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Senior Faculty Research Fellowship Proposal
Setting the Stage to Examine Fade-Out in Pre-K Education

The Center for Research on Children in the U.S, a joint endeavor of the McCourt School of Public Policy and the Department of Psychology (Gormley & Phillips, Co-Directors) has been engaged in examining the impacts of preschool (pre-K) education for the past 15 years. With funding from several foundations (Foundation for Child Development, Spencer Foundation, Heising-Simons Foundation, Packard Foundation) and the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (*Beneficial Impacts of Pre-K Education*, co-PIs: Phillips & Hill), we have conducted extensive evaluation research on the Tulsa pre-K program (see highlighted articles on C.V). This research has contributed to state pre-K policy in Oklahoma, has informed policy in other states, and was mentioned by President Obama in the 2014 State of the Union address as the empirical rationale for his “Preschool for All” proposal.

The 2016-17 academic year offers an opportune time to plan next-stage research aimed at addressing questions that have arisen from our work to date in Tulsa. A central focus of these questions is on the vexing issue of fade-out of long-term impacts of pre-K education. In Fall 2016, I will be eligible for a sabbatical and am proposing to spend it in New Mexico. I am applying for a Senior Faculty Research Fellowship for the Spring semester of 2017 (in DC). This would allow me to work for the full 2016-17 academic year on two projects that will enable me to develop the observational tools and data systems required for examination of long-term pre-K impacts. These projects are made possible by an invitation from the University of New Mexico to be a Researcher in Residence at its Center for Education Policy Research (CEPR) and a longstanding relationship with investigators at Child Trends, Inc. The state of New Mexico and faculty at the Center are poised to conduct precisely the kinds of empirical work that will enable me to take my longstanding program of pre-K research to the next stage.

Description of Planned Projects

A central challenge facing the early childhood education community is that of fade-out of pre-K impacts. Specifically, children who have participated in publicly-funded, state pre-K programs often show large gains in early learning at kindergarten entry, relative to their peers who have not experienced pre-K (Gormley, Phillips & Gayer, 2008; Weiland & Yoshikawa, 2013). By third grade, however, test scores and other markers of achievement for pre-K participants and non-participants have converged such that the gains ascribed to pre-K shrink notably or even disappear (Hill, Gormley, & Adelstein, 2015). This phenomenon is called fade-out and is at the center of policy debates about whether and how much to expand pre-K education in the U.S.

A salient hypothesis regarding fade-out focuses on the relationship between pre-K education and children’s experiences in K-3rd grade classrooms. If the gains made by a child across the pre-K year are not sustained by his or her kindergarten teacher, fade-out would be expected. Available evidence suggests that kindergarten teachers direct their instruction to the children who need to catch-up on their academic skills and knowledge, thus presenting the pre-K graduates with material that they have already learned and contributing to stagnated academic progress. Examining this hypothesis entails examining instruction across the pre-K-to-

elementary years at the level of groups of children who vary in ability, if not at the level of the individual child. Methodologies for this type of work are currently under development, and essential. A second requirement for careful study of the pre-K to elementary transition is datasets, at the state and/or district level, that enable educators and researchers to track children across early childhood and elementary school settings, which currently tend to have separate data collection systems. This adds a systems level challenge to empirical efforts to understand the conditions under which we see and do not see fade-out of pre-K gains. The proposed research addresses each of these issues.

1. *Assessing Individualized Instruction in New Mexico.* The state of New Mexico, in collaboration with staff at Child Trends (via a contract from CEPR), is in the process of implementing, assessing and refining a new pre-K curriculum and child assessment process aimed at individualizing instruction. Teachers are trained and coached to observe and rate each child's progress toward various learning objectives and to apply this information to individualized lesson plans. Child Trends is currently assessing the success with which this process is being implemented and its impacts on program quality and child outcomes. As of Fall 2016, this team will be poised to refine the observational tool they used for this purpose based on initial analytic work, and has invited me to play a central role in this process. This experience will afford the opportunity to visit pre-K classrooms in New Mexico during Fall 2016 for the purpose of designing and piloting an adaptation of this practice-focused data collection tool for use in empirical studies aimed at capturing individualized instruction across the pre-K to K grades to better understand the processes underlying fade-out. During Spring 2017, initial data analyses will be conducted leading to preliminary papers.

2. *Developing and Testing Data Linkage Capacity in New Mexico.* CEPR is developing a project, in collaboration with pertinent State agencies, that will link data at the child level across pre-K, child care, and elementary school systems. This requires the development of unique child identifiers (IDs) that stay with each child across the transition to kindergarten. This is part of a broader State effort to assess and improve the quality of care that children experience prior to school entry as it affects their performance in the early grades of schooling. The Tulsa school system has such a data linkage system in place that may offer a model for New Mexico. During Spring 2017, I will work with the faculty at the Center to embark on exploratory analyses of the kinds of questions that such linked data can address. I have proposed that we start with tracking patterns of enrollment across pre-K and K settings and then examine associations between type of early care and education (ECE) setting, attendance rates in ECE and elementary school, and special education identification across the pre-K to K years.

Results of My Prior Senior Faculty Research Fellowship

During my only Senior Faculty Research Fellowship (Spring 2012), I worked on developing and funding an intervention and evaluation project aimed at supporting aligned high-quality early education across the preschool to kindergarten-2nd grades. This project, SECURE (Social, Emotional, and Cognitive Understanding and Regulation), integrates high-quality early literacy instruction with strategies aimed at fostering young children's capacities to manage their emotions, attention, and behavior, and thus maximize their opportunities to learn. This work led directly to a grant from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) to pilot and refine the SECURE curriculum (R21 to Harvard University with subaward

to Georgetown), as well as to a featured panel at the 2013 meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The SECURE project is now being implemented in schools in New York City and has received additional funds from NICHD and the Institute of Education Sciences. During the fellowship year (2011-12), I finalized 4 publications and gave 12 presentations at research, professional, and policy conferences in the U.S. and abroad.

External Funding Status and Prospects

The ultimate outcome of the proposed work is a longitudinal study that follows children from pre-K through 3rd grade. To contribute to an understanding of fade-out, this study needs to include a sophisticated plan for examining linked data across pre-K and elementary school systems and a well-piloted method for tracking the nature and quality of instruction that individual children, with varying pre-K experiences and outcomes, receive as they progress through the earliest elementary grades. The work that I have proposed for the sabbatical and Fellowship year, and that my collaborators in New Mexico have made possible, would provide exactly the opportunities necessary to design such a study. While the envisioned study is not presently funded, I have been invited by the Institute of Education Sciences to submit a proposal for a longitudinal study in Tulsa and approached by the Thornburg and Gates Foundations to conduct work of this nature in Tulsa, New Mexico and/or Washington, DC.

Summary

Pre-K education is on the national agenda and assuming growing prominence on the landscape of early education and child care systems in the majority of states. Active debates about the persistence or fade-out of the early learning gains attributed to pre-K programs carry the potential to either support or undermine the development and expansion of pre-K programs across the country, rendering research on the long-term impacts of pre-K a high stakes enterprise. The responsibility for scientists is to decipher and study the processes that likely underlie these long-term impacts. My plan for a Senior Faculty Research Fellowship will equip me with some of the essential tools and methods for embarking on this next phase of pre-K research, and contribute to the development of scientifically sound research proposals to generate funding for this work.

References

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Political Identities across Occupied Eurasia: The Second World War and its Legacy (Roshwald)

What shapes responses to military occupation? What are the long-term consequences—intended and unintended—of occupations? Conventional wisdom has it that—in the absence of significant mitigating factors and a relatively short duration—foreign occupation inevitably and virtually automatically provokes nationalist resistance. (Edelstein, 2008) This view has been challenged by those (Kocher et al.) who point out that, historically, both collaborators with and resisters to foreign occupation have wrapped themselves in the patriotic flag, suggesting that nationalism or patriotism in and of themselves are not significant variables in shaping responses to occupation. An even more provocative research agenda has been laid out by Michael Hechter (2013), who has argued that good governance can trump indigeneity as the litmus test for the legitimacy of political authority. Thus, embedded in the debate over the dynamics of military occupations lie even more fundamental questions about the nature, dynamics, and implications (or lack thereof) of ethnicity, nationalism, and patriotism.

For those seeking a historical perspective on these issues, the era of the Second World War offers one of the richest veins of material. Vast expanses of Eurasia fell under German, Italian, Soviet, and Japanese occupation over the course of 1937-45 (leaving aside subsequent Allied occupations of defeated Axis countries). The choices made by members of occupied societies in responding to their countries' subjugation, and the ways in which the legitimacy of those choices was affirmed and contested—both at the time and in retrospect—were critically important in shaping Eurasian and global history both during the Second World War and in the decades since then. Archival based monographs are constantly enriching our understanding of how these dynamics played out in individual countries. But there has been very little in the way of broadly comparative treatment of this historically pivotal experience. There are, to be sure, edited collections that contend with various aspects of wartime occupation and its aftermath across various countries; it inheres in the nature of edited collections that they lack a single authorial voice responsible for systematically integrating the volume's parts into a greater analytical whole. Mark Mazower (2008) has written a brilliant history of the Nazi occupation of Europe. The book includes very useful sections on collaboration and resistance, but that is not its primary topic. István Deák's (2015) recent publication on this theme is an extremely well-informed textbook that wrestles with the European occupation experience from the familiar perspective of the moral and political ambiguities of collaborationist and resistancialist responses to Nazi rule. Each of these books deals with Europe only; there is no work that brings any kind of systematic analytical framework to bear on the comparative study of European and Asian responses to wartime enemy occupations.

My own project sets out to develop a thematically structured, multiple case-study approach to this subject. Rather than organizing the book around the classic typologies of collaboration and resistance, I take an alternative analytical perspective as its point of departure. This project examines how patriotic, ethno-national, trans-national, and internationalist identities were manipulated, exploited, reconstructed, and reinvented under the extraordinary circumstances of Axis occupation. To what degree were behavioral choices (such as decisions to collaborate or resist) conditioned by evolving conceptions of patriotic, ethno-racial, and trans-national (e.g. diasporic) identities, and to what extent were they functions of short-term cost-benefit calculations, opportunism, or sheer compulsion? Conversely, how were political identities used to rationalize or legitimize particular responses to occupation? What forms of

identity politics did occupying powers and their local partners cultivate in their efforts to naturalize and legitimize their authority? How have historical memories of the occupation era shaped, and been shaped by, the post-war construction of political identities and international relations? These are some of the fundamental questions that drive my research.

As indicated in the outline that follows, each thematically defined chapter will compare and contrast three or four case studies, always to include at least one Asian country.

Chapter 1: Contestations over Patriotism The cases selected for this chapter are the Netherlands, France, Denmark, and Thailand. What they have in common is that they all involve countries whose governments and/or senior administrators remained at least partially and initially in place under Axis hegemony, establishing a potential institutional locus for the definition and dissemination—or alienation—of patriotic attitudes and values under the circumstances of occupation. While this chapter will explore the role of patriotism in shaping and legitimizing both collaborationist and resistancialist modes of conduct, its core section will wrestle with what I term the "solidarist moment"—the first year or so following the onset of occupation, during which in each of these cases, significant evidence exists to suggest the emergence of a broad, patriotic consensus around the project of "renewing" the nation within the altered framework of occupation and with a view to securing it an autonomous place in an anticipated, German- and Japanese-dominated, new world order.

Chapter 2: Nations Torn Asunder (Civil Wars) It is this chapter's contention that the concept of civil war under occupation can be used as a heuristic tool for exploring the *interplay* of exogenous and endogenous factors in shaping a number of the violent conflicts that wracked deeply divided occupied societies during the Second World War.

I will concentrate on four cases that best fit conventional notions of civil war in terms of the intensity and duration of fighting among people who (at least until the onset of occupation if not beyond) shared common citizenship: Greece, Yugoslavia, northern Italy (1943-45) and China.

Chapter 3: Occupation as National Liberation? This chapter compares how Axis occupations in both Asia and Europe played out in the context of previously subjugated or colonized peoples and regions. The focus here will be first on Croatia and the Philippines, each of which became "independent" in the course of the war. A key question will be how much agency the nationalist "puppets" in these relationships actually had in the context of a wartime trajectory marked by ever more severe exploitation and abuse of indigenous manpower and resources by the German and Japanese occupying forces. The chapter's second half will compare the cases of Indonesia and the Ukraine, each of which was "liberated" from Dutch, and Polish or Soviet, masters respectively, but neither of which was granted even the outward trappings of independence by their Axis overlords. How significant—or not—was this formal distinction between independence and its absence in shaping (and reflecting) relations between occupiers and occupied? What connection, if any, was there between the achievement (or not) of notional independence and the wartime development of political identities among the subject populations?

Chapter 4: Internationalist Loyalties and Transnational Ties under Occupation This chapter will break out of national frames of reference to explore instead how internationalist and transnational loyalties and identities both shaped and were used to legitimize responses to Axis occupation. The most obvious example is that of Communist internationalism. Another is what

might loosely be termed fascist internationalism. To be sure, attempts to forge a fascist internationalism around a positive program of inter-state cooperation remained shallow and largely devoid of substance. This was true of Italy's intermittent efforts to promote fascist internationalism as a forum for containing Nazi hegemony in a right-wing Europe as it was of Japan's promotion of a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperty Sphere. But a more substantive form of fascist internationalism was to be found in the common hatreds and fears that transcended political and cultural boundaries. Anti-Communism (combined, in Europe, with anti-Semitism) was a powerful, shared, trans-national agenda across much of occupied Asia and Europe. It helped mobilize and/or legitimize support for collaboration with the Japanese in China, and it drew thousands of volunteers from across occupied Europe to join the fighting on the Eastern front behind the standards of the Waffen SS.

Chapter 5: *Transitions and Memories* An examination of the ways in which political identities forged under occupation were selectively celebrated, jettisoned, marginalized, and redefined as competing political and social interests sought to adapt to the transformed conditions of the post-war era. We will come full circle here by focusing once again on the four cases from the chapter on patriotism (France, the Netherlands, Denmark and Thailand). How did memories of occupation shape the extent and limits of post-war purges, and how were these memories used to legitimize post-war regimes, both at the level of nation-state and—in Europe's case—of European Economic Community?

NOTE: The 2013 SAG helped me do early research and writing on this project. A version of Chapter 2 focused on the Yugoslav, Greek, and Italian cases is appearing in 2016 in *The Oxford Handbook to Early Twentieth-Century Europe* (already published online: https://www.academia.edu/9772235/Europes_Civil_Wars_1941-1949). I wrote large chunks of Chapter 1 over the summer of 2015, and I plan to complete it between now and September 2016 as well as to add the Chinese component to Chapter 2. A Senior Faculty Research Fellowship would allow me to research and write the manuscript's remaining chapters.