same time other/ed ways of knowing children are actively denigrated by Western models—destroying epistemological diversity in relation to children" (p. 518). It is necessary to examine how such forms of epistemic injustice and violence are embedded in singular stories (Adichie, 2009) of children and educators that proliferate within post-secondary ECEC training programs by centralizing developmentalist and psychological narratives and theories. While post-secondary ECEC programs train future practitioners in the various diagnostic categories of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), post-secondary faculty and instructors do not often discuss the increasing psychiatrization of society through ever-expanding diagnostic labels, nor are the instructors trained in Mad Studies or critical approaches to diagnostic categories (Davies, 2022a; Davies et al., 2022).

Epistemic Injustice and the Psychiatric Apparatus

Whether or not one supports current psychiatric approaches to understanding and assisting people in distress, it is indisputable that psychiatric diagnoses are historically and culturally contingent and are discriminatory (Davies, 2022a; Metzl, 2011). Diagnoses that once were commonplace (e.g., "homosexuality" or "hysteria") have since been removed from the manual as society has evolved and prejudices have been acknowledged. As Kingma (2013) reminds us: "the concept of mental illness relies on norms or values which define disorders as bad or undesirable and which are sometimes even understood as socially or historically constructed" (p. 365, as cited in Jelscha, 2017, p. 486).

A social model, as opposed to a medical model, looks beyond the individual to the structures and systems in which they struggle. In the case of an ECEC classroom, for example, rather than focus solely on a child's behaviour or development, a social model would instead consider the classroom environment. For example, what should the educator–student ratio be? If childcare centres are underfunded/understaffed, what does this say about society's overall values? What do educators truly want children to learn while interacting with peers at a young age? Or consider if social structures may be contributing to an unstable home life for the child. Do both parents need to work long hours and therefore have less time to read to their child? Is the child from a community that has been collectively traumatized? Is the child's household able to afford nutritious food?

One might think it suspect that the first edition of the DSM contained 128 diagnoses and in the most recent fifth edition (DSM-5) there are more than 300 (Coppock, 2020). This proliferation of diagnostic categories has been critiqued by psychiatrists, such as Dr. Allen Frances (2014), who have been involved in task forces for various editions of the DSM. The American Psychiatric Association (2013) has published materials explaining their process for updating or creating new disorders in the DSM, including establishing a working group and evaluating the intended usage and uniqueness of the proposed diagnostic category. However, LeFrançois and Diamond (2014) articulate how the marginalization of children diagnosed with mental illnesses begins at the diagnosis itself when psychiatrized children are provided pharmaceuticals. Moreover, children's own interpretations of their experiences with mental distress are ignored—thereby perpetuating epistemic injustice—as psychiatrists often only consult with adults (usually parents). Thus, a child's diagnosis is commonly based on the adult's/parents' interpretations of their experiences with the child, but not the experiences of the child themselves (LeFrançois & Diamond, 2014). Addressing the ontological privileging of adults' voices over those of children and epistemic injustice in post-secondary ECEC involves teaching students about different knowledge frameworks and epistemology. This can allow pre-service ECEC students to make their own decisions about the forms of knowledge they use within their professional practices.

Post-secondary Early Childhood Teacher Education in Canada

Post-secondary education for future ECEs began in an Ontario context after the emergence of the child study movement. The first training institute for future daycare workers was opened in October 1942 in Toronto, entitled the Provincial Day Nursey Training Centre (PDNTC). As Varga (2000) described, the PDNTC was heavily influenced by the Institute for Child Study at the University of Toronto and was run by numerous graduates of the Institute. The principles of child studies and developmental psychology continued to be influential within post-secondary ECEC training programs as college and university programs began to appear throughout the second half of the twentieth century in Canada at institutions such as Ryerson Polytechnic (now Toronto Metropolitan University) and Seneca College (Varga, 2000). Throughout the twentieth century, the development of ECEC occurred within the context of the medicalization and psychologization of children and youth, meaning that the early years became intertwined with public health, psychiatry, medical sciences, nursing, and other interventionist professions (Richardson, 1989). The "Normal Schools" for ECEC educators post-secondary programs ensured that ECEC practitioners "demonstrate[d] the personality and behavioural characteristics of the 'good' teacher, as defined by the normal school" (Varga, 2000, p. 70). As described, such personality and behavioural characteristics, particularly for women who worked with young children, involved highly feminized attributes that expressed motherly ideals that were emphasized through Early Years theorists, such as Frederich Froebel (Ailwood, 2007).

Post-secondary ECEC programs in Ontario, Canada —at both the college and university levels—trained future educators to observe young children and

scaffold development based on child development theories (Bertrand & Gestwicki, 2015; Land & Frankowski, 2022; Richardson & Langford, 2022). While early developmental psychology theories emphasized educators' role in drawing out developmental outcomes that were genetically coded, later theories provided more agency to adult figures in the development of children, focusing on processes of socialization (Wright, 2010). Such theories emphasized how children's environment and interactions with others equally impact their development.

After the establishment of the Day Nurseries Act in 1946, which was informed by the philosophies and principles of the child study movement and the Institute of Child Study (Richardson, 1989; Wright, 2010), ECEC in Ontario became more regulated and emphasized child-centred and mental hygiene principles (Gleason, 1999; Varga, 1997). Four-year university degrees, two-year college diplomas, and other post-secondary programs emerged and standardized the baseline knowledge taught in post-secondary ECEC programs (Varga, 2000). For example, in 1993, the Government of Ontario created standardized program criteria for all post-secondary ECEC programs that stipulated both the required knowledge of children's development and the pedagogy, as well as the expectations for graduates who completed post-secondary ECEC programs (Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities, 2018).

With the entanglement of the founding of day nurseries in the twentieth century, the Mental Hygiene Movement, and developmental psychology, ECEC has historically held—and continues to hold—a scientized idea of "the child," based on developmental norms and intervention (Pacini-Ketchabaw, 2006a, 2006b; Richardson, 1989; Varga, 1997, 2000). The establishment of developmental psychology in the early twentieth century as a field unique from philosophy (Richardson, 1989) is connected to normative constructions of children within early to mid-twentieth century day nurseries, which centralized a preventative approach to

ensure the development of "healthy" habits (Varga, 2000; Richardson, 1989). However, what was left unquestioned was which behaviours and habits were considered "healthy" and how such preventative approaches focused upon reinforcing normalcy (Richardson, 1989). ECEC still reflects how such ideas are entrenched in interventionist logics, such as Applied Behavioural Analysis, which has been critiqued by autistic communities as being traumatic and focused on discouraging visible autistic traits such as stimming (Adams & Liang, 2020; *see also* Davies, 2022a). Post-secondary ECEC programs often have courses on behavioural management or strategies for intervention, which hold a behaviourist lens in their focus on normalizing and intervening in behaviours deemed different or "abnormal" (Davies, 2022a).

Post-secondary ECEC Professional Identity: Connected with Developmentalism

Post-secondary ECEC students share a common belief in the importance of children's well-being and a motivation to make a difference (Osborne et al., 2018). Students describe understanding their professional identity in relation to concepts such as pedagogy, collaborations with families and communities, philosophical ideas, ethical guidelines, rules and regulations, and gender and cultural norms (Keary et al., 2020). Moreover, students acknowledge how their professional identity is intertwined with the values and roles of maternalism and motherhood, as both mothers and ECEs are seen as responsible for children's development (Ailwood, 2007).

Professional early childhood educator identity encompasses many concepts of developmental psychology. Using child development theories and developmentally appropriate practices are aspects of being a "good" educator (Langford, 2007), which connects child development with ECE professional identity (Davies, 2022a, 2022b; Davies et al., 2022; Gibson, 2013; Langford, 2007). That said, educators cannot act according to developmental psychology alone if they hope to bring about change in the

field (Gibson, 2013). Moss (2010) describes being a professional as a means of constructing knowledge from diverse sources. However, educational policies and practices have very little diversity since the narrow perspectives involved in education due to developmental psychology limit ECEs in their knowledge and teaching practices (Moss, 2010).

There is also a dissonance in ECE professional identity when ideas of positivity and the love of children have deep ties to developmental psychology (Davies, 2022a, 2022b; Davies et al., 2022). To see the child as a site of intervention following universalizing developmental approaches is apparent in child-focused development initiatives (Mills & LeFrançois, 2018), which are not congruent with loving children without desiring to intervene or alter their development. This is evident in Johnston's (2019) experience, in which their positive relationships with their students were viewed as invalid due to a lack of written records connecting their experiences to developmental theories. It is fair to question how developmentalism presents itself as an "expert knowledge" on children and educators in post-secondary ECEC and seeks to interrogate its dominance by calling for critical conversations to take place regarding epistemology in post-secondary ECEC education.

The Relevance of Epistemology for Post–Secondary ECEC

Epistemologies are individual beliefs regarding the nature of knowing and knowledge (Brownlee et al., 2011). Making space in the classroom to invite post-secondary students to evaluate their own epistemological beliefs is a key component of providing the highest quality of care. It also allows students to question when theories and "best practices" being taught in their training do not reflect the lived realities of, or most appropriate approaches to helping, children and families (Brownlee et al., 2008; Davies, 2021). When post-

secondary students are encouraged to reflect on different practices and perspectives, they can come to view knowledge as evolving and tentative (Brownlee et al., 2008). A study by Brownlee and Berthelsen (2006) found that childcare workers with relativistic personal epistemological beliefs—or more flexible ideas of children and development—are more inclined to form collaborative, relational, and active relationships with children. In contrast, childcare workers who view knowledge as certain and unchanging and those who privilege adult knowledge over that of the child are less likely to participate in new learning opportunities or reflective practices (Brownlee & Berthelsen, 2006).

With developmental psychology being the primary source of knowledge in post-secondary ECEC, alternate ways of knowing, such as cultural studies and Mad Studies, are foreclosed. Cultural studies encompass a variety of critical theoretical frameworks to provide an alternative method for understanding the relationship between individual experiences and cultural and societal structures (Gaztambide-Fernández & Cairns, 2010). Cultural studies and critical frameworks are often not taught in post-secondary ECE because this knowledge challenges dominant ways of knowing in education (Davies, 2022b). Specifically, cultural studies conceptualizes education as an institution where cultural norms are created, produced, and sustained through inequalities and power dynamics (Gaztambide-Fernández & Cairns, 2010). Thus, cultural studies and critical theories consider children and youth's behaviours as a response to their social environment and structural inequalities instead of as a cognitive, individualized phenomenon (Gaztambide-Fernández & Cairns, 2010). Such studies would encourage post-secondary students to engage in further inquiry instead of being provided with answers on how to observe and assess behaviours through biopsychosocial approaches entrenched within developmentalism.

Reconceptualizing Relationships with Knowledge: Provoking Further Inquiry in Post–secondary ECEC

In Davies' writing (2022a), Mad Studies is introduced as a methodological framework to be used in post-secondary ECEC education to encourage students to challenge developmentalism, disrupt normalcy, and enhance critical thinking and curiosity. Incorporating Mad Studies into post-secondary ECEC education allows students to consider and reflect on their own narratives, subjectivities, experiences, and identities while integrating them into others' theoretical frameworks (Davies, 2022b). When students reflect, re-think, and critically question the knowledges that they have been trained in, they are encouraged to create new perspectives on caring for children, likely ones without a focus on child development (Davies et al., 2022).

School environments are dominated by biomedical models (Batstra et al., 2021), and the psychiatrization of students is readily occurring as mental illness is diagnosed more frequently in school-age patients. Additionally, students become biomedical patients who are screened for non-specific symptoms, creating comparisons of "normalcy" and leading students to take on the sick role (Gojmerac, 2022). Maiese (2022) suggests that the neoliberal practices and proposals in schools, which are based on developmentalist ideologies, negatively affect students' mental health by enhancing competitiveness and favouring individualism over collectivity, performance pressures, emphasis on individual resilience, and excessive testing. Such logics are ingrained in the developmentalist course materials to which post-secondary ECEC students are exposed, favouring ideas of outcomes, standardization, assessment, and constant enhancement of children's growth.

In order for post-secondary ECEC students to thrive, it is key that they develop the critical thinking skills that allow them to question dominant forms of knowledge that are often taught in their institutions.

Giving these students spaces to challenge dominant discourses through Mad Studies and other critical frameworks can enhance their professional practices as future educators. As well, critically examining the histories behind ECEC and how developmentalism and interventionism came to be dominant in post-secondary ECEC education—as well as the normativity entrenched within such notions—is an important exercise for students to begin to consider their own relationship with knowledge. This is an especially important task given this current moment when calls for "returning to normal" echo as the COVID-19 pandemic continues (Karmiris, 2022).

COVID-19 as a Catalyst for Reconceptualizing ECEC

The disruptions of the COVID-19 pandemic have created an opportunity to think critically about the future of ECEC. As described by Souto-Manning (2021), there is now space to acknowledge "the potentiality of the pandemic as a transformative rupture" (p. 9), particularly in regard to the disruption of normalcy. Van Groll and Kummen (2021), both educators of post-secondary ECEC students, explain that the systemic failure to acknowledge the relationships that they, as faculty, have formed with COVID-19 may have led their students to view their quick responses to pandemic times as a method to maintain normalcy. Since our society privileges that which is within the realm of normalcy, it is not surprising that the initial post-COVID societal focus is on returning to pre-COVID "normal" rather than critically examining the pandemic's disruption of common tropes of ECEC.

Our collective concept of "normal" was fundamentally fractured by the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. Things we as a society once thought were essential, were proven to be luxuries (e.g., working in an office instead of telecommuting). Simultaneously, we saw care-centered professions such as nursing, education, and childcare finally societally recognized as essential to the functioning of families and society as a whole. The pandemic's disruption of "normal" has cast a spotlight on women-led fields that were

once dismissed as merely "woman's work". This spotlight has allowed the general public to see the issues caring professionals face in their industries (e.g., CUPE strikes surrounding issues of Educational Assistants' (EA) and Early Childhood Educators' (ECE) wages, workplace safety, and lack of funding that would allow for hiring more EAs and ECEs). Our collective pause on "normal" has given us, the authors, the opportunity to evaluate if pre-COVID "normal" is something worth returning to.

Although developmentalism still strongly influences post-secondary ECEC programs epistemologically and ontologically, critiques of developmentalism and calls for reconceptualization are not new. The reconceptualist movement in ECEC has critiqued the dominance of developmentalism and how developmentalism shapes the subjectivities of children and educators in ECEC while reinforcing hierarchies of oppression and normativities such as heterosexism, cisnormativity, and racism (Cannella, 1997, 2005; Silin, 1995). Debates surrounding pedagogical approaches and curriculum content in ECEC have a long history. ECEC educators have been debating the goals and aims of the early years, including debates about constructivism and children's ability to make meaning of their realities (Katz, 1999). Bloch (1992) noted how ECEC scholars who are constructivists, critical theorists, or post-modernist are often marginalized by an emphasis on positivist ideas of child development. Such positivist theories of child development have been connected to ideas of normalcy, which reconceptualist scholars have noted is a central focus of developmentalism and its historical foundations in Enlightenment ideas of rationality and science (Pacini-Ketchabaw & Pence, 2005). Such ideas of normalcy still influence the ideas of children and educators in ECEC. Mad Studies scholarship is a continuation of critiques of developmentalism in ECEC with an explicit emphasis on decentering normalcy and critiquing the dominance of biomedical, psychiatric, and psychological frameworks.

As Ann Wilke (2021) has described, the desire to return to "normal" post-pandemic conditions is easier than embracing the uncertainty sparked by the pandemic. According to Wilke (2021), the uncertainty, curiosity, and wonder of the COVID-19 pandemic asks educators to think pedagogically with uniqueness and vulnerability, qualities important in ECEC. The COVID-19 pandemic can be viewed as an opportunity to sit with discomfort and respond in pedagogical ways. This can encourage change in ECEC as educators reach for new and reconceptualized practices to enhance learning (Delgado et al., 2020; Early Childhood Pedagogies Observatory, 2020; Wilke, 2021). Van Groll and Kummen (2021) position the COVID-19 pandemic as an opportunity for pausing, acknowledging, responding, and critically examining the conditions in the field. In other words, thinking critically about ECEC's relationship with the pandemic will allow educators to reconfigure practices and meet new demands properly. When considering the loss of certain practices due to the pandemic, educators are given an opportunity to examine what pedagogical practices are important for successful outcomes (Van Groll & Kummen, 2021). This further allows educators to decide what relationships and practices can be left behind (Van Groll & Kummen, 2021). How will educators move forward during "post" pandemic times and what practices from the history of ECEC can or will be left behind? Karmiris (2022) describes, in her critique of calls to return to "normal" in education, how:

> the role of modern schooling practices in sustaining the conditions where measuring who counts as normal remains integral to the process of consistently keeping disability and other markers of difference such as race, gender, class, and sexual orientation at a physical and social distance (Karmiris, 2022, p. 11).

Notably, instead of returning to normal in ECEC, educators have an opportunity to refuse calls to return to normal—the kind of normalcy founded on legacies of observing, assessing, and standardizing children through developmentalist knowledges as well as the "normalcy" of being devalued as care workers. Following Karmiris (2022), it must be asked how children, and more specifically, which kinds of children are always excluded in ECEC based on societal hierarchies. Reversing the erasure of

Mad knowledges—and other forms of subjugated knowledges—in post-secondary ECEC can assist students in learning new ways of imagining education, educators, and children in their care. Will the ECEC that follows COVID-19 still emphasize "child development"? Developmental and clinical ideas of children pathologize children and young people through medicalizing personalities that are deemed "immature" or "childish"—notions that are entrenched in the DSM (Mills & LeFrançois, 2018). We think that Mad Studies can evoke moments of reconsideration and reconceptualization so that educators can think before "applying" knowledge—ultimately challenging their initial thoughts or interpretations about who or what is conceptualized as a "problem" in their professional practices and who is "normal." In other words, being critical of relationships to and with normalcy in response to the uncertainties of the pandemic could lead to new practices in the field of ECEC. Such a rupture in ECEC is crucial and needed (Davies, 2022a; Souto-Manning, 2021). If the COVID-19 pandemic is viewed as an opportunity to reconceptualize, we can consider our relationships with knowledge and knowing as having the ability to adapt and flourish within the unknowns of human life (LeFrançois, 2013; Moss, 2010).

Conclusion

In this paper, we outlined some historical connections between the past and present in ECEC education to argue for a "rupture between our past and future" (Souto-Manning, 2021, p. 4), or a reconceptualization of post-secondary ECEC students' relationships with developmental knowledges and conceptualizations of educators, children, and care.

With developmentalism at the centre of the education taught to post-secondary ECEC students, future educators are limited in their knowledge of the children in their care and deprived of opportunities to critically understand alternative viewpoints. This leaves both ECEs and children facing epistemic injustice as the current Westernized, neoliberal society posits developmentalism as the universal and sole viewpoint. Developmentalism, including theories by mainly White cisgender heterosexual philosophers, is still dominant and is at the root of viewing children as "normal" or "not normal." The trouble with the concept of normalcy, favoured in developmentalism, is the sanism directed towards children and educators who do not fit within normative constructs propagated by Enlightenment ideas. When it comes to the professional identities of post-secondary ECEC students, they are formed through developmentalist notions of maternalism as an important component of ECEC (Davies et al., 2022). This article aims to highlight the importance of providing post-secondary ECEC students with spaces to question the hegemony of developmentalism and be exposed to alternative frameworks of knowledge.

---

i.   Ontology refers to the line of philosophical thinking that studies reality, nature, and being, which are essentially questions of existence and the order of reality (Osborne, 2001).

ii. Here, we are making note of how socio-culturally and ontologically, children are considered less-than-human, or not fully a human being. This idea is often promoted by developmentalism, which forwards that children grow in stages towards the fully human adult.

iii. Mad refers to an identity that represents those who have encountered psychiatric violence and classification. While not all who experience such violence identify as Mad, Mad can be used as an umbrella term, although not all who employ Mad Studies identify as "mad" (Beresford, 2020).

iv. Essentially, we are arguing that both the knowledges (epistemology) and the reality (ontology) of children in ECEC are informed by developmentalism structures and hierarchies of inequalities.

References

Abawi, Z.E. & Berman, R. (2019). Politicizing early childhood education and care in Ontario: Race, identity and belonging. *Journal of Curriculum, Teaching, Learning and Leadership in Education*, *4*(2), 4. https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/ctlle/vol4/iss2/2

Adams, N., & Liang, B. (2020). *Trans and autistic: Stories from life at the intersection*. London, UK: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Adichie, C. (2009). The danger of a single story. New York, NY: TEDGlobal. http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story.html

Ailwood, J. (2007). Mothers, teachers, maternalism and early childhood education and care: Some historical connections. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, *8*(2), 157–165. https://doi.org/10.2304/ciec.2007.8.2.157

Ali, A. (2020). Developmental Psychology. In Cook, D., (Ed.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood Studies,* (pp. 609-614). SAGE.

American Psychiatric Association. (2013). *Making a case for new disorders.* https://psychiatry.org/File%20Library/Psychiatrists/Practice/DSM/APA_DSM-5-Making-Case-for-New-Disorders.pdf

Batstra, L., van Roy, A.C.M., & Thoutenhoofd, E.D. (2021). Teachers with special needs. De-psychiatrization of children in schools. *Frontiers in Sociology*, *6*. https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2021.781057

Beresford, P. (2020). 'Mad', Mad studies and advancing inclusive resistance. *Disability & Society*, *35*(8), 1337–1342. https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2019.1692168

Beresford, P., & Russo, J. (Eds.). (2021). *The Routledge international handbook of mad studies.* Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429465444

Berman, R., & Abawi, Z. (2019). Thinking and doing otherwise: Reconceptualist contributions to early childhood education and care. In S. Jagger (Ed.), *Early years education and care in Canada: A historical and philosophical overview* (pp. 165–190). Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars Press.

Bertrand, J. (2022). *Being and Becoming an Early Childhood Professional*. Toronto, ON: Cengage Learning Canada Inc.

Bertrand, J. & Gestwicki, C. (2015). *Essentials of early childhood education*. Toronto, ON: Cengage Learning Canada Inc.

Bloch, M. (1992). Critical perspectives on the historical relationship between child development and early childhood education research. In S. Kessler, & E.B. Swadener, (Eds.), *Reconceptualizing the early childhood curriculum: Beginning the dialogue* (pp. 3–20). New York: Teachers College Press.

Bradbury, D.E. (1937). The contribution of the child study movement to child psychology. *Psychological Bulletin*, *34*(1), 21–38. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0059794

British and Canadian Infant School Society, *Annual Report.* (Montreal, 1834).

Brownlee, J., & Berthelsen, D. (2006). Personal epistemology and relational pedagogy in early childhood teacher education programs. *Early Years, 26*(1), 17–29. https://doi.org/10.1080/09575140500507785

Brownlee, J., Berthelsen, D., Dunbar, S., Boulton-Lewis, G., & McGahey, P. (2008). Investigating epistemological beliefs in vocational education for Child Care Workers: New ways of thinking about learning and training. *The Australian Educational Researcher*, *35*(3), 135–153. https://doi.org/10.1007/bf03246293

Brownlee, J., Petriwskyj, A., Thorpe, K., Stacey, P., & Gibson, M. (2011). Changing personal epistemologies in early childhood pre-service teachers using an integrated teaching program. *Higher Education Research & Development*, *30*(4), 477–490. https://doi.org/10.1080/07294360.2010.518952

Burman, E. (2016). *Deconstructing developmental psychology*. Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315727127

Burstow, B. (2014). A rose by any other name: Naming and the battle against psychiatry. In B.A. LeFrançois, R. Menzies, & G. Reaume, (Eds.), *Mad matters: A critical reader in mad studies*. Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars Press.

Cannella, G.S. (1997). *Deconstructing early childhood education*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Cannella, G.S. (2005). Reconceptualising the field (of early care and education): If "western" child development is a problem, then what do we do? In N. Yelland (Ed.), *Critical issues in early childhood education* (pp. 17–40). Berkshire: Open University Press.

Coppock, V. (2020). Psychiatrised childhoods. *Global Studies of Childhood*, *10*(1), 3–11. https://doi.org/10.1177/2043610620901361

Costa, L., Voronka, J., Landry, D., Reid, J., Mcfarlane, B., Reville, D., & Church, K. (2012). Recovering our stories: A small act of resistance. *Studies in Social Justice*, *6*(1). https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v6i1.1070

Davies, A.W. (2021). Queering masculinity in early childhood and higher education classrooms: Gendered regulation and the "double-bind" of queer masculinities. In S. Hillock (Ed.), *Let's teach about sexuality(ies) & higher education* (pp. 148–163). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Davies, A. (2022a). Professional ruptures in pre-service ECEC: Maddening early childhood education & care. *Curriculum Inquiry, 52*(4). DOI:10.1080/03626784.2022.2149027

Davies, A. (2022b). Teaching with madness in pre-service Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC): Bringing autobiographical mad subjectivities and promoting curiosity. In P. Trifonas & S. Jagger (Eds.), *International Handbook of Curriculum Theory, Research, and Practice.* Springer.

Davies, A.W., Brewer, K.C., & Shay, B. (2022). Sanism in Early Childhood Education and Care: Cultivating space for madness and mad educators. *EceLINK, 6*(1), 18–30. https://assets.nationbuilder.com/aeceo/pages/2524/attachments/original/1655592321/Sansm_in_Early_Childhood_Education_and_Care.pdf?1655592321

Davies, A.W., Simone-Balter, A., & van Rhijn, T. (2021). Sexuality education and early childhood educators in Ontario, Canada: A Foucauldian exploration of constraints and possibilities. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, *0*(0). https://doi.org/10.1177/14639491211060787

Delgado, C.V., Land, N., Kummen, K., Pacini-Ketchabaw, V., & Khattar, R. (December 2020). What would be possible if education subtracts itself from developmentalism. *The Pedagogist Network of Ontario Magazine*, *1*(1). https://pedagogistnetworkontario.com/what-would-be-possible-if-education-subtracts-itself-from-developmentalism/" https://pedagogistnetworkontario.com/what-would-be-possible-if-education-subtracts-itself-from-developmentalism/

Early Childhood Pedagogies Collaboratory (2020). Conditions for moving beyond "quality" in Canadian Early Childhood Education and Care.https://static1.squarespace.com/static/589376a3440243086b0f5fb9/t/5fc828e413de6e7981501b3e/1606953188610/Pedagogy+Response+to+Throne+Speech_Dec2.pdf

Epp, J. & Brennan, S. (2018). Childhood and Sexuality. In A. Ghaus, G. Caldor, & J. De Wispelaere, (Eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of the Philosophy of Childhood and Children*, (pp. 271–81). London: Routledge.

Falconer, T. (2016). Mac at war: Women's work and education at the Macdonald Institute during the First and Second World Wars. *SURG Journal*, *9*(1), 40-47.DOI: https://doi.org/10.21083/surg.v9i1.3818

Frances, A. (2014). Saving normal: An insider's revolt against out-of-control psychiatric diagnosis, DSM-5, big pharma and the medicalization of ordinary life. Toronto, ON: Harper Collins Publishers

Fricker, M. (2007). *Epistemic injustice: Power and the ethics of knowing*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press

Garnier, P. (2020). Enlightenment and the Child. In D. Cook (Ed.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood Studies* (pp. 718–720). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781529714388.n262

Gaztambide-Fernández, R., & Cairns, K. (2010). Cultural studies. *International Encyclopedia of Education,* 354–359. https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-0-08-044894-7.01389-0

Gibson, M. (2013). "I want to Educate School-age children": Producing early childhood teacher professional identities. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood, 14*(2), 127–137. https://doi.org/10.2304/ciec.2013.14.2.127

Gill-Peterson, J. (2018). *Histories of the transgender child*. Minneapolis, MIN: University of Minnesota Press. https://doi.org/10.5749/j.ctv75d87g

Gleason, M.L. (1999). *Normalizing the ideal: Psychology, schooling, and the family in postwar Canada* (Vol. 10). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press. https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442677760

Gojmerac, M. (2022). Psychiatry and mental health care in the classroom: A reflection on the potential effects of policy implementation. *Journal of Philosophy Education*, 56(1), 22–28. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9752.12638

Golightley, S. (2020). Troubling the "troubled teen" industry: Adult reflections on youth experiences of therapeutic boarding schools. *Global studies of Childhood, 10*(1), 53–63. https://doi.org/10.1177/2043610619900514

Gosselin, A. (2022). Responding to sanist microaggressions with acts of epistemic resistance. *Hypatia, 37*(2), 293–314. doi:10.1017/hyp.2022.9

Grieshaber, S., & Blaise, M. (2019). Making room for more: Complexity, diversity, and the impact of alternative perspectives on Early Childhood Care and Education. In C.P. Brown, M.B. McMullen, & N. File (Eds.), *The Wiley Handbook of Early Childhood Care and Education*, (pp. 615–640). Toronto, ON: John Wiley & Sons.

Hall, G.S. (1904). *Adolescence: Its psychology and its relation to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion, and education*. (Vol. I & II). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. https://doi.org/10.1037/10618-000

Hilgard, E.R. (1996). Perspectives on educational psychology. *Educational Psychology Review*, *8*(4), 419–431. https://doi.org/10.1007/bf01463942

Jelscha, S. (2017). Disordered existentiality: Mental illness and Heidegger's philosophy of Dasein. *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences Journal*, 17, 485–502. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11097-017-9523-1

Johnston, L. (2019). The (Not) Good Educator: Reconceptualizing the Image of the Educator *EceLink, 3*(2). https://drive.google.com/file/d/1wi9f2WGTiyarCkfRHqxonicODIiJT7wm/view

Johnston, L., Shoemaker, L., Land, N., Di Santo, A., & Jagger, S. (2020). Early childhood education and care in Canada. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.013.1473

Karmiris, M. (2022). Cripistemologies and resisting the calls to return to normal. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 1–17. Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.1080/03626784.2022.2089005

Katz, L.G. (1999). Curriculum disputes in early childhood education. Champaign, IL: ERIC Clearinghouse on Elementary and Early Childhood Education.

Keary, A., Babaeff, R., Clarke, S., & Garnier, K. (2020). Sedimented professional identities: Early childhood education pre-service teachers. *Teachers and Teaching*, *26*(3-4), 264–279. Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2020.1823829"

Kelly, E., Manning, D.T.A., Boye, S., Rice, C., Owen, D., Stonefish, S., & Stonefish, M. (2021). Elements of a counter-exhibition: Excavating and countering a Canadian history and legacy of eugenics. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, *57*(1), 12–33. https://doi.org/10.1002/jhbs.22081 Hoboken, NJ: Wylie Online Library.

Kessler, S., & Swadener, B.B. (1992) *Reconceptualizing the early childhood curriculum: Beginning the dialogue*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Kingma, E. (2013). 'Naturalist accounts of mental disorder.' K. Fulford, (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy and Psychiatry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Krieg, S. (2010). The professional knowledge that counts in Australian contemporary early childhood teacher education. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, *11*(2), 144–155. https://doi.org/10.2304/ciec.2010.11.2.144

Land, N., & Frankowski, A. (2022). (Un) finding childhoods in citational practices with postdevelopmental pedagogies. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, *0*(0). https://doi.org/10.1177/14639491221106500

Langford, R. (2007). Who is a good early childhood educator? A critical study of differences within a universal professional identity in early childhood education preparation programs. *Journal of Early Childhood Teacher Education*, *28*(4), 333–352. https://doi.org/10.1080/10901020701686609

Langford, R. (2020). Navigating reconceptualist and feminist ethics of care scholarship to find a conceptual space for rethinking children's needs in early childhood education. *Journal of Childhood Studies*, 45(4), 20–34. https://doi.org/10.18357/jcs00019308

LeBlanc, S., & Kinsella, E.A. (2016). Toward epistemic justice: A critically reflexive examination of "Sanism" and implications for knowledge generation. *Studies in Social Justice*, *10*(1), 59–78. https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v10i1.1324

LeFrançois, B.A. (2013). Queering child and adolescent mental health services: The subversion of heteronormativity in practice. *Children & Society*, *27*, (2013) pp. 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2011.00371.x

LeFrançois, B.A. (2020). Psychiatrising children. In V. Cooper & N. Holford (Eds.) *Exploring Childhood and Youth*, pp. 177–190. Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003041573-14

LeFrançois, B.A. & Diamond, S. (2014). Queering the sociology of diagnosis: Children and the constituting of "mentally ill" subjects. *The Journal of Critical Anti-Oppressive Social Inquiry, 1,* 39–61. https://caos.library.ryerson.ca/index.php/caos/article/view/98/102

LeFrançois, B. A., Menzies, R., & Reaume, G. (Eds.). (2013). *Mad matters: A critical reader in Canadian mad studies*. Canadian Scholars' Press.

Lubeck, S. (1994). Children in relation: Rethinking early childhood education. *The Urban Review*, *26*(3), 153–172. https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/BF02354956.pdf

Lubeck, S. (1998). Is developmentally appropriate practice for everyone? *Childhood Education*, *74*(5), 283–292. doi: 10.1080/00094056.1998.10521952

Maiese, M. (2022). Neoliberalism and mental health education. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, *56*(1), 67–77. Wylie Online Library. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9752.12640" https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9752.12640

Metzl, J.M. (2011). *The protest psychosis: How schizophrenia became a Black disease*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press/Penguin Random House.

Mills, C. (2020). Development. In D. Cook, (Ed.) *SAGE Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood Studies*, (pp. 605–608). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Mills, C., & LeFrançois, B.A. (2018). Child as metaphor: Colonialism, psy-governance, and epistemicide. *World Futures, 74*(7-8), 503–524. https://doi.org/10.1080/02604027.2018.1485438

Moss, P. (2010). We cannot continue as we are: The educator in an education for survival. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood, 11*(1), 8–19. https://doi.org/10.2304/ciec.2010.11.1.8

Newbigging, K. & Ridley, J. (2018) Epistemic struggles: The role of advocacy in promoting epistemic justice and rights in mental health. *Social Science & Medicine, 219,* 36–44. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2018.10.003

Ontario Ministry of Education. (2014). *How Does Learning Happen? Ontario's Pedagogy for the Early Years*. Ottawa, ON: Queen's Printer for Ontario.

Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities. (2018). *Early Childhood Education Program Standard*. http://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/pepg/audiences/colleges/progstan/humserv/51211-early-childhood-education.pdf.

Osborne, C., van Rhijn, T., & Breen, A.V. (2018). Preservice Early Childhood Education Degree Students' Career Aspirations: Examining Decisions to Enter the Field. *EceLink, 2*(2). http://hdl.handle.net/10214/14709" http://hdl.handle.net/10214/14709

Osborne, R. (2001). *Megawords: 200 terms you really need to know*. Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge.

Pacini-Ketchabaw, V., & Pence, A. (2005). Contextualizing the reconceptualist movement in Canadian early childhood education. In V. Pacini-Ketchabaw & A. Pence (Eds.), *Early childhood education in motion: The reconceptualist movement in Canada* (pp. 5–20). Ottawa: Canadian Child Care Federation.

Pacini-Ketchabaw, V. (2006a). Rethinking the history of Ontario day nurseries: Loci for intervention, regulation and administration. *Child and Youth Care Forum, 35*(2), 159–182. New York, NY: Springer Link. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10566-005-9006-3

Pacini-Ketchabaw, V. (2006b). Continuing rethinking the history of Ontario day nurseries: Loci for intervention, regulation, and administration. *Child and Youth Care Forum, 35*(2), 183–204. New York, NY: Springer Link. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10566-005-9007-2

Perlin, M.L. (1992). On "sanism." *Southern Methodist University Law Review*, *46*(2), 373–407. https://scholar.smu.edu/smulr/vol46/iss2/4

Prochner, L. (2000). A History of Early Education and Child Care in Canada, 1820-1966. In Prochner, L., & Howe, N. (Eds.), *Early childhood education and care* (pp. 11-65). Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Prochner, L. (2009). *A history of early childhood education in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Prochner, L., & Howe, N. (Eds.). (2000). *Early childhood education and care*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Procknow, G. (2019). Lunacy and (M)adult learning: Restoring voice to the mad through adult education. *New Horizons in Adult Education & Human Resource Development, 31*(1), 1–3. https://doi.org/10.1002/nha3.20236

Reaume, G. (2021). How is mad studies different from anti-psychiatry and critical psychiatry? In *The Routledge International Handbook of Mad Studies* (pp. 98–107). Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge.

Richardson, B. & Langford, R. (2022). Care-full pedagogy: Conceptualizing feminist care ethics as an overarching critical framework to interrupt the dominance of developmentalism within post-secondary early childhood education programs. *Contemporary issues in early childhood*.

Richardson, T.R. (1989). *The century of the child: The mental hygiene movement and social policy in the United States and Canada*. Albany, NY: State University of New York (SUNY) Press.

Silin, J. G. (1995). *Sex, death, and the education of children: Our passion for ignorance in the age of AIDS*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Snell, J. (2003). *Macdonald Institute: Remembering the past, embracing the future*. Hamilton, ON: Dundurn Press.

Souto-Manning, M. (2021). The Pandemic as a Portal: On Transformative Ruptures and Possible Futures for Education. *Occasional Paper Series, 2021* (46)2. https://educate.bankstreet.edu/occasional-paper-series/vol2021/iss46/2

Steele, K., & Nicholson, J. (2019). *Radically Listening to Transgender Children: Creating Epistemic Justice Through Critical Reflection and Resistant Imaginations*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Stonefish, M., Rice, C., Hutton, S., Kelly, E. & Boye, S. (2019). Building solidarity in celebrating difference. *ARCH Alert, 20*(3), 12–15. https://atrium.lib.uoguelph.ca/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10214/18134/Stonefish_BuidlingSolidarity.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Van Groll, N., & Kummen, K. (2021). Troubled pedagogies and covid-19: Fermenting new relationships and practices in early childhood care and education. *Journal of Childhood Studies*, 46(3), 30–41. https://doi.org/10.18357/jcs463202120047

Varga, D. (1997). *Constructing the child: A history of Canadian day care*. Toronto, ON: James Lorimer & Company. https://doi.org/10.2307/369681

Varga, D. (2000). A history of early childhood teacher education. In *L. Prochner & N. Howe (Eds.), Early Childhood Education and Care*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press. https://doi.org/10.1080/0163638980190106

Varga, D. (2011). Look–normal: The colonized child of developmental science. *History of Psychology*, *14*(2), 137. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021775

Varga, D. (2020). The Legacy of Recapitulation Theory in the History of Developmental Psychology. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190236557.013.519

Weigley, E.S. (1974). It might have been euthenics: The Lake Placid conferences and the home economics movement. *American Quarterly*, *26*(1), 79–96. https://doi.org/10.2307/2711568

Wilke, A. (2021). A matter of pedagogy. *The Pedagogist Network of Ontario*. https://pedagogistnetworkontario.com/pedagogist-conversation/

Wilson, M. (2009). Certified women: Professional program curriculum at the Macdonald Institute for Domestic Science in Guelph, Ontario, Canada, 1903–1920. *History of Intellectual Culture*, *8*(1). https://journalhosting.ucalgary.ca/index.php/hic/article/view/68962" https://journalhosting.ucalgary.ca/index.php/hic/article/view/68962

Wong, J.M.S. (2022). "Are we becoming professionals?" Pre-service early childhood teachers' perceptions of the professionalism of early childhood teachers in Hong Kong. *Early Years*, *42*(1), 23–38. https://doi.org/10.1080/09575146.2021.1954604

Wright, M. (2000). Toronto's institute of child study and the teachings of W.E. Blatz. In L. Prochner & N. Howe (Eds.), *Early childhood care and education in Canada* (pp. 96–115). Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Wright, M.J. (2010). W.E. Blatz: The Person and His Work. In R. Volpe (Ed.), *The secure child: Timeless lessons in parenting and childhood education* (pp. 43–54). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing (IAP).

Žalnora, A. & Miežutavičiūtė, V. (2016). Mental hygiene movement as a (r)evolutionary trend in public health in interwar Kaunas and Vilnius from 1918 to 1939. *Acta medica Lituanica*, *23*(3), 175–179. https://doi.org/10.6001/actamedica.v23i3.3382

Zaman, B.A., & Anderson-Nathe, B. (2021). Toward queer potentialities in child and youth care. *International Journal of Child, Youth and Family Studies*, *12*(3-4), 104–128. https://doi.org/10.18357/ijcyfs123-4202120341