

Early Childhood Education: Research and Policy

Peg Burchinal
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill



Overview

- ▶ Brief history of research on child care and its role in child care policy
- ▶ Discuss growing concerns: modest quality effects and fade-out
- ▶ Present our research addressing these concerns:
 - Extend definitions of child care quality
 - Reexamine school readiness skills

Importance of Early Experiences

- ▶ Early experiences play a crucial role in development
 - Behavioral trajectories
(Brooks–Gunn & Duncan, 2000; Belsky et al., 2009)
 - Brain development
(Shonkoff, Boyce, & McEwen, 2009)
 - Genes to shape cognitive and social development
(Caspi et al., 1996)

Increased Focus on Early Childhood Education in US

- ▶ Child care became a high priority for policy, practice, and research
 - Importance of early experiences
 - Major societal changes → nonparental care for most children
 - Mechanism to address achievement gaps
 - Experimental evidence high quality child care can change lives for less advantaged children



Early Child Care Research

- ▶ Early intervention studies – low income children. 10+ small experimental or quasi experimental studies funded by NICHD
 - Abecedarian Project
 - High Scope/ Perry Preschool
 - Others – center and home-based programs



Early Studies: Perry Preschool

- ▶ Experimental Study
 - Part-time care beginning at 3 or 4 years of age with parenting component
 - Focus on self-regulation and hands-on learning
- ▶ Immediate impacts
 - Higher IQ
- ▶ School age impacts
 - Higher achievement scores, fewer behavior problems
- ▶ Adult outcomes
 - Fewer adults in judicial system
 - Higher incomes
 - Fewer women using welfare
- ▶ Cost-benefit analysis \$12.50 / \$1

Early Studies: Abecedarian

- ▶ **Experimental Study**
 - Full time care: infancy to kindergarten entry
 - Focus on language/cognitive development
- ▶ **Immediate impacts**
 - Higher IQ
- ▶ **Young Adult Impacts 21 years**
 - Higher IQ and academic skills
 - More likely to attend college
 - Less likely to have a menial job
- ▶ **Adult Impacts 30–35 years**
 - More likely to graduate from college
 - Higher Incomes
 - Fewer risk factors for heart or metabolic disease
- ▶ **Cost benefit analysis: \$7.50 / \$1**

Impact on Child Care Programs and Policies

- ▶ **Great Society: Head Start**
 - Transitioned from summer program to today's infant and preschool program
 - Serves low-income children and their families
 - Focus on whole child and family supports
- ▶ **State Pre-kindergarten Programs**
 - 54 programs in 43 states and DC
 - Typically serves low-income children (but some universal programs)
 - Typically more focus on academic skills

Findings from subsequent observational studies

- ▶ Quality
 - Infant/toddler center care– poor quality
 - Preschool center care – mediocre quality
- ▶ Low-income children received higher quality care when in publicly funded programs

- ▶ Quality of care predicted child outcomes: Language, academic, social skills
 - Short term
 - Long-term (through high school)

Impact on Policy

- ▶ Created wide-scale concerns about quality of child care in US – among parents and policy makers
- ▶ Increased regulations
 - state regulations of child care providers
 - performance standards in Pre-kindergarten programs
- ▶ Eventually led to Quality Rating and Improvement Systems



Publicly funded child care programs: short-term impacts

- ▶ Head Start Impact Study: modest to moderate impacts – especially language and literacy
- ▶ Pre-kindergarten programs: relatively consistent short term impacts on academic outcomes
- ▶ QRIS: improved quality, not child outcomes

Impacts of the Best Pre-K Programs

	Achievement Gain	Long-term impacts	Larger gains
New Jersey	40% SD points	5th Grade	Poverty
Boston	40% – 60% SD points	3rd Grade	Poverty, home language
Maryland	32 percentile points	4th Grade	Poverty
North Carolina	20% – 30% SD points	3rd Grade	Poverty, home

Growing concerns: Fade-out of child care program impacts

- ▶ Head Start Impact Study – short term impacts disappeared by grade 1.
- ▶ Pre-K evaluations – moderate to large short term impacts but impacts diminish (NC, MD, OK) and became negative in TN

Growing concerns: Modest associations child care quality and child outcomes

- ▶ Modest associations: quality and child outcomes
 - Several meta-analyses looking at gains in child outcomes in preschool
 - Partial correlation $\sim .05$: Process quality (CLASS/ECERS)
 - Partial correlations: structural quality
 - Teacher education: partial correlaton $\sim .10$
 - Teacher training – ns
 - Ratio – ns
 - Group size– ns

Possible explanations

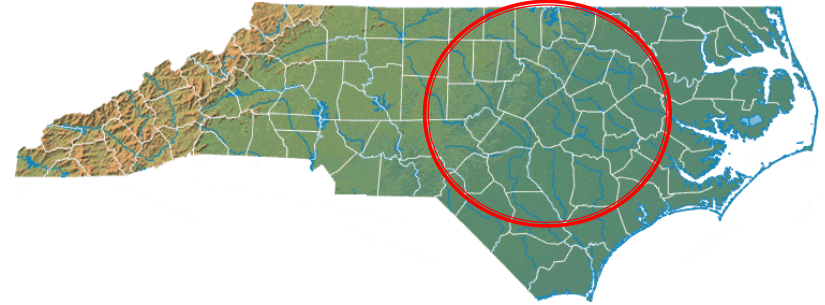
- ▶ Modest associations –
 - Current model of child care quality may be insufficient
 - One-size-fits-all model – likely different outcomes impacted by different types of classroom experiences

Do different aspects of early childhood education predict different child outcomes?



- ▶ Quality of teacher–child interactions
 - All outcomes, especially social skills
- ▶ Curriculum
 - Outcomes that are the focus of curriculum
 - Whole child curricula– language and social skills
 - Content–specific curricula–specific skills
- ▶ Teacher–child language exchanges
 - Language skills
- ▶ Content–specific instructional time
 - Content specific skills
- ▶ Activity settings
 - All outcomes

Study Sample



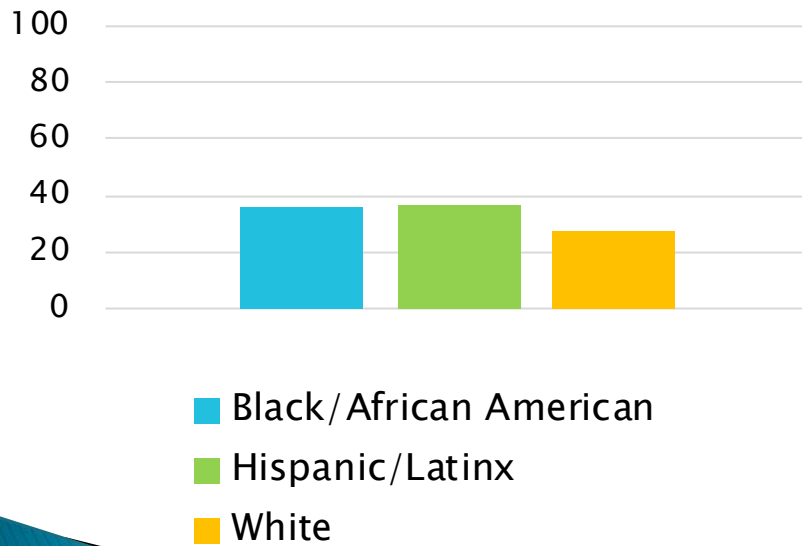
- ▶ 6 rural NC counties
- ▶ 63 randomly-selected NC Pre-K classrooms
 - 65% in schools
- ▶ 361 randomly-selected children recruited in fall

Study Sample

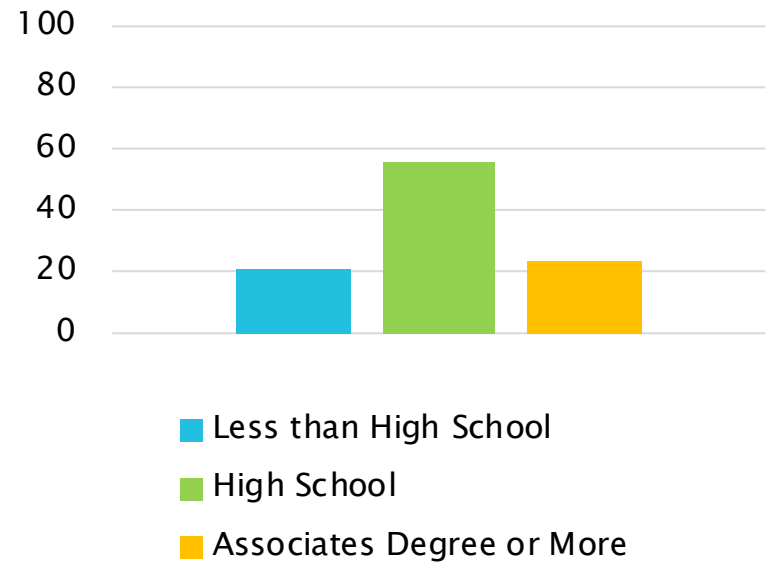
N = 361



Race/Ethnicity



Mother's Education



Method– Child Outcomes collected in fall and spring

▶ Direct Assessments

◦ Language

- Woodcock Johnson III Picture Vocabulary (WJ PV)
- Expressive One Word Picture Vocabulary Test (EOW)

◦ Reading

- WJ Letter–word (WJ LS)
- DIBELS Initial Sounds & Phonic Segmentation

◦ Math – WJ Applied Problems (WJ AP)

◦ Executive Functioning

- NIH Executive Function Tool Box – Flankers (inhibitory control) & Dimensional change card sort (cognitive flexibility)

▶ Teacher surveys Fall & Spring of Pre–K

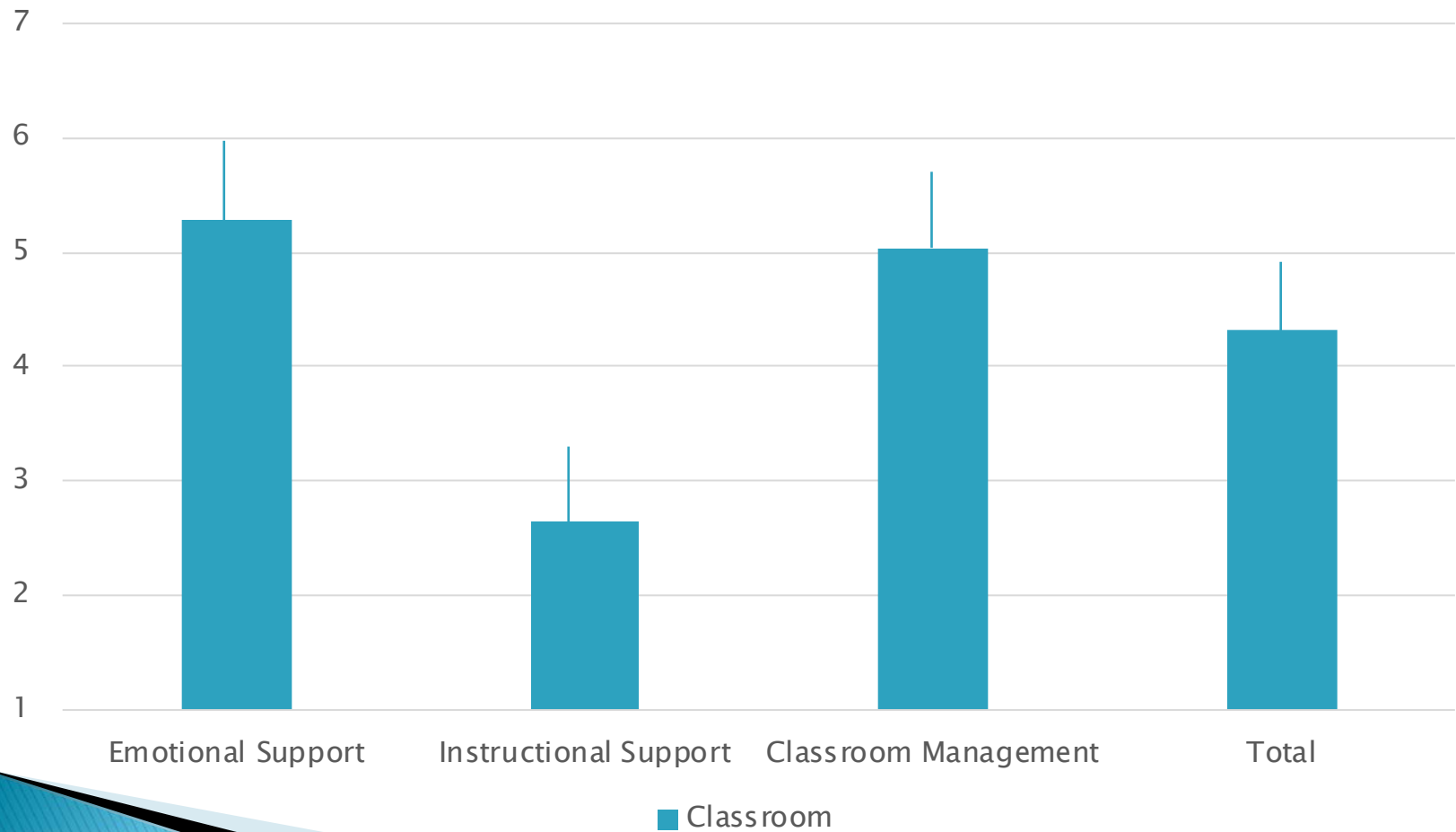
◦ Social Skills and Self–regulation

- Teachers rated individual children on Teacher–Child Relationship Scale, Learning Behavior Scale, Teacher–Child Relationship Scale
- Factor analysis of scale scores yielded 2 composites

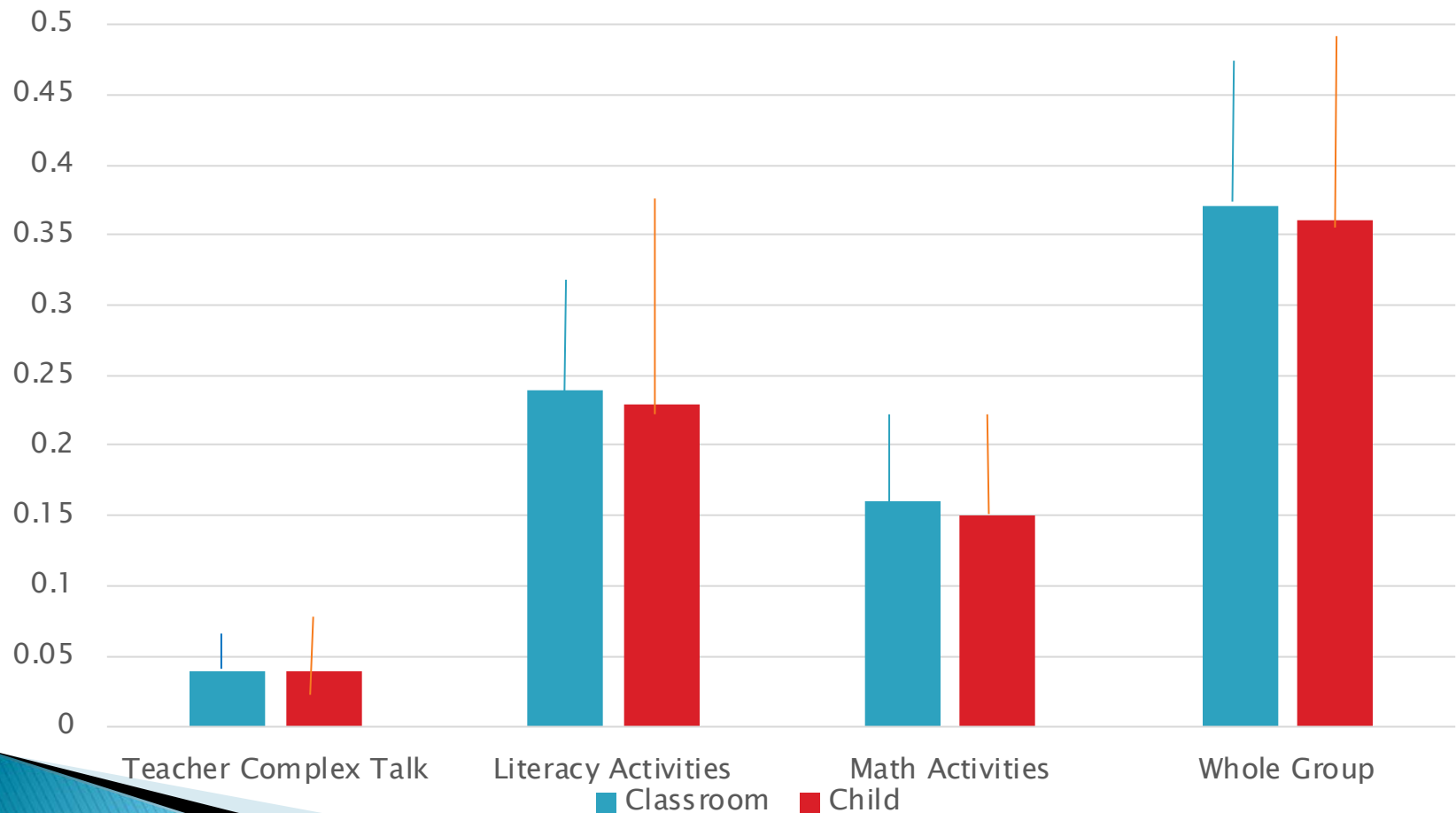
Methods – ECE Quality

- ▶ Teacher reported curriculum
 - 78% Creative Curriculum
- ▶ Classroom observations
 - Teacher–Child Interactions
 - Classroom Assessment Scoring System (CLASS)
 - 2+ hours: 4+ cycles – observe classroom
 - Teacher Language, Instruction, & Grouping
 - Language Interaction Snapshot (LISn)
 - 20+ minutes of time sampled observation of individual children
 - 30 second cycles– record language exchanges
 - End of 5 minutes – record setting and activities
 - Combined across children to create “classroom–level” measure
 - LISn variables: Proportion time
 - High quality T–C language exchanges: decontextualized language or multiple turns
 - Literacy and math activities
 - Whole group settings

CLASS



LISn Classroom Quality



Hypotheses

- ▶ Child-level v classroom-level measurement of quality
 - Some aspects of child care experiences may vary greatly among children in same classroom
 - T-C language exchanges
 - Other aspects may be consistent across children
 - Time spent in instructional activities

Hypotheses

- ▶ Some aspects of the child care environment will promote gains in all domains
 - Quality teacher–child interactions: positive
 - Time in whole group activities: negative

Hypotheses

- ▶ Some aspects of child care environment will promote gains in specific child outcomes
 - Language
 - *Child-specific*: teacher complex talk
 - Whole -child curricula
 - Reading and math
 - Time in content-specific activities
 - Not using whole-child curricula
 - Social Skills
 - Supportive teacher-child interactions

Findings: Outcome Specific ECE Quality Models?

- ▶ Two ECE quality measures – gains in all outcomes
 - Quality teacher–child interactions
 - **Less time in whole group activities**
- ▶ Different aspects of ECE quality– gains in specific child outcomes
 - Language
 - **Child–specific T complex talk**
 - **Whole –child curricula**
 - Reading and math
 - **Reading: Not using whole–child curricula**
 - **Reading: Time in content–specific activities**
 - Social Skills
 - Supportive teacher–child interactions

Conclusions

- ▶ Extend definitions of child care quality
 - Focus on different dimensions to promote different outcomes
- ▶ Child-level quality measurement
 - May be needed—for when children within a classroom have different experiences
 - Yes: T-C language exchanges
 - No: instructional time; activity grouping



Implications



- ▶ Research: Child-level observations
 - Replication
 - Examine whether more observations are needed
 - Only 20m on one morning for this study!
- ▶ Policy: may warrant
 - Developing different models for different outcomes
 - Considering degree of within-classroom variability
- ▶ Professional development: may suggest greater attention to
 - Other ECE quality dimensions
 - Individual child experiences

Longer-term Pre-K effects

- ▶ Pre-K: Short-term impacts
 - Strongest evidence: Academic skills
 - Some evidence: social skills, executive functioning
- ▶ Pre-K: Fade out
 - Growing concerns that strong impacts at entry to K disappear in the first years of school (Head Start, some Pre-K)
 - Possible explanations
 - Sustaining environments
 - Redundant instruction Pre-K and K
 - Teaching the wrong skills

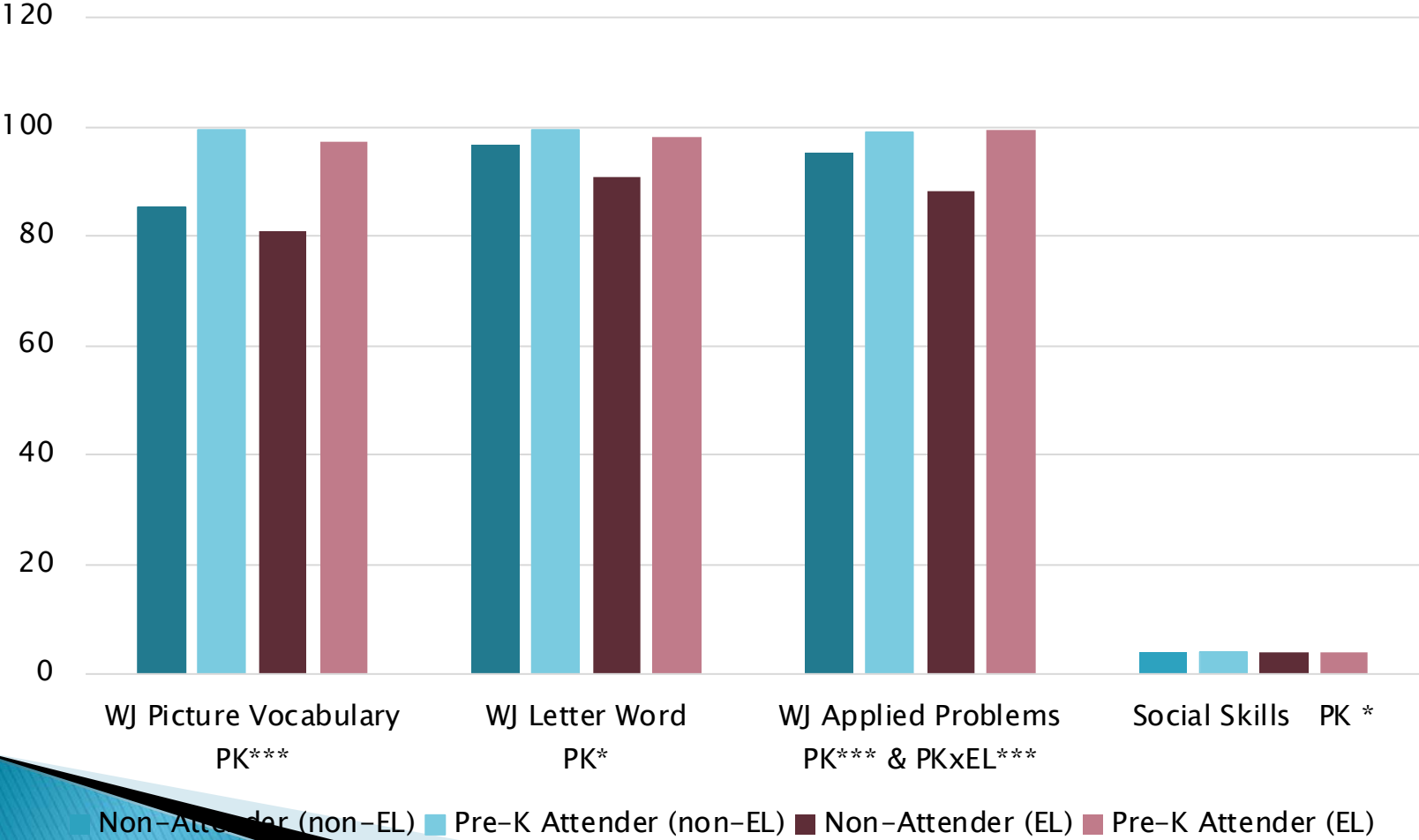
Study Sample: Pre-K Attenders and Non-Attenders

- ▶ Followed 466 children into 182 K classrooms
- ▶ Recruited 249 children without preschool experience (non-attenders)
- ▶ Demographics – a few differences between attenders and non-attenders
 - Maternal education
 - Family income
 - Race

Pre-k Attender/Non-Attender x DLL Differences at Kindergarten Entry

	K-F Vocab B(se)	K-F Reading B(se)	K-F Letter B(se)	K-F Phonic B(se)	K-F Math B(se)	K-F Inhib Control B(se)	K-F Cog Flexibt B(se)	K-F Social skills B(se)	K-F Self reg B(se)
Intercept	91.21 (0.49)	95.81 (0.59)	20.16 (0.69)	12.92 (0.62)	95.38 (0.52)	97.47 (0.75)	95.19 (0.71)	3.89 (0.03)	4.15 (0.03)
Preschool	3.63***	3.60***	1.12	1.44	4.17***	1.57	2.30	0.15*	0.06
Group	(0.89)	(1.05)	(1.24)	(1.11)	(0.94)	(1.3)	(1.28)	(0.06)	(0.06)
DLL	-12.2*** (1.07)	-1.45 (1.27)	-2.10 (1.5)	-0.72 (1.34)	-5.94*** (1.13)	-0.47 (1.60)	-1.55 (1.53)	0.02 (0.08)	0.12 (0.07)
DLL x	1.09	2.66	4.46	3.84	5.84**	1.96	0.10	0.11	0.12
Preschool	(1.76)	(2.07)	(2.45)	(2.2)	(1.85)	(2.63)	(2.48)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Maternal Education	1.44*** (0.2)	1.29*** (0.23)	0.58* (0.28)	0.97*** (0.25)	1.08*** (0.21)	0.14 (0.29)	0.06 (0.28)	0.03* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Male	1.24 (0.83)	-0.01 (0.98)	-0.77 (1.16)	-1.53 (1.04)	0.42 (0.87)	-0.69 (1.22)	-1.53 (1.2)	-0.16** (0.06)	-0.2*** (0.06)
African American	-0.53 (1.09)	1.42 (1.3)	-0.67 (1.53)	-0.42 (1.37)	-3.09** (1.16)	-1.79 (1.64)	-4.41** (1.62)	-0.16* (0.08)	-0.13 (0.07)
Age	-9.67** (1.23)	-9.90*** (1.19)	8.14*** (1.72)	4.49** (1.55)	-6.53*** (1.32)	0.32 (1.81)	-0.68 (1.75)	0.21* (0.09)	0.18* (0.08)

Fall Scores by Attender and EL Status



Pre-k Attender/Non-Attender x DLL Differences at Kindergarten End

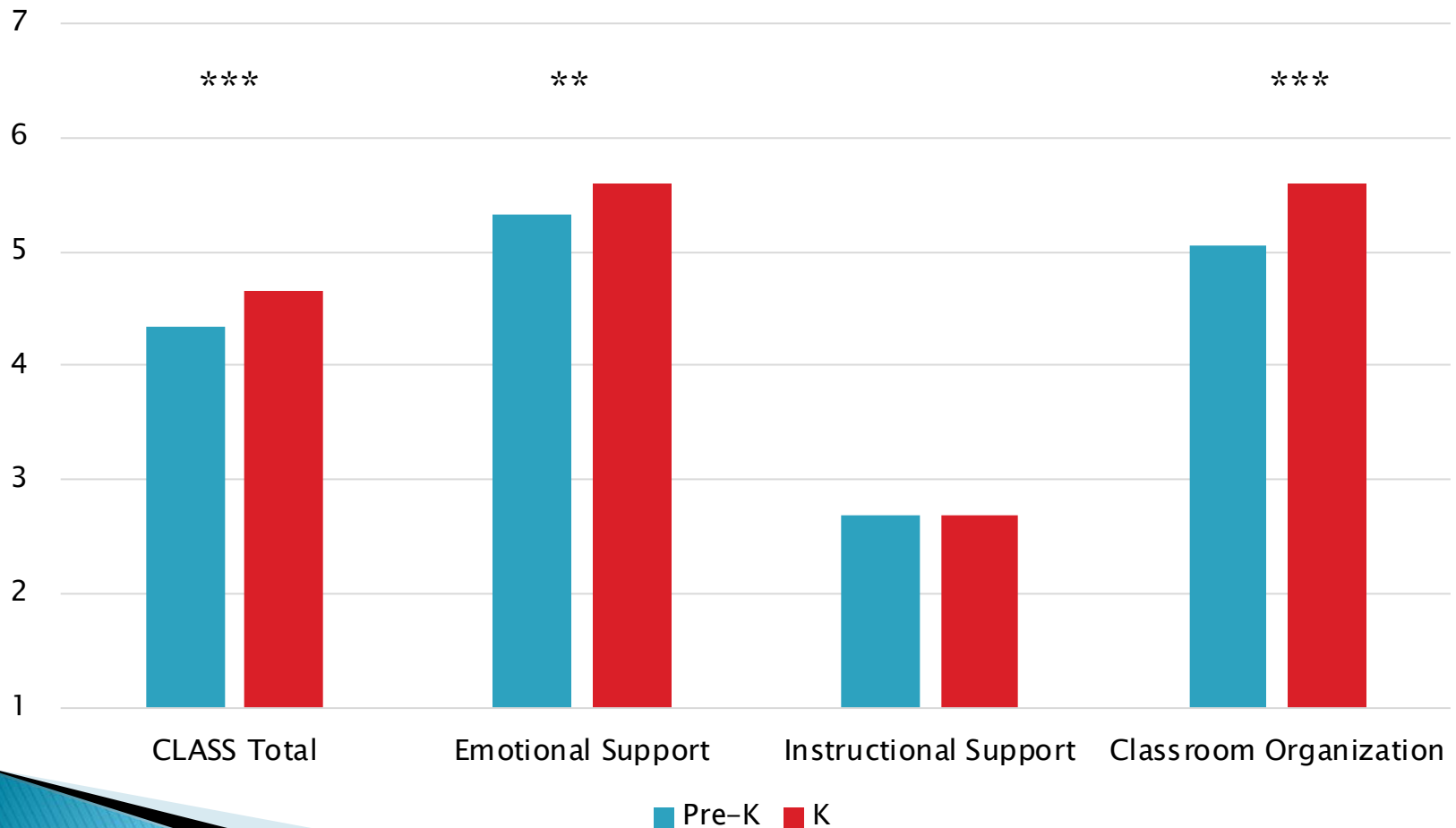
	K-S Vocab B(se)	K-S Reading B(se)	K-S Letter B(se)	K-S Phonic B(se)	K-S Math B(se)	K-S Inhib Control B(se)	K-S Cog Flexibt B(se)	K-S Social skills B(se)	K-S Self reg B(se)
Intercept	93.12 (0.28)	110.7 (0.51)	34.08 (0.52)	39.31 (0.83)	101.8 (0.49)	99.54 (0.6)	97.73 (0.71)	4.06 (0.02)	4.25 (0.02)
Fall score	0.59*** (0.03)	0.73*** (0.03)	0.36*** (0.03)	0.5*** (0.04)	0.67*** (0.03)	0.26*** (0.04)	0.3*** (0.04)	0.8*** (0.03)	0.81*** (0.03)
Preschool Group	0.03 (0.58)	-1.67* (0.76)	-0.22 (0.89)	0.23 (1.19)	-0.39 (0.81)	0.64 (1.18)	0.67 (1.21)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)
DLL	-4.3*** (0.77)	1.16 (0.96)	0.24 (1.11)	-3.21* (1.53)	0.83 (1.02)	0.64 (1.42)	2.07 (1.49)	0.09* (0.05)	0.10* (0.05)
DLL x Preschool	1.67 (1.13)	1.08 (1.48)	3.50* (1.77)	1.72 (2.42)	-1.75 (1.61)	0.81 (2.27)	-2.13 (2.33)	0.11 (0.07)	0.11 (0.07)
Maternal Education	0.04 (0.13)	0.35* (0.18)	0.33 (0.20)	0.13 (0.27)	-0.04 (0.19)	0.22 (0.25)	-0.2 (0.27)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Male	0.87 (0.54)	0.19 (0.69)	-2.65** (0.83)	-0.24 (1.11)	0.62 (0.75)	0.13 (1.08)	-3.31** (1.13)	-0.12*** (0.04)	-0.11** (0.04)
African American	0.47 (0.71)	-3.00** (0.92)	-0.34 (1.1)	-2.2 (1.49)	-2.88** (1.02)	-1.29 (1.33)	1.88 (1.49)	0.03 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)
Age	-0.40 (0.8)	-3.52 (1.07)	2.94* (1.1)	2.97 (1.69)	-4.2*** (1.14)	-8.53*** (1.52)	-6.01*** (1.62)	0.10 (0.05)	0.09 (0.05)

Possible explanations

- ▶ Sustaining Environments
 - Quality was higher in K than PK
 - No evidence that K CLASS or difference in PK and K CLASS related to residualized gains in K among PK attender

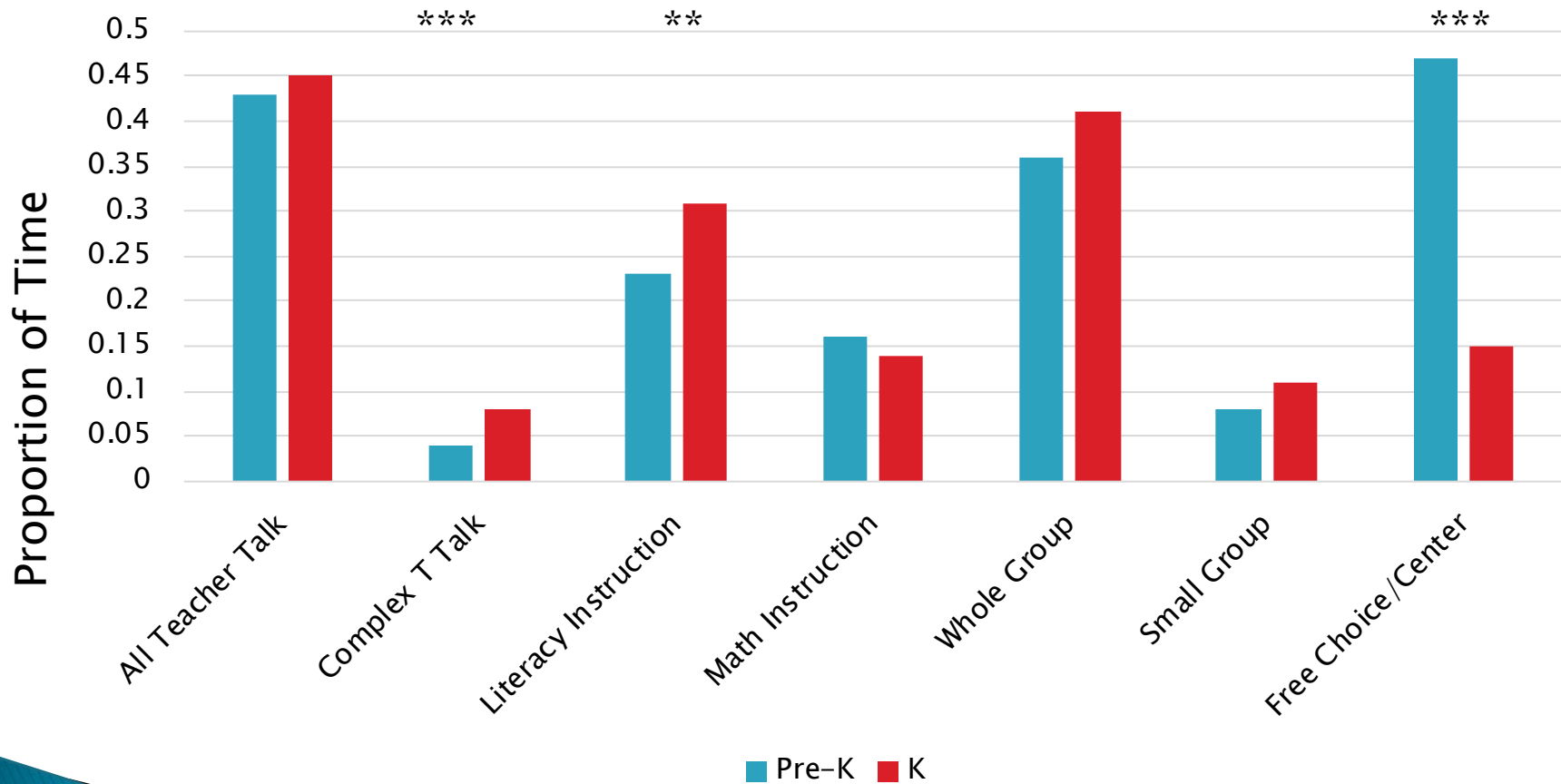
Sustaining Environments

ECE Quality in Pre-K vs K: T-C Interactions



* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Sustaining Environments ECE Quality in Pre-K vs K in T-C Language and Instructional Practices



* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Continuity and Change in Classroom Quality

	K Vocab	K Reading	K Letter sound	K Phonic	K Math	K Inhib Control	K Cog Flex	K Social Skills	K Self Reg
Emotional Support K-PK	0.02 (0.04)	0.10* (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	0.03 (0.06)	0.10 (0.06)	0.10 (0.05)	0.10 (0.05)
Classroom Organization K-PK	0.04 (0.04)	0.07 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)	0.00 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.08 (0.05)	0.08 (0.05)
Instructional Support K-PK	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.05)	0.03 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	0.07 (0.06)	0.00 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.04 (0.05)

Redunancy in Instructional Content

	K Vocab	K Reading	K Letter sound	K Phonic	K Math	K Inhib Control	K Cog Flexibty
Literacy rigor mean	0.04 (0.04)	0.10* (0.05)	0.06 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)			
Literacy rigor K- PK	0.03 (0.04)	0.04 (0.05)	0.09 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)			
Math rigor mean					-0.01 (0.05)	0.00 (0.07)	-0.11 (0.07)
Math rigor K-PK					0.01 (0.04)	0.04 (0.06)	-0.08 (.06)

Identifying which school readiness skills predicted K gain in skills

<u>School readiness skill</u>	K Vocab	K Reading	K Letter sound	K Phonic	K Math	K Inhib Control	K Cog Flexibt	K Social skills	K Self reg
Language	0.64*** (0.04)				0.10* (0.04)				-0.10** (0.04)
Reading	0.08* (0.03)	0.61*** (0.03)	0.12* (0.05)	0.14** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)				
Math	0.08* (0.03)	0.08* (0.04)	0.11* (0.05)	0.12* (0.05)	0.46*** (0.04)		0.24*** (0.06)	0.14*** (0.04)	
Inhibitory Control			0.17*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.10** (0.03)	0.25*** (0.04)		0.06* (0.03)	0.07* (0.03)
Cognitive Flexibility					0.09** (0.03)		0.24*** (0.05)		
Self-regulation		0.14*** (0.03)	0.12** (0.04)	0.17*** (0.04)				0.65*** (0.03)	0.75*** (0.03)

School readiness skills

- ▶ This study:
 - Cognitive and social skills > language and literacy in predicting gains in K
 - Cognitive and social skills – target of the Perry Preschool and Abecedarian Project

Summary

- ▶ Child care programs (HS & Pre-K, including this study)– impressive short term impacts
- ▶ Growing evidence – focus on additional quality dimension.
 - Teacher talk – child vocabulary
 - Instructional time and curriculum: literacy skills
 - Whole group – (negative) language, EF
- ▶ Growing evidence – Fade out in K
 - This study: likely explanation is focus on literacy skills, not math and self regulation in Pre-K.

Possible implications

- ▶ Rethink our quality performance standards
 - Process quality: CLASS/ECERS may not be sufficient
- ▶ Rethink focus on literacy instruction – perhaps more on promoting
 - Cognitive skills such as math & EF
 - Social skills such as self-regulation