
This article is based on a verbal presentation given to the Quality of Childhood Group in the European Parliament. Notes taken during the presentation were formulated into the article below, which has been checked and approved by John Bennett.

How can we improve early childhood education and care systems in Europe?

by John Bennett

co-author of the OECD Studies *Starting Strong I* and *Starting Strong II*.¹

SUMMARY

John Bennett first explained the context in which the OECD Starting Strong early childhood policy reviews were decided. Two-thirds of the 30 OECD member countries decided to participate in this study. The result was a comparative study of early childhood education and care models (ECEC) across these countries, which brought a rich harvest of new policy insights in this area. Four critical factors have a strong influence on the quality of ECEC services in a particular country:

Critical factor 1: To reduce child poverty and ensure equitable educational outcomes for children at-risk:

Many European countries do not pay sufficient attention to the lower educational performance and later life trajectories of young children born and living in poverty. Child poverty rates differ greatly across European countries, averaging from less than 5% in the Nordic countries to over 15% in pockets in the English-speaking and newly acceded countries. Even the best early childhood or education systems find it difficult to support adequately young children who have suffered from deprivation and neglect. Although a complex challenge, the reduction of child and family poverty and the provision of high quality services needs to become a priority across the European Union.

Critical Factor 2: To give sufficient attention to the link between early childhood services and equality of opportunity for women

John Bennett cites Esping-Andersen: 'The compatibility of motherhood and careers is contingent on the nature of institutional support', in particular, on public support for parental leave, the provision of early childhood services and the availability of family-friendly jobs. However, the position of women is often characterized by a denial of equal opportunity both to work and in work. Female labour is often segregated into part-time or low-paid 4C work: cleaning, caring, catering and cashiering. Wage discrimination is evident as women earn around 80% of male wages for equal work. Apart from the ethical and social justice dimensions of the challenge, the labour market participation of women in many countries is undermined by the lack of comprehensive and affordable early childcare services.

Critical Factor 3: To attend to the link between quality in services for children 0–3 years and subsequent child development and education

Recent research on the development of infants and toddlers underlines that the period from birth to 3 years is critical for brain development, physical and motor development, concept and language acquisition. Although adaptation generally remains possible well into adult life, the decreasing plasticity of the maturing brain suggests that early intervention can mitigate the effects of disadvantaged environments more efficiently (in both energy costs to the nervous system and program costs to society) than later remediation. Stated simply, educational intervention at later stages is less effective and more costly. The provision of positive experiences early in life is considerably less expensive and more effective than corrective intervention at a later age.

Critical actor 4: To turn back the century old tradition of the schoolification of early education

The word 'schoolification' indicates that early education services, rather than being organised to match the child's developmental stage or to follow the child's natural learning strategies, have been set up along the lines of a junior school. Young children are grouped into large classes with unfavourable child:staff ratios – often reaching 25 or more children to one teacher; a subject-based curriculum is used, with a focus on skills and competences useful for schools. Not least, teachers are qualified for primary school teaching but with little or no certification in early childhood learning. In many 'infant school' classrooms, teachers initiate all the activity and adopt frontal instruction approaches. The predominant pedagogy does not accord with research on young children's well-being and natural learning strategies. It also perpetuates an autocratic school tradition and ignores current notions on the need for democratic participation. In so far as we can judge in these matters, the knowledge economies of the future will call for team work, initiative and creativity – competences that the traditional teaching model fails to support.

John Bennett began by introducing the work undertaken by the OECD in the Starting Strong reviews of early childhood policy, from 1996 to 2006. The OECD is an international organisation based in Paris that focuses mainly on economic development and data collection in a variety of fields, and that includes some 30 of the richest countries in the world. "We were fortunate to get the topic of early childhood on the agenda of the OECD Education Committee in 1996. At that time, life-long-learning was an important theme in education policy. Considering the early childhood period as the foundation stage of lifelong learning, the OECD Education Division proposed to review early childhood education and care policies across the Member Countries. The proposal was accepted and, in total, some 20 governments invited OECD teams to their countries to evaluate their early childhood systems."

Among the questions examined in the course of the OECD Reviews were the following:

- What is the social and economic context for children and families
- Is ECEC (Early Childhood Education and Care) programming systemic and integrated?

- Is the ECEC system equitable? Does it include appropriately all children?
- What are the access rates? Which children have least access?
- What are the structural features of quality?
- Do staff enjoy appropriate working conditions and professional education?
- Does a participatory approach to quality exist?
- What are the different pedagogical approaches?
- Does government adopt a serious approach to data collection and monitoring?
- Is there a national agenda for research?
- Is early education (and the education system as a whole) based on democratic values?

Country field visits were an essential part of the survey. These visits allowed the OECD teams to interview government officials and the key stakeholders (parent groups, teachers, local authorities) in charge of the early childhood sector in each of the countries which were reviewed. Through this field approach, important policy areas were identified country by country. The conclusions of the reviews have been recorded in the two Starting Strong reports, in particular, in Chapter 10 of *Starting Strong II*.

What are the 'critical system factors' for early childhood policy-makers? viz.

- To reduce child poverty and ensure equitable educational outcomes for children at-risk;
- To give sufficient attention to the link between early childhood services and equality of opportunity for women
- To attend to the link between quality in services for children 0-3 years and subsequent child development and education
- To turn back the century old tradition of the schoolification of early education

Critical Factor 1: To reduce child poverty and ensure equitable educational outcomes for children at-risk.

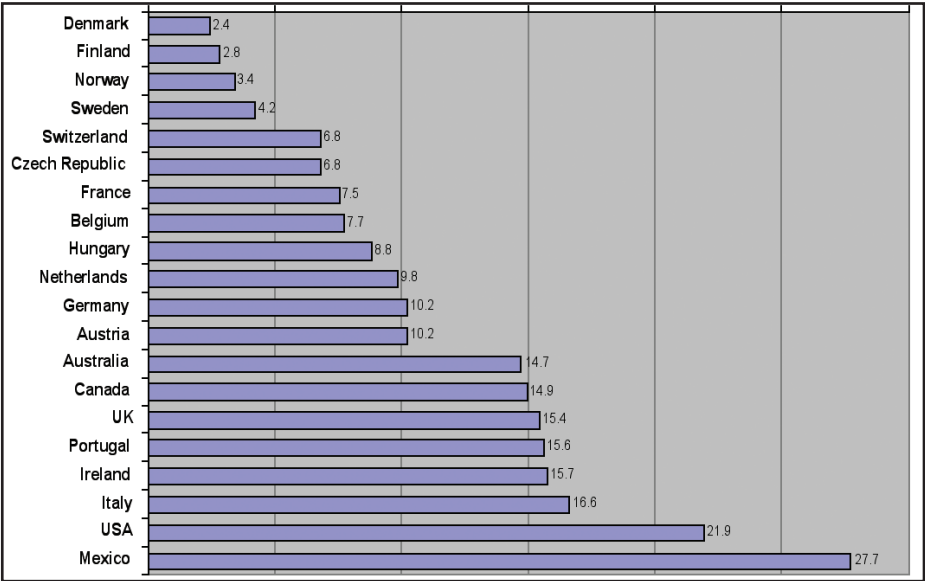
A first element to keep in mind when assessing the efficacy of early childhood systems – and indeed of education systems in general – is the social context of children's lives. Research over the decades shows consistently that low socio-economic status in the early years – or more simply, child poverty – greatly undermines the life chances of children, in terms of health, psycho-social development and later success in education. Countries that are serious about the education and life chances of its children will do everything to reduce child poverty. Wide differences exist across European countries in this regard. According to the figures issues by UNICEF in its 2005 *Child Poverty Report Card*,² the child poverty rate was 2.4 % in Denmark but reaches well over 15% in other countries.

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To illustrate the extent of child poverty and the weak access of children from low-income backgrounds to early childhood services, the following slides were shown:
Child poverty in rich countries (chart from Report Card, 6: 2005, UNICEF, IRC, Florence – data from about 2000)

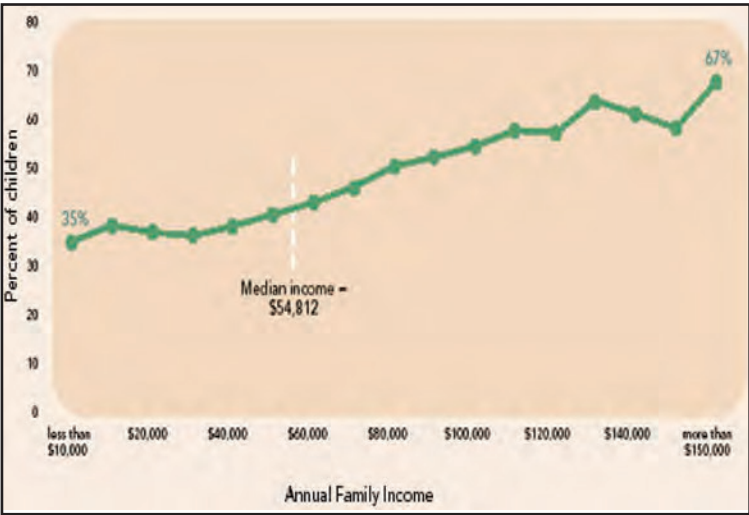
- Access to pre-Kindergarten in the USA in relation to family income
- Access of low-income and immigrant children to childcare in Flanders (Kind en Gezin, 2007)³

Fig. 1. Child poverty in rich countries



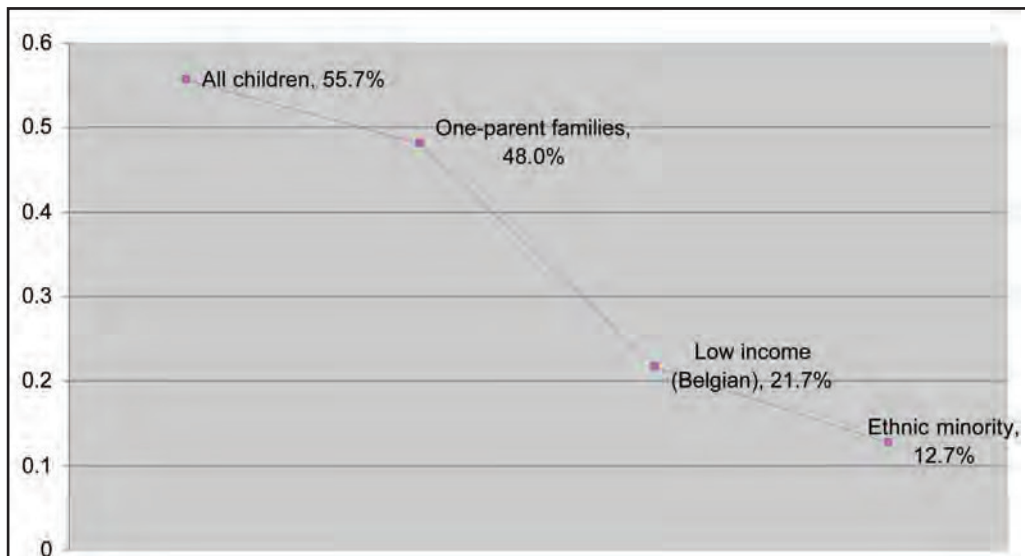
Source: Child poverty in rich countries, UNICEF 2005, (source years range from 1997-2001)

Fig. 2. Pre-school access in the US by level of family income



Source: EPE Research Center (2007)

Fig. 3. Use of childcare by different social groups in Flanders



Source: Kind en Gezin, 2007

The group of children most at risk in the European Union are the Roma children. It is estimated that the Roma population in various countries taken together is some 10 million people. No reliable figures on the access of Roma children to early childhood services are available, but it is known that their access is very low and well below national averages.

What are the characteristics of 'children at risk'? Among the indicators listed in the recent (and ongoing) EPPE study, the following are some of the usual indicators used in the UK. 'At-risk' status occurs when a child accumulates three or more of these indicators:

- Children living in poverty, in families with less than half the median income of the average family;
- Children of mothers who are non-nationals
- Children in households where English is not the mother tongue;
- Children in lone parent households
- Children in households where no adult is employed;
- Children with parents of low educational levels and aspirations

These children tend to suffer from material and cultural poverty. Often, they experience low birth weight, malnutrition and poor health; neglect or violence, sometimes on a daily basis. They are most likely to begin early education late and to leave school before the end of compulsory schooling. Rather than being isolated or, as research suggests, being given the poorest services, children 'at-risk' need:

- Improved access to services
- Highly resourced services. Equal is not enough. For this reason children 'at risk' in several

European are given extra resources in the form of supplementary funding to schools, which buys extra teaching hours, individual tutoring and improved pedagogical resources.

- Greater intensity of early education, that is, early access ('first call' on services) in long-day, year long services
- More effective pedagogy that respects early education research and the child's natural learning strategies.

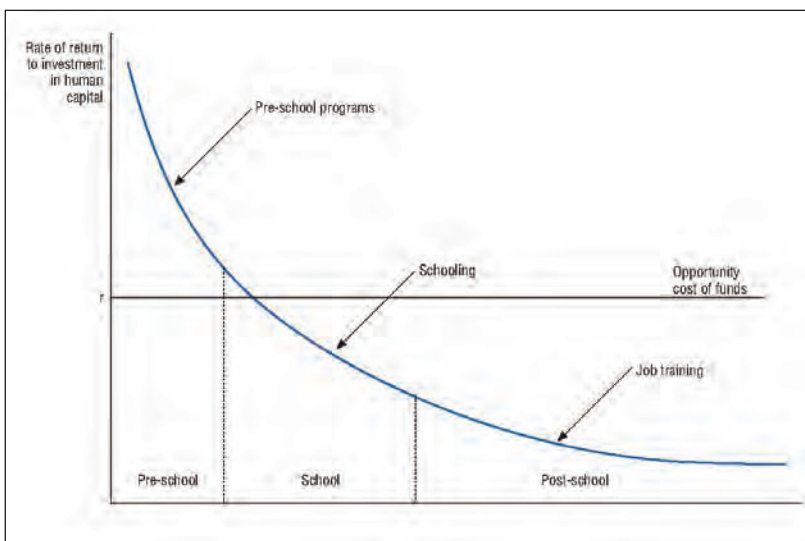
Children 'at-risk' require highly resourced services.

Access to services is a key factor in providing these children with a fair start to life. At a presentation to the United States Congress, Professor Brooks-Gunn (2003), focusing on educational returns, confirmed that mainstream research indicates that:

- High quality centre-based programmes enhance the school-related achievement and behaviour of young children;
- These effects are strongest for poor children and for children whose parents have little education;
- Positive benefits continue into late elementary school and high school years, although effects are smaller than they were at the beginning of elementary school;
- Programmes that are continued into primary school, and that offer intensive early intervention, have the most sustained long-term effects.

Another influential voice raised in favour of investing strongly in children and families 'at-risk' is that of the Nobel prize-winner, James Heckman. The following diagram shows the rates of return to human capital investment at different stages of the life cycle, much the highest return resulting from investment in the early years:

Fig. 4. Rates of return to human capital investment at different ages



Source: Cunha & Carneiro lecture, Dublin, 2005 – Also featured in Cunha, Heckman et al. (2005) *Interpreting the evidence on life cycle skill formation*.⁵

According to Heckman "The most cost-effective strategy for strengthening the future American workforce is to invest greater human and financial resources in the social and cognitive environments of children who are disadvantaged, beginning as early as possible."

However, the ages at which children have access to free, State subsidised early education differ widely across countries. In France it is from 2 years, in Belgium from 2.5 years, in Italy 3 years, in the Netherlands 4 years, in Canada and the USA (most provinces or states) 5 years. The situation is best in the Nordic countries where young children have the right to a highly subsidised place in a municipal service once parental leave (generally of about one year) ends. The quality of services is also high in the Nordic countries.

Critical Factor 2: To give sufficient attention to the link between early childhood services and equality of opportunity for women

John Bennett cites Esping-Andersen: 'The compatibility of motherhood and careers is contingent on the nature of institutional support', in particular, on public support for parental leave, the provision of early childhood services and the availability of family-friendly jobs."⁶

'The compatibility of motherhood and careers is contingent on the nature of institutional support'

A growing number of children in Europe depend today on women – the number of children living in female-led families is over 20% in some countries, and in some social categories can be as high as 50%. For this reason, it is necessary to protect the financial status of women, particularly around the time of birth and when mothers have the charge of young children. However, the situation of women in Europe is often less than ideal and can be characterized by the following:

- A denial of equal opportunity for women both to work and in work although, in most families, the income contributed by the female partner is critical for family budgets;
- Wage discrimination against women, who earn around 80% of male wages for equal work, particularly at the bottom of the work and social scale;
- The segregating of women into part-time work or low-paid "4C" jobs: cleaning, caring, catering and cashiering. In the childcare sector, in particular, governments and the market tend to depress wages, forgetting that the task of rearing and educating the children of others will be of higher quality when childcare staff are well educated and services are well-financed;
- An insufficient supply of childcare services: Women's work cannot be properly activated without childcare services, and hence the situation in many countries of two or three times more women engaged only in part-time work. When childcare services do exist, they are often unaffordable for families on modest incomes. This is case for many families in countries that adopt a marketised approach to service supply.

- A neglect of family-friendly policies in the workplace.

This rapid overview of European child and family policy leads to the conclusion that much greater attention should be given to the needs of women with young families. In countries that do give the issue sufficient attention, the benefits are immediately obvious: greater equality of opportunity for women; an easing of the work-life balance for all family members; improved family budgets and family well-being; and increased tax revenues for governments. Among the slides shown in support of this position were the following:

- A chart from the Global Gender Gap Report, 2006. The Gender Gap index is based on analysis of women's performance in four key areas: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment; political empowerment; and health and survival.
- Comparative part time work rates of men and women
- Comparative salary rates of childcare and other workers

Fig. 5. Global Gender Gap 2007 – 10 best countries

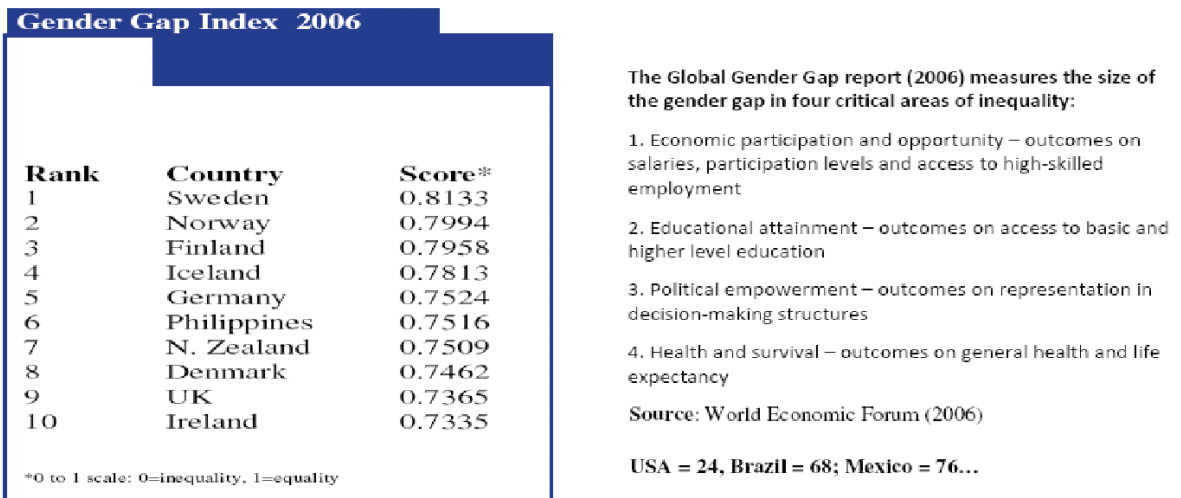


Fig. 6. Female part-time employment rates compared to male, 2006

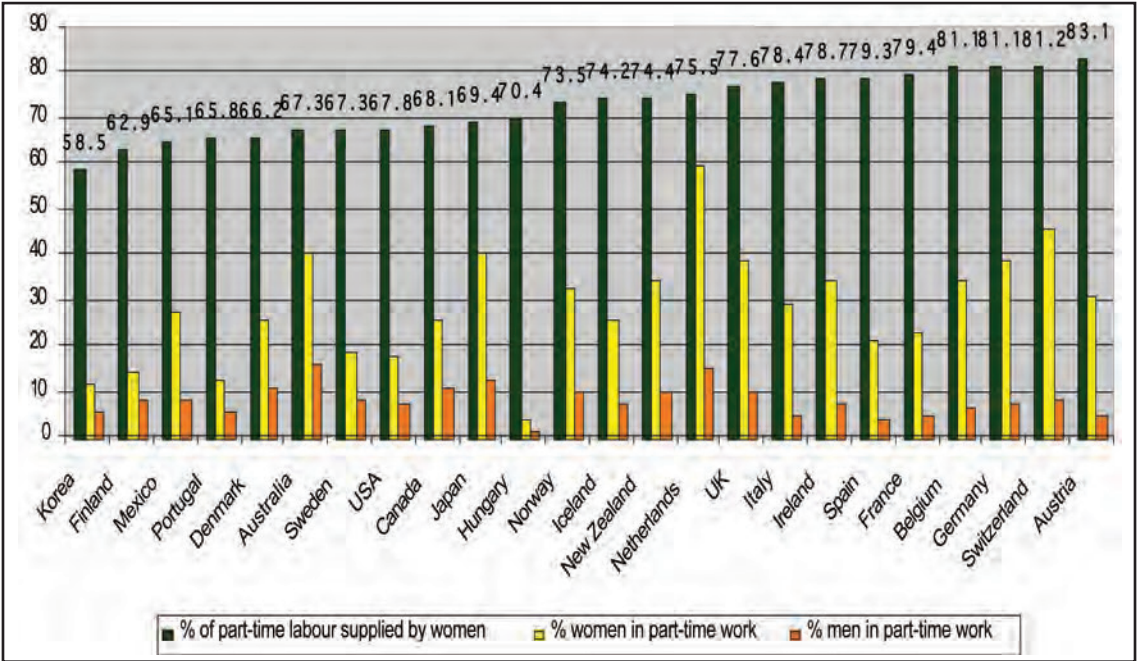
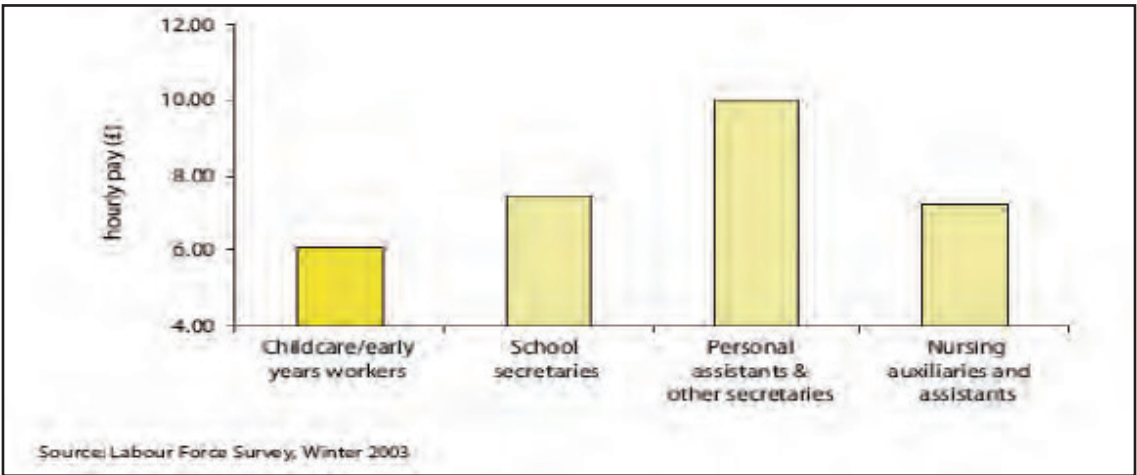


Fig. 7. Comparative salary rates of childcare and other workers

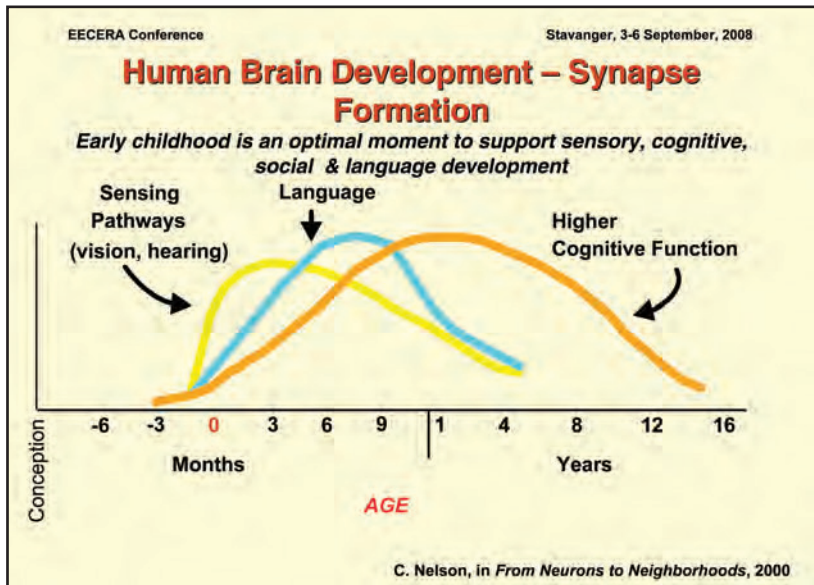


With regard to the pay levels of women in the childcare sector, a telling citation from the work of Kagan and Rigby (2003) in the USA was made: Despite having higher levels of formal education than the average American worker, ECEC professionals earn dreadfully low wages - on average only \$16,980 dollars per year (funeral attendants = \$17,320; garbage collectors = \$25,020). In addition, they rarely receive benefits or paid leave. Not surprisingly, given the low salaries, staff turnover is high in early childhood programmes outside the public schools. Some estimate it to be around 36% a year.⁷

Critical Factor 3: To attend to the link between quality in services for children 0–3 years and subsequent child development and education

The accumulated neurological research of the past three decades on the development of infants and toddlers shows that the period from birth to 3 years is critical for brain development, physical and motor development, and concept and language acquisition. The authoritative summary of that research (Shonkoff and Phillips, 2000) emphasises that while it is never too late to learn and develop, the period between birth and 3 years is a particularly sensitive period for the development of several critical human capacities, such as vision and hearing, the desire to communicate and the acquisition of language. The following chart indicates the highly sensitive moments of early childhood when the foundations for such capacities are securely laid.

Fig. 8. Sensitive periods in early childhood



The period from birth to 3 years is critical for brain development, physical and motor development, and concept and language acquisition.

Empirical evidence from human and animal species shows that when the opportunities for the formation of certain abilities are missed, remediation can be costly, and full remediation prohibitively so (Cameron, 2004; Knudsen, Heckman, Cameron and Knudsen, 2006).⁸ In sum, the biological and financial costs increase with age. Although adaptation generally remains possible well into adult life, the decreasing plasticity of the maturing brain suggests that early intervention to mitigate the effects of disadvantaged environments is more efficient (in both energy costs to the nervous system and program costs to society) than later remediation for individuals with limited skills and problematic behaviour. Stated simply, educational intervention at later stages is less effective and more costly. The provision of positive experiences early in life is considerably less expensive and

more effective than the cost and effectiveness of corrective intervention at a later age.

All this implies that accrued attention should be given to the environment of the young child, whether at home or in early childhood services. It is critical, for example, that mothers should have access to high quality pre-natal care, infant health services, child-rearing information and parental support services. Likewise, out-of-home services for the very young should be of high quality if the child's potential for development is to be realised. Yet, in many countries, weak access, poorly qualified staff, weak regulation and quality standards characterise the childcare sector. The situation is not made easier by the existence of a largely unregulated private day care sector.

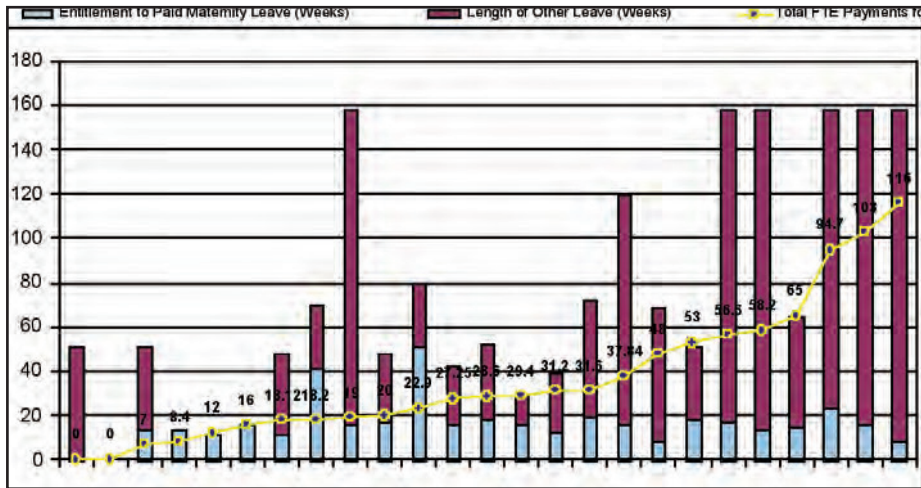
Why is there such weak attention at societal and governmental levels to the well-being of the youngest children? A number of reasons may be advanced.

1. First, the relative newness of research on infants and toddlers has meant that the findings of this research – and its developmental implications – have yet to penetrate into public and political discourses.
2. Second, there is a reluctance to hear clearly the implications of the research. For the research is saying that to achieve high quality in childcare services, greater government intervention is necessary in terms of legislation, regulation, quality improvement and financing. Governments today are very reluctant to take on this message as it means increased public spending, and eventually, the creation and management of a new level of public services.
3. Third, the EU tends to pursue a predominantly labour market approach toward children's services. What counts is not the actual quality of these services but the number of women that they allow to enter the European labour market. The Barcelona targets are an example.
4. Fourth, societies still adopt the 'maternalist' assumption, that is, the assumption that women will continue to rear children, despite their new work responsibilities. This assumption fails to take into account that part-time work and early childcare solutions may not be in the best interests of infants, e.g. in Belgium, the Netherlands and other countries, parents (especially to mothers) may receive little support – e.g. through parental leave measures – to spend time with their new-born children.
5. Fifth, and perhaps the most important reason, the early childhood research community has not been successful in spelling out the benefits to societies of reducing infant mortality rates and infant handicaps beyond a certain threshold; of ensuring that all children are properly immunised; of the social value of developmental and educational services for children under the age of three years, with strong outreach to parents.

A conclusion is the urgent need to communicate the research available (advocacy) and to pursue a developmental and 'best interest of the child' approach alongside the predominant economic model. Among the slides used to illustrate the position were:

- The infant development slide from Shonfokk et al. *Neurons and Neighborhoods*, 2000, see Fig. 8 above;
- Effective parental leave per OECD

Fig. 9. Effective parental leave in selected OECD countries



Critical factor 4: To turn back the century old tradition of the schoolification of early education

In the *Starting Strong* study a new word – though not a new practice – is introduced, namely 'schoolification'. This word indicates that early education services are set up along the lines of a junior school, rather than being suited to the child's developmental stage or attending to the child's social development or following the child's natural learning strategies. This tradition is strong in both the English and French language countries. It is characterised by the organisation of early education along the lines of the primary school:

- Children are grouped in large classes with unfavourable child:staff ratios – often reaching 25:1 or more;
- A centrally imposed, subject-based curriculum is followed, with a focus on skills and competences useful for schools, in particular language and early maths;
- Teachers are qualified for primary school teaching but with weak or no certification in early childhood learning;
- Pedagogy is dominated by teacher initiated activity and frontal instruction;
- Children are assessed on pre-selected competences dominated by language/literacy items, numeracy and general knowledge.

The 'junior school' approach no longer accords with research on children's well-being and how young children learn. It also perpetuates an autocratic school tradition and ignores current notions on the need for democratic participation. Yet, the knowledge economies of the future will be based (in so far as one can judge these matters) on teamwork, initiative and creativity – all reflexes that a traditional model of teaching fails to support adequately.

'Schoolification' and the instruction model remain a strong force in early education and in primary schooling. The motivation behind its continuation is often plausible, e.g. to ensure

equality of opportunity in education or to integrate quickly and efficiently large inflows of immigrant children and to teach them quickly and as early as possible the national language. In this matter, 'schoolification' follows the 19th century rationale, except in that nation-building age, the aim was to integrate country children speaking 'dialects' into the national language and culture.

Research strongly suggests that early schoolification is not an optimal way of relating to young children, whose learning is primarily experiential and relational. This was one of the broad conclusions reached by the Starting Strong reviews, which devoted considerable space to analysing the Nordic tradition of early learning. In these countries:

- The early childhood centre is viewed as a life space, a place in which children and pedagogues "learn to be, learn to do, learn to learn, learn to live together" (Delors Report, UNESCO, 1996);
- Curriculum is not closed or focussed on subject areas. Rather, the national curriculum is a broad national guideline, developed through a broad process of public consultation. The guiding principles and requirements are laid out clearly, but there is a devolution of decision-making, curriculum content and implementation to municipalities, centres and families;
- Broad developmental and social goals as well as early learning are pursued, and work with the families of children is highly valued. The 'pre-school class' (for children 6-7 years) has been established to take care of preparation for school.
- Programmes are child centred – interactivity with peers and educators encouraged and the quality of life in the institution is given high importance;
- A pedagogy combining care, upbringing and education is adopted, and confidence is placed in the child's own learning strategies (exploration, freedom of movement, learning through relationships, play and expression and centres of interest, with educator scaffolding at the appropriate moment;
- Learning focus: Rather than a focus on teaching selected competences and knowledge, a holistic developmental model is adopted in which the social development of the child is given primary importance. The central purpose is to encourage children to become protagonists of their own development within a social environment where they are considered citizens with shared rights and duties. In parallel, educators call attention to – generally within experiential project work – culturally valued 'topics of learning' such as, emergent literacy and communication activities, scientific enquiry, music, song, dance, environmental themes, local topography and history...

Rather than a focus on teaching selected competences and knowledge, a holistic developmental model is adopted in which the social development of the child is given primary importance.

VARIABLES	THE READINESS-FOR-SCHOOL TRADITION	THE NORDIC TRADITION
Understandings of the child and childhood	<p>The child as a young person to be formed, as an investment in the future of society: the productive knowledge worker, the compliant well-behaved citizen... A benevolent, utilitarian approach to childhood in which state and adult purposes are foregrounded. Pedagogy focussed on 'useful' learning, readiness for school... A tendency to privilege indoors learning.</p>	<p>The child as a subject of rights: to autonomy, well-being... and the right to growth on the child's own premises. The child as agent of her own learning, a rich child with natural learning and research strategies... The child as member of a caring community of peers and adults, in which the agency of the child is promoted. An outdoors child of pleasure and freedom. Awareness that there is a time for childhood that can never be repeated.</p>
The early childhood centre	<p>Generally (though by no means always), the centre is seen as either a care or an educational service based on individual demand, a matter of 'choice' for the individual parents. The early education centre is viewed as a place for development, learning and instruction. Children will be expected to reach pre-defined levels of development and learning (goals to be achieved).</p>	<p>The centre (combining both care and education) is seen as a socio-educational service, in which the community interest – as well as the interests of individual parents – must be taken into account. It is viewed as a life space, a place in which children and pedagogues learn "to be, to know, to do and to live together" (Delors Report, 1996). Centre goals are to support child development and learning and provide experience of democratic values. Educators place little pressure on children, but support them to reach agreed goals.</p>
Curriculum development	<p>Frequently, a prescribed ministerial curriculum, with detailing of goals and outcomes. An unspoken assumption that the curriculum can be 'delivered' by the individual teacher in a standardised way whatever the group or setting.</p>	<p>A broad national guideline, with devolution of curriculum detailing and implementation to municipalities and the centres. Responsibility falls on the centre staff, a feeling of collegiality... a culture of research on what children want to learn and how they learn.</p>

Focus of programme	A focus on learning and skills, especially in areas useful for school readiness. Mainly teacher directed (Weikart et al., 2003). Teacher-child relationships may be instrumentalised through large numbers of children per teacher and the need to achieve detailed curriculum goals.	Focus on working with the whole child and her family – broad developmental goals as well as learning are pursued. Programmes are child-centred – interactivity with educators and peers encouraged and the quality of life in the institution is given high importance.
Pedagogical strategies	A balanced mix of instruction, child initiated activities and thematic work is encouraged, generally managed by each teacher. The national curriculum must be 'delivered' correctly. An emphasis place on individual autonomy and self-regulation.	The national curriculum guides the choice of pedagogical themes and projects. Confidence is placed in the child's own learning strategies and centres of interest, that is, on learning through relationships, through play and through educator scaffolding at the appropriate moment.
Language and literacy development	A growing focus on individual competence in the national language. Oral competence, phonological awareness and letter/word recognition are valued. Emphasis on emergent literacy practices. Standards may be established for language skills pre-reading knowledge, pre-mathematical knowledge, cognitive skills and social development.	A growing focus on individual competence in the national language, in terms of language production and the ability to communicate. Approached through providing many experiences to children on which they can base concepts and vocabulary. An emphasis also on symbolic representation and the "100 languages of children". Promotion of family literacies and inter-generational language experiences.
Targets and goals for children	Prescribed targets – generally pertaining to cognitive development – may be set at national level to be reached in all centres, sometimes translated by each year of age.	Broad orientations rather than prescribed outcomes. Goals are to be striven for, rather than achieved. As a result, a diffusion of goals may be experienced, with diminished educator accountability for outcomes.

<p>Indoor and outdoor spaces for young children</p>	<p>The indoors is considered to be the primary learning space, and resources are focussed here. Outdoors is generally seen as an amenity, a recreational area and perhaps as important for health and motor development.</p>	<p>Indoors and outdoors have equal pedagogical importance. Much thought and investment is given to the organization of outdoor space and its use. Young children may spend 3 or 4 hours daily out of doors, both in winter and summer. The environment and its protection is generally an important theme.</p>
<p>Assessment</p>	<p>Learning outcomes and assessment often required, at least on entry into primary school. Goals for the group are clearly defined. Graded assessment of each child with respect to pre-defined competences may be an important part of the teacher's role.</p>	<p>Formal assessment not required. Broad developmental goals are set for each child by negotiation (educator-parent-child). Goals are informally evaluated unless screening is necessary. Multiple assessment procedures are favoured.</p>
<p>Quality control</p>	<p>Quality control based on clear objectives, inspection, and frequently, on pre-defined learning outcomes. Standardised testing may be used – on a sample basis – in programme evaluation, but in most centres, child testing is not allowed. Assessment of skills mastery is generally ongoing and the responsibility of the lead teacher. An external inspectorate may also validate, but may be under-staffed (especially in child care) or staffed by personnel without training in ECEC pedagogy.</p>	<p>Quality control is more participatory, based on educator and team responsibility and, depending on country, supervised by parent boards and municipalities. Documentation used not only to mark child progress but also as a collegial research on staff pedagogical approaches. A wide range of child outcomes may be sought, and assessed informally in multiple ways. External validation undertaken by municipal pedagogical advisors and/or inspectors. The focus is on centre performance rather than on child assessment.</p>

- ¹ *Starting Strong I and II, 2001 and 2006, Paris, OECD*
- ² *UNICEF (2005), A League Table of Child Poverty in Rich Nations, Innocenti Report Card 6, Florence*
- ³ *Kind en Gezin (2007) The child in Flanders 2006, Brussels.*
- ⁴ *Brooks-Gunn, J. (2003), 'Do you believe in magic? What we can expect from early childhood intervention programs', Social Policy Report, XVII (1), 3-7*
- ⁵ *Cunha, F., Heckman, J., Lochner, L. & Masterov, D.V. (2005), Interpreting the Evidence of Life-Cycle Skill Formation, IZA Discussion Paper Series, No 1575, Institute for the Study of Labor, Bonn, Germany, July.*
- ⁶ *Esping Andersen, G. (1999), Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies Oxford, OUP*
- ⁷ *Kagan, S. L., & Rigby, E. (2003), Policy matters: Setting and measuring benchmarks for state policies: Improving the Readiness of Children for School. A Discussion Paper. Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Social Policy. Washington, DC.*
- ⁸ *Knudsen, Eric I., Heckman, James J., Cameron, Judy L. and Shonkoff, Jack P. Economic, Neurobiological and Behavioral Perspectives on Building America's Future Workforce IZA Discussion Paper No. 2190*

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