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CLOTHES

Clothes and clothing practices in Finnish early childhood education and care

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ABSTRACT

Our chapter will address a very central theme in northern childhoods: clothes and the practices of clothing in early childhood education and care. The theoretical background is developed by applying relational sociological approaches and geographies. Within this framework, concrete objects, such as clothes and material arrangements supporting the clothing practices, are intertwined with the personal and the collective views forming this space of clothing practices in ECEC. The clothing practices are repetitious in the daily rhythm and, culturally, they often consume a large part of the day in Finnish ECEC. Children's bodies are supposed to be properly clothed for the cold and somewhat unpredictable weather for outdoors, and the outdoor activities occur usually twice a day. As these dressing-undressing cycles occur for the whole group of children at the same time, they produce particular constraints for actions. Parents play an important role in the clothing practices by providing weather appropriate, name-tagged, and clean clothes that fit to the socio-cultural corporeal and clothing norms. The educators play also an important role as they arrange, sort, examine and identify individual pieces and decide their next steps within the flow of clothes during the day. Thus, our focus is to investigate how clothes are intertwined with daily life and how clothing practices occur daily in early childhood education and care, and particularly, what sort of spaces are produced in the practices of clothing. For the analysis, we will use data from a team ethnography with multiple-methods in one Finnish day care center.

INTRODUCTION

Our chapter will address a very central theme in Arctic and northern childhoods: clothes and the practices of clothing in early childhood education and care. Some previous studies have explored similar issues showing the variety of questions and aspects related to clothes and clothing practices in the daily life in the north. For example, clothing can play a role in constituting selfhood (Paju 2017), or they can be seen as barriers to children's physical activity (Copeland et al. 2009). In addition, these practices have been explored with a view on educators' role and children's learning and development during dressing tasks (Hatcher and Squibb 2011).

Clothing practices can be seen as very day-to-day practical and mundane phenomenon in day care centers. In daily hectic flow of activities and occurrences they may be left unnoticed and without any particular pedagogical emphasis. However, these mundane and repeated daily practices can be significant pedagogical moments, if carefully explored and reflected. In the National Core Curriculum for Early Childhood Education and Care (2017, originally published in Finnish in 2016) in Finland, clothing practices are underlined as important pedagogical moments. Thus, clothing practices, as our focus in this chapter, are illustrations of value-laden events, where children are being observed and evaluated against to certain expectations and goals. Educators' expectations about the way things

should be done and how children should behave reflect the ideals and expectations of a 'Nordic'/'Arctic' child, who is an outdoor person with a tendency and even need to explore outdoors regardless of weather conditions. A 'Nordic child' is supposed to get dirty, to explore freely and without constraints sand, snow, water, or mud, or whatever the outdoor environment has to offer (see Roivainen 2016).

The ideal is an exploring child, who also makes most of it from the harsh climate, regardless of being close or far from the natural forests (e.g. Roivainen 2016). Day care centers usually have a large outdoor space, and the educators arrange outings to the parks and nature areas close to the centers. With the proper clothing, with weather and waterproof equipment with boots and right kinds of gloves, this need in going outdoors and playing regardless of weather is supported and re-constructed by the educators and the ECEC institution. However, to complement this image, our analysis also shows that children find alternative ways to use this space and time that is characterized by educators' attempts to direct the practices towards dressing-undressing.

In this chapter, for our analysis of the clothes and clothing practices, we will use the lenses from relational sociology and geography (Lefebvre 1992; Soja 1996; Massey 2005; Fuller and Löw 2017), with a focus on *space* and the clothing practices in early childhood education and care. For the analysis and discussion, we will select particularly events when children are getting dressed to go outdoors. We will analyze and discuss the parallel and overlapping spaces that are produced socially in the institutional context of ECEC within the practices of dressing and undressing. Our question focuses on what sort of spaces are produced in the practices of clothing. As an empirical case for the discussion, we will use the data from a team ethnography with multiple-methods in one Finnish day care center.

WEATHER AND CLOTHING IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AND CARE IN FINLAND

A climate and temperatures that range from warm summers to cold winters characterize the Arctic region and the countries close to the Arctic region. In Finland, we experience four distinct seasons: warm summers, somewhat rainy falls, cold and snowy winters and mild springs. Because of the diverse and sometimes demanding weather conditions, all these seasons set different requirements for clothes and clothing. Clothing require particular attention especially during wintertime, if, and when, one wants to spend time outdoors. As an example, a website "*This is Finland*" produced by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs dedicates one part of the post on "How to survive winter in Finland and enjoy it" to describing a "proper attire" for winter. The post reminds about the proper dressing and explains the function and need for diverse layers of clothes; a layer that draws perspiration away from the skin, layer that keeps oneself warm, and a layer that is windproof but breathable. (Korpela n.d.)

Regardless of the somewhat harsh winter conditions, the national surveys on outdoor recreation have shown that the outdoor activities and sports continue to be popular in Finland. The survey from 2010 shows that, on average, every Finn participates in 13 diverse outdoor activities annually, ranging from e.g skiing to berry or mushroom picking. Today, there is more variety in the activities compared to survey done ten years ago. (Sievänen 2012.)

The strong cultural emphasis and value on outdoor activities is visible also in the context of early childhood education and care in Finland. (National Core Curriculum for Early Childhood Education and Care 2017; National Core Curriculum for Pre-Primary Education 2014). In most of the day care centers, and with all the age groups, the outdoor activities occur normally twice a day, almost regardless of weather during all seasons. Outdoor play is appreciated as good possibility for gross

motor play and physical activities, which are viewed very important for children's basic motor skills, wellbeing and health (National Core Curriculum for Early Childhood Education and Care 2017, p. 51; Iloa, leikkiä ja yhdessä tekemistä - varhaisvuosien fyysisen aktiivisuuden suositukset 2016). Winter time influences the quality of outdoor activities in a special way. In her study of children's physical activity in ECEC, Anne Soini (2015) found out that children's physical activity was more intense during the summer than in winter. It might be that cold weather makes children to move less and maybe it is easier to move having the light summer clothes than wearing thick but essential winter clothes. In addition, Lagace-Sequin and d'Entremont (2005), who studied children's social behavior in harsh climate, reported that children were more prosocial in preschool when the temperature was warm.

Both the outdoor activities and related clothing practices are repetitious in the daily rhythm in day care centers. The first slot for 'outdoor time' occurs during the morning. After the breakfast and before lunch children first take part in pedagogical action organized by the educators and then go outdoors for free play. The sequence of actions may vary depending on planning. The other 'outdoor time' takes place after the afternoon snack, before children are being picked up. All the children go out, even the timing may vary slightly. Educators often arrange small child groups one after the other for the vestibule (entrance hall) for dressing, or assisting them to dress, their outdoor clothes. After the first ones are ready they either go out, if there is already an educator outside waiting for children or, alternatively, they stay inside to wait for one of the educators to take them out. Because children's bodies are supposed to be clothed properly, especially for cold or rain, dressing or undressing can be particularly demanding and time-consuming task depending on the age of children and the season. Six-years-old children need only a few minutes to get ready to go outdoors in summertime while some two-years-old children may need half an hour to get dressed for outdoor play when it is -10 degrees Celsius in wintertime.

During the wintertime, children usually wear two layers of clothes for indoors: long underwear and indoor clothes. For the outdoor, they add one to three layers more, depending on the temperature and wind. Under the outdoor overall, they dress woolen or fleece layer to keep them warm. If the weather is wet, they cover all this with waterproof pants and a raincoat or a waterproof overall. A cap, a scarf or a neck warmer, a pair of mitten (sometimes covered with an additional rubber mitten) and warm boots with woolen socks are also required. Nearly every child needs some help from the educators to dress all these clothes.

The pressure and the heat of all these layers of clothes, and the feeling of moving while wearing four or five layers of clothes are one of the shared experiences of children in the Nordic region that forms the Nordic childhood. Daniel Miller (2010, 23) considers clothes as "main medium between our sense of our bodies and our sense of the external world" and emphasize that clothes play a notable part in constituting the experience of self. For children, the winter clothes may play considerable and perhaps not yet fully acknowledged role in forming their being in the Nordic region.

In early childhood education and care, children are not only dressed for outdoors, but also undressed for the naptime. As the indoors are always warm, regardless of the temperature outside, children usually sleep in their underwear, particularly in the age group for under-threes. Children also have lighter clothes if there is an hour for specially organized physical activities indoors. Thus, as we have shown, in ECEC there are repeated daily practices around clothes and clothing and these can be scrutinized in relation to diverse pedagogical goals and values. In the National Core Curriculum for Early Childhood Education and Care (2017, p. 27) daily dressing-undressing situations are considered as key part of the child's day. In addition, they are seen as an occasion or an opportunity for education and teaching. While getting dressed or undressed children can practice and learn to take care of

themselves, they practice interaction skills, learn time management and good habits. The intention is, stated by the curriculum, to support the gradual increase in children's independence in these everyday skills (National Core Curriculum for Early Childhood Education and Care 2017, p. 27).

The role of the parents is to provide weather appropriate clothing for their children. The clothes are to serve children's needs for outdoors and physical exercise, and the clothing industry has responded already for decades to these needs with weatherproof and waterproof coveralls. In addition to the practical aspects, the clothing industry and main companies have emphasizes safety in their designs (Roivainen 2012). As a downside for the private households and families, the requirement for weather-appropriate clothes can be costly. The price of the winter coveralls, depending on the brand and quality, can range from a minimum of 20-30€ up to 300€. Even if from children's point of view the winter clothes and particularly rain clothes are difficult to wear and use (Kuukka 2015), children accept their use. Päivi Roivainen (2016) interviewed children about their clothes and noticed that children consider outdoor clothes as practical and rational to wear even they are sometimes uncomfortable.

Shoes are a particular issue linked to Nordic traditions and clothing. The Artic climate require warm boots when the temperature falls very low or rubber boots when it is raining. In Finland, it is a cultural habit to take off shoes always when coming indoors, for comfort and hygiene reasons. In day care centers, all children have slippers/booties to put on after taking off the outdoor shoes.

We have described shortly some of the issues relevant in the cultural, historical and climate-related context within which the clothing practices in day care centers are constructed. Next, before going to the empirical material, we describe our theoretical lenses and approach in analyzing the practices.

RELATIONAL SPACE

The theoretical thinking of our study bases on the ideas of relational sociology and relational geography. Although paradigms and approaches in relational sociology can be very diverse depending on the diverse theorists, the shared ontological starting point is that relations, social relationships, or networks among actors constitute the social world (Bourdieu 1990; Dépelteau 2008; Burkitt 2015; Crossley 2015; Donati 2015). Thus, social world is 'made' by individuals in relations (Donati 2015) and this occurs in space. Soja (1996, p. 47) states that 'there is no unspatialised social reality'.

In addition, the space itself is relationally constituted. As Massey (2005, p. 9) notes, space is the product of interrelations, constituted through interactions. The categories of space are understood as social constructions that are continuously rebuilt and ever-changing. The parties of relations - the human and the spatial- are understood as well as physical contribution in social reality and to be socially constructed and changing over time. (Lidskog 2001, p. 129; Raittila 2012, p. 273). Space is shaped by action and it shapes action (Fuller and Löw 2017, p. 476). In clothing situations in early childhood education the clothing space derive from the changing functional roles of children, educators, clothes, season and weather and physical environment where the action happens.

Space is determined by different interpretations of the actors taking part in the situations. However, social action - including interpretation- is not independent of previously made arrangements in space and those practices and views that are culturally connected with a certain space. The space arises in

the process and is subject of continuous re-constructions. (Raittila 2012, p. 276.) Thus, spaces of clothing in early childhood education and care intertwine situational and momentary physical and social arrangements linked to cultural views of clothing as well as action in clothing situations. These spaces contain certain range of possibilities, limitations, and variations of action. Fuller and Löw (2017, pp. 478-479) note that relational thinking is a mode of analysis and its object is socio-spatial world. The idea is to look 'how space is produced and how processes of constituting meaningful space shape social reality.' In this article we will look how clothing space in early childhood education is produced, and how clothing space shape the day-to-day life in day care center. Further, we will investigate what sort of spaces are produced in the practices of clothing and what kind of positions the 'Arctic child' gets through clothing and in clothing practices.

The spaces defined with relational lenses include physical objects and locales, individual interpretations and social and cultural determinations. Institutional relational spaces are not neutral but socially pre-structured and shaped by conventions (Soja 1996; Massey 2005; Löw and Weidenhau 2017, p. 557). In spaces of early childhood education and care this means that all users of day care center know that the physical and social organization of the space is made following the idea, even ideology, of good educational principles. Still individuals, who act in spaces and use the possibilities the space affords, construct the spaces in their action. Individuals (and institutions) have relational ties to multiple communities that allow and shape the competing ways of interpretations of the space (Pierce et al. 2011, pp. 59–60). The relational lived spaces can be analysed by looking the action in the context (Raittila 2008, p. 276).

THE EMPIRICAL MATERIAL AND THE ANALYSIS

This chapter is based on a team ethnography conducted in one day care center in Finland. All three authors of this chapter and one research assistant, Aleksi Paavilainen, engaged in ethnographic data collection in the same center (e.g. Paavilainen 2017). During fall and winter 2016-2017, we were following the everyday activities in the center, both among the under three-year-olds group and among 3-5-year-olds. We conducted observations and wrote notes. We also did video recordings about selected events during the day and conducted interviews with educators, children, parents, and the leader of the day care center. In some of the interviews, we used video material or pictures as a stimulus to invite commentaries or reflective observations on the events. For the purpose of this chapter, we have selected episodes that include events where children are getting dressed or clothes or clothing practices are being discussed. We are drawing on the material to reconstruct illustrative examples about some aspects of the practices in relation to clothes and clothing practices.

In the following, we will discuss some of the spaces we identified that are produced in the clothing practices. Even we identify and give a name (title) for the sake of illustration, we acknowledge that these are neither exclusively separable categories nor hierarchical but the spaces are overlapping and in constant social construction and re-construction by the participants and the social context.

THE SPACES PRODUCED IN THE CLOTHING PRACTICES

Next, we will discuss the results by separating the relational space of clothing practices into three sections and lenses: 1. *lenses on children*, 2. *lenses on child-educator encounter* and 3. *lenses on home-ECEC encounter*.

RELATIONAL SPACE OF CLOTHING PRACTICES - LENSES ON CHILDREN

First, we will focus on relational spaces of clothing especially from children's point of view. We will start with an episode from our data and look how the situation unfolds and which elements of action, networking processes and conceptualization of actors construct the spaces (Pierce et al. 2011, p. 59). The dressing situations are shaped by the institutionalized expectations for children. As a result of the analysis we are going to introduce three different spaces from children's point of view: *space of autonomy and independence*, *space of waiting* and *space of peer interaction and planning of play*.

The following episode is transcribed from video recording by taking one child's (Erkka) point of view as a starting point. In this data extract, a group of children, all together 12 children and two educators are getting ready for an outdoor activity during the cold period, in January.

Episode 1.

A group of 3-5-year-old children start to get ready for the outdoors. Erkka is getting dressed independently and quickly. He has already dressed quilted trousers over his indoor clothes and is now putting on a winter jacket. At the same time, he walks around the hall and notices that a cloth basket that belongs to a girl is empty. He tells to the video that another girl is not present in the day care center today. He also shows his cap to the video and reports that the gap keeps his ears warm because of earmuffs. Some other children comment that they have same kinds of gaps. All the time Erkka is getting dressed and he puts the muffler on and looks up for his winter boots. He has all his winter clothes on in a couple of minutes. After that, he lies on a bench in the hall. His friend Aino dresses next to him and they talk about building snow animals. Then Erkka comes closer to the camera and tells to the researcher how they have had hot sausages after sauna at home last night. He returns to the bench, and slides (seated) from one end to another. After a while, he sits and leans his head against a shelf. There is a glove on the floor, and Erkka pokes it with his boot. The glove's owner Robin does not like about this and says: "No, it is mine." Erkka stops and after this little incident he sits and waits. He has been ready with all his clothes around seven minutes when an educator gives him a yellow attention vest with reflectors, which they need outside because they will make a trip to the park close to day care center. Erkka says to the educator, that he does not know how to put the vest on. The educator encourages him to try. Erkka turns to researcher and asks her to help, but she is busy helping some other child. Erkka waits a while but then he asks the educator to help him. When the vest is on, Erkka moves closer to the door and waits there. One of the educators goes out with the first group of children. At that point, Erkka has been completely dressed and ready over ten minutes. (Transcription from a video 20170109)

Space of autonomy and independence

In Episode 1 above, Erkka (5 years) is very independent and getting dressed quickly. He knows well all the routines involved in dressing the winter clothes. He also collects independently all the clothes needed from the rack and his locker. The observation he makes about his cap emphasizes that he is also aware of the importance of warm winter clothing and the quality of his own clothes. For Erkka, outdoor clothing practices forms a space of autonomy and independence.

The physical environment often involves signs and directives that guide and support children's independent dressing. The corridors in day care centers often include pictures where different clothes are named. If pictures are movable, they can be rearranged for children to see what would be the proper order, in other words, what piece comes first, what second and so forth, until to the last one to be dressed (Figure 1). Children also learn to ask which one comes first, or ask a confirmation which

one to dress next. For example, in our data we have an episode from a rainy day, when children asked from the educator if they need the rainwear.



Fig 1. Example: pictures and descriptions about the clothes to be used

The National Core Curriculum for Early Childhood Education and Care (2017) explicitly describes the clothing practices as everyday practices where children can practice and learn independence, interaction skills and the skills of taking care of themselves. Erkka's action indicate that he has achieved this kind of ideal. The space of autonomy and independence might be define as a target or ideal how the clothing practice should be accomplished. The presence of this space is connected to children's age, and among the youngest children, the educators engage more intensively with children in supporting and assisting them during the dressing. However, also with the youngest children there is space of and for autonomy as children are encouraged and assisted to dress as independently as possible.

Space of waiting

While Erkka in Episode 1. is fulfilling the expectations to be independent and fast in getting dressed he has to wait before going out. While waiting, he has time to do rather many little things that range from sliding and interaction with other children to just sitting and waiting. For Robin the educator suggests that he could read a book while waiting. The books are available to all, but reading is not what Erkka engages with in the situation. As part of this transition from indoors to outdoors, it is inevitable that all the children are not ready at the same time, and children may face long moments of waiting. Thus, while some children are receiving particular individual attention and assistance from the educators, some experience unattended waiting time. This can occur *before* it is the child's turn

to get dressed. Particularly the youngest children get individual assistance to reach to their clothes and they also receive more assistance in the actual practice of getting dressing. The waiting time can also occur *after* the child is fully dressed: children manage to dress up or alternatively, remove the clothes, in different speed and thus, the child can experience this practice as space of waiting. In many cases, the space of waiting emerges as a side result of the educators' emphasis on security. Children are not allowed to go outside without an educator being present. However, within the moments of movement and waiting alternating, this waiting space also enables a space for initiatives and engagements for the children and among children, as described next.

Space of peer interaction and planning of play

The moments that children spend without direct guidance from the educators, being in the same physical space, enable enactment of agencies and particular peer interactions and peer culture routines to emerge. Children discuss diverse issues. They may comment on each other's clothes but also elaborate other issues outside the clothing context. These engagements occur among children with all age groups, both under and over three-years-old children. This is the result of some of the unstructured moments that the clothing practices create in the time-space routines of early childhood education and care.

Related to peer interaction, clothing practices enable a space of planning and negotiation to emerge especially among the children who are in the group for three to five-years-old. While getting dressed, children discuss their plans for the outdoor time: who to play with, what to play with, where to run first to reserve for example the swings or other outdoor equipment. The space of planning may be interpreted as a special form of space of interaction. Clothing for outdoors is always a transition where one activity transforms to another. For the children, this offers a possibility to negotiate and re-create the content of the outdoor play and form the playgroups. In the flow of daily interaction, getting dressed is recognized as a phase where the physical preparation for outdoors is also a social transition.

RELATIONAL SPACE OF CLOTHING PRACTICES - LENSES ON CHILD-EDUCATOR ENCOUNTER

Next, we will show how the joint action of children and educators construct the dressing situation and analyze four different kinds of spaces with the lenses on child-educator encounter: *space of child-educator interaction*, *space of evaluation*, *space of teaching and learning*, *space of rules and discipline*. In addition to the children's spaces described above, we are now looking how joint action in a particular *cultural place-frame* construct the dressing spaces of early childhood education and care. With the concept of cultural place-frame, we refer to dressing space in kindergarten/day care center, which involves also politics of spatiality (Pierce et al. 2011, pp. 59–60). Politics relate here to the (ideological) ideas about early childhood education and care and how those ideas 'absorb' and come visible in daily practices. All actors in dressing situations are aware at least in some extent how the dressing space is socially pre-structured and shaped (Löw and Weidenhaus 2017, p. 557).

Space of child-educator interaction

Usually, while there is a group of children getting dressed, there is also an educator observing the children and guiding the clothing process. This is particularly obvious with the Arctic and Nordic winter clothes and clothing situations, where children pass in front of the educator's eye, for her/him to observe if children have weather appropriate clothes before going out. In most cases, children also need some assistance from the educators, particularly with the mittens and boots so that they are placed tightly with jacket sleeves or pants to keep them warm. Particularly during the wintertime, educators face and observe each child individually, even shortly, twice every day. In this sense, the

Arctic clothing may be seen as a special opportunity for the educators to interact with children. However, how this space and opportunity is recognized and used, varies from centers to another and depends on the educator. Hatcher and Squibb (2010), observed that the educators were more focused on dressing the children than interacting with them while they were helping children with their winter clothes.

With both age groups, under and over threes, our material shows that the everyday clothing practices, the events of dressing and undressing, are an important space for encounters, for engagement, interaction and dialogue not only among children, but in between children/child and educator. While being directly engaged physically with a child, in assisting with the clothes, undressing and dressing, the educators are also physically close to the children. They observe, notice and hear what the child does and says. Educators also hold the child on the lap, particularly in the case of the youngest children. These events have a function and a goal for getting dressed (or removing the clothes to come indoors), but these are also possibilities for the educators to observe and bring issues for discussion with the child. In line with this, the normative National Core Curriculum for Early Childhood Education and Care (2017, p. 48), uses dressing events as examples of everyday events that provide natural opportunities to discuss even different worldviews and traditions with children.

Space of evaluation

When a group of children is getting dressed to go out or they are removing their outdoor clothes, our observations indicate that this routine create an arena for educators to evaluate children. Children can be evaluated by their socio-emotional skills, motor skills and motor coordination, their independence and autonomy, their process of adaptation to the day care and many more aspects, depending on the setting and the views and interests of the educators. Thus, children are being evaluated in relation to various aspects or behaviors during the clothing practices. A ‘proper’ day care child is one that follows the routine of getting dressed and learns eventually to dress and undress independently.

One example to illustrate this aspect of evaluation comes from one interview with an educator. In the interview, the educator was talking about a child, who had started attending the day care center earlier during that same year. The child was in the group for under three-years-old children. The educator was describing how the child had “adjusted well to the day care center”. The educator had been observing the routine events and she had noticed that the child was able to get dressed and undress herself well, without much assistance from the teachers. However, as a final sign of the adjustment, the child had also experienced a “step backwards”. After being able to dress herself, the child was now resisting the routines and resisting particularly the fact that she should get dressed independently. The educator had to guide and assist verbally and physically the child again. The educator interpreted this as a sign of being even more comfortable with the educators. The child was not just being adaptive to all the requests, but showing resistance and own will. Thus, the clothing practices were given meanings beyond just being events where children’s motor skills were evaluated. They were seen as spaces where children could show their intentions and express their attitudes towards the routines and rules imposed to them.

Space of teaching and learning

The clothing practices can be seen from yet other lenses, forming a space of learning and knowing. In these spaces, learning is valued and brought to fore. The educators may approach children and be close to them observing children’s attempts to get dressed, but they seem to apply an approach that allows children’s active learning and attempts to continue while the clothes and getting dressed present some challenges. A very typical situation is where parallel activities are occurring: children sit or stand side by side, and they are getting dressed at the same time, somewhat in different speed

and intensity, some requiring more help than the other children. The educator observes, guides, gives a hand when and where needed, and instructs verbally while being somewhat distant. Independent attempts and perseverance is valued and encouraged. In this sense, the space of teaching and learning is linked to space of evaluation.

Space of rules and discipline

The clothing practices produce a space of rules and discipline. There are intense moments in the routine of the day care center when the educators are in a hurry to get all the children dressed to go out, or undressed from the outdoor wear in their transition from outdoors to indoors. This attempt to have all the children ready, in time, creates an accelerated speed, a requirement to move and act fast. Children are requested to concentrate, to focus on the task (dressing or undressing) at hand. In dressing situation children are repeatedly reminded about focused action, but also about good behavior. Particularly children's own spaces of interaction and planning quite often collide with the space of rules and discipline. Different spaces overlap and bring forth ambiguity between spaces.

The rules can be related to the speed (to dress fast or faster), to focus, or they can also be related to the proper dressing. The 'Nordic child', in other words, is a child that plays with sand, with snow, and water freely. This emergence of the natural behavior of the Nordic child is enabled and supported with the right kind of clothing, clothing that supports the child from cold and rain, and is comfortable enough for moving and manipulation of natural objects, sand and snow outdoors. Thus, the "right clothing" can be very limited to particular styles and fabrics if the weather conditions are particular, either very rainy or cold. Overalls, 'all weather suits', are favored (Figure 2). The educators are observing and evaluating the clothes and the shoes whether they are appropriate for the particular weather.



Fig 2. One piece.

Next, we will show how the relational space of clothing practices also extends ‘out’ from the day care institution to include the parents, directly or indirectly, as participants in negotiating the space. The space of clothing practices that address the negotiations with parents are described with two spaces: *space of planning and evaluation among the educators and space of parents’ participation*. Here two different kind of cultural place-frame meet each other. The frame of parents is formed by their experiences and acquaintance of their own child in private life and the frame of educators is formed by their experiences and acquaintance of child in the day care center. There might be, and are likely to be, differences in between these frames. Children can act and appear different in public and private spaces; for example, children’s outdoor play can be quite different in day care with peers than with parents at home.

Space of planning and evaluation among educators

Often, it is not very clear what would be the proper clothing or preparation for different occasions and weathers. For educators, it is a result of interpretation of the weather, of the child’s available clothes on that day, and often on the joint negotiation and interpretation among the educators about the situation at hands and plans for outdoor activities for that day. This space of evaluation includes choices and circulation of clothes to achieve the result, the properly dressed child. ‘The properly dressed child’ means that there are not too much clothes, but enough and they are weather and waterproof if needed and, in addition, comfortable enough for outdoor play and moving freely.

This space includes an aspect of *planning and anticipation* related to the climate: from a wide variety of clothes, one needs to select the appropriate ones for that particular day, and for the changes in temperature that may occur during that day. This aspect of planning of the clothing starts at home and it is the responsibility of the parents. It then continues at the day care center, with the educators observing the clothes available. In addition to evaluating the temperature and weather conditions, the educators have to learn about the habits, personal characteristics and needs of the child. Those children who are active and play rough plays during outdoor time do not need so much clothes as children who like to play more calmly.

Space of parents’ participation

In addition to children and educators, also the parents are involved directly and indirectly with the clothing practices. Parents play an important role in the clothing practices in providing appropriate, name-tagged, and clean clothes that fit to the expectations that the day care center and the educators have about weather-appropriate clothes. The educators play part in the practices that are often assumed private, in the sense that they arrange, sort, examine and identify individual pieces and decide their next step within the flow of clothes during the day. In this space of parents’ participation there might be tensions because parents are also being evaluated by the clothes (e.g. quality, size, number of different clothes, spare pairs, weather-appropriateness) that they provide to their children. A ‘good parent’ is one that takes care of their child’s clothes and is well prepared for the harsh and unpredictable weather conditions. The clothes are to be marked with nametags and they are to be weather appropriate. There needs to be enough clothes for all occasions, and there needs to be separate indoor and outdoor clothes available. The sizes have to be right, and they are assumed to be clean. The communication about these requirements is usually brought out and available to parents: various notes exist in the corridors of the day care centers to remind about name-tags, about rinsing the rain suits and about bringing an extra pair of indoor clothes (Figure 3). When parents were interviewed before their children started attending day care, quite often they mentioned that the day care center had emphasized name tagging the clothes and reminded them about bringing waterproof clothes. This

was considered by the center and by some educators as one of the most important issues to be mentioned for the parents during the transition from home care to ECEC.

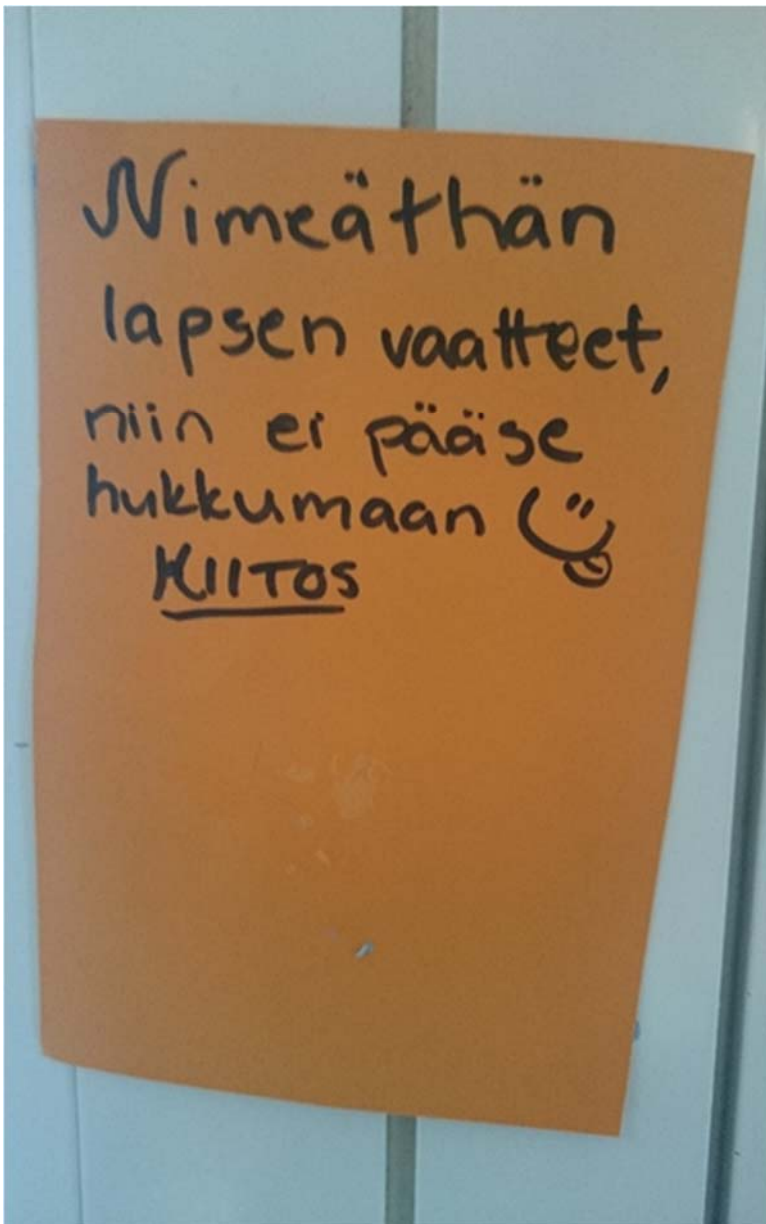


Fig 3. A reminder for the parents to write the name of the child to the clothes

Another aspect of the parent-educator relationship and negotiations around clothes are the diverse needs and requests expressed by the parents (see also Copeland et al. 2009). These different hopes and requests for clothing for their children can be different from what educators consider appropriate for that particular weather. In these cases, the educators need to dialogue the particular requests and interpret their observations about children's needs at that particular moment. The practices may include situations where the parents feel that the children do have enough clothes, but the educators perceive the situation differently, observing the child in the freezing weather during the day. Children may also show discomfort to educators in getting dressed to clothes that are too small.

DISCUSSION - WHY GETTING DRESSED PRODUCES INTERESTING, DIVERSE SPACES?

For the purpose of this chapter, to examine the clothing practices, we chose to discuss the events when children are getting dressed to go outdoors. This selection is justified by our observation that these events crystallize many aspects of dressing, clothing practices, the Arctic, and the organization of clothes in this space and situation. These are events that illustrate and underline the meaning of clothes and clothing practices in the production of a particular, northern childhood. These events relate socially, culturally, and geographically to the changes of the seasons, and to the unpredictable nature of the weather conditions. In Arctic surroundings, as in Finland, getting dressed or undressing is a time-consuming issue especially during autumn and winter. The clothes and practices of clothing are constructed and negotiated daily and repeatedly in early childhood education and care. The educators and children are engaged in joint negotiation of what is appropriate and what is needed, and also what is available for the particular child on that day. The appropriateness in terms of weather and waterproof, warmth and safety is constantly evaluated and re-interpreted after the observations of the weather conditions on that particular day.

Thus, in this chapter, we have investigated the clothing practices that occur daily within the Nordic and Arctic context in early childhood education and care. Based on the empirical material, we identified that the Arctic clothing practices in ECEC can be characterized by diverse, parallel and overlapping spaces and linked to time-space rhythms. As Massey (2005) notes, in the lived world, there is a simultaneous multiplicity of spaces.

Examining clothing spaces is like looking at something through the kaleidoscope. The view changes smoothly as we look the practices with different lenses. When we move between the lenses, the kaleidoscope can evoke plenty of patterns depending whose point of view is analyzed. The pictures are overlapping at the same time. All the people present in clothing practices end up being and taking different kind of positions in the clothing space. Using space as an analytical tool to understand social life of Arctic childhoods points to questions of opportunities, control and possibilities of action. By taking our point of departure the clothing practices within the day care center as different kinds of spaces, we aim to elucidate children's participation in the production and re-production of socio-cultural system (Olwig and Gulløv 2003, pp. 10–13).

We want to emphasize that the purpose is not to value different spaces in any way. Because space is understood as social construction that is continuously rebuilt and ever-changing in action, there are many 'things' which are overlapping simultaneously in different ways. As an example, space of waiting may sound something negative. The children who dress quickly usually end up sitting on the bench and waiting for the invitation to go out. However, space of waiting may offer an opportunity to change its meaning; children may start planning the prospective play and negotiate with whom to play with. Our analysis shows how children engaged in re-signifying particular aspects of the situation and engaged in, for example, negotiation about peer relations. Thus, children may modify the space for their own purposes.

Children who dress slow will never end up sitting on the 'waiting bench'. On one hand, these children get more attention and time for interaction with educators who can not leave any child to dress alone. On the other hand, while children engage with the educator, they miss the possibility for important encounters with their peers. Children who dress slowly and who are the ones to go out last, miss their opportunity to engage in constructing the spaces of play for outdoors. They can feel otherness in relation to other children both in the space of dressing and in the space of play because they are unable to carry out the planned timetable in the way that supports their playful engagements with peers. Even the ones who dress slowly may try to invite peers to play with while dressing up, but educators often

tend to underline the rules and order by pointing out that it is time to dress and not to chat. In addition, it is important to remember that probably, regardless of the strong Nordic ideal for an 'outdoor person' discussed and illustrated here throughout the text, not all children enjoy the outdoors, not all want to get dirty and muddy. Children also find ways to go around this expectation, creating alternative activities to direct the attention of the educators elsewhere. Children might even dress slowly to make the outdoor time a bit shorter.

The National Core Curriculum for Early Childhood Education and Care in Finland (2017) is emphasizing an integrated approach to care, education and teaching. If one applies the holistic, integrative ethos of the curriculum and observes the clothing practices and the diverse spaces discussed here from those lenses, the practices provide wide and interesting possibilities for pedagogical development. Traditionally however, from the pedagogical point of view, the dressing situations have been considered transitions without much further meaning or value. To challenge this, our analysis shows many kinds of overlapping relational spaces of clothing practices where both teaching and learning occur. Further, these are meaningful spaces for constructing the Nordic child in the context of early childhood education and care. Our chapter also suggests that these ideals in relation to the Nordic children are closely related to the fact that outdoor activities are so central in Finnish ECEC, regardless of the seasons. To go out, one needs to get dressed. Further, outdoor space and time is considered as a space and time for action and physical mobility. The 'ideal' Nordic child is the one that is able to dress independently three different layers of clothes and boots, and to plan her/his play with peers and, finally, engage with them actively outdoors. The playground at the day care center is equipped for action and mobility, but it also requires the well-equipped child with weather proof clothes.

The definition of clothing practices as practices with pedagogical possibilities and value have also raised diverse debates and public discussions in Finland. In public debates and media, dressing-undressing has been sometimes used as a symbol for care work, for low skill, low professional requirement task and practice, that could be assigned for professionals with less qualification than preschool teachers with the university level qualification. This reflects the long history of debates and tensions between definition of task for professionals with different background in Finnish ECEC. However, today we see a gradual change: dressing-undressing is not officially dedicated to particular professional groups or professionals with particular statuses or training, but seen as an important space for encounters and engagement with children for all educators.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In our article, we have focused on the clothing practices occurring in a day care center. Our analytic lenses have focused on the spaces created in the practices. However, we are aware that there are many other lenses that children's clothing and clothing practices could be addressed from. Clothes are material resources, mediums for identity negotiations and for performativity. From a sociological perspective, clothing can assist children and families in social positioning, influencing perceptions about social class. Studies have also addressed the communicative capacity of clothing and a child as legitimate and individualized consumer. Further, clothing industry is closely linked to children's media culture, and entertainment products available, all being also part in forming the spaces of the clothing practices in early childhood education and care.

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