

**The Evolution and Impact of a Mission Statement:
A Case Study of Calvin Hill Day Care Center**

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Education Studies Capstone

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Abstract

Calvin Hill Day Care Center is a Yale-affiliated program founded in 1970 to provide affordable child care to Yale employees in the Local 35 Union (dining hall workers, janitors, etc.). Currently, Calvin Hill is a touchstone of high-quality child care and serves families that are diverse by race and country of origin. Calvin Hill offers sliding scale tuition to families with a range of incomes. Graduate students and post-docs, who currently have a high social status and are likely to attain a higher level of economic status, often make up the bottom of the sliding scale. Local 35 employees, who are unlikely to attain a higher level of economic or social status, rarely attend Calvin Hill. This capstone investigates what factors contributed to this lack of socio-economic (SES) diversity at Calvin Hill—i.e., why parents with high educational attainment and high social mobility disproportionately send their children to Calvin Hill and low-SES employees do not. This study reviews Calvin Hill's history, Calvin Hill's sliding tuition scale and mission statements, and the opinions of current Local 35 employees to support a case study on access, quality, and SES diversity in child care. This study places these issues in the context of child care history and scholarship on segregation and quality disparities in child care. Calvin Hill primary documents, such as Board Minutes, were examined; the current Director and Director Emerita were interviewed; and Local 35 employees were surveyed. The investigation concludes that Calvin Hill's founding mission has changed from providing affordable child care to low-SES Yale employees to a current mission that emphasizes high-quality care and economic diversity through the sliding scale. This mission change has affected the families Calvin Hill serves. Current demographics include more high-SES families and fewer low-SES families than in the founding years. The survey results, however, suggest that Calvin Hill should be hopeful about the possibility of re-recruiting low-SES Union families, if it chooses to do so.

Introduction

In summer 2017, I worked at a preschool located in a low-SES neighborhood of Louisville. My expectations were modest, but I was shocked my first week when a teacher told a child in pain to “go back to sleep.” When the child called me over, he pointed to a huge cavity. In distress, no teacher came to comfort him. The teachers often yelled, put children in time-outs, and assigned mostly worksheets or structured activities. The teachers gave children few choices and rarely scaffolded children’s learning. Just a month later, I observed the classrooms at Calvin Hill. Calvin Hill’s teachers were intentional in everything they did—the words they used, the materials they put out, and the creation of community. The teachers empowered students to make their own choices, develop social-emotional skills, and learn for the sake of learning.

Since 2017, I have grown closer to Calvin Hill and its community. I observed Calvin Hill teachers and students over two semesters. Carla Horwitz, the Director Emerita, is one of my mentors and has inspired me to pursue a career in Early Childhood Education. In August 2019, I joined Calvin Hill’s Board of Directors. In sum, Calvin Hill has been an integral part of my Yale experience and my career choice. I know first-hand the quality care that Calvin Hill provides. I often think back on my time in Louisville. The gap between low quality and high quality is jarring, and the connection between low SES and low quality is painful to me.

My experience in Louisville was not an anomaly. Students with low SES—i.e., low social status, low income, and low opportunity to improve status—often attend schools with weak curriculums, while students with high SES often attend schools with better resources and better curriculums.¹ Racial and socio-economic segregation often correlates with differences in

¹ Keith Meatto, “Still Separate, Still Unequal: Teaching about School Segregation and Educational Inequality,” *The New York Times*, May 2, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/02/learning/lesson-plans/still-separate-still-unequal-teaching-about-school-segregation-and-educational-inequality.html>.

the quality of educational opportunities, and those differences have long term impacts.² Achievement gaps between high-SES and low-SES children begin in early childhood.³ Quality of care matters. High-quality care positively impacts low-SES children, both cognitively and socio-emotionally. It also promotes positive outcomes in adulthood.⁴ There are both short-term positive impacts and long-term benefits, like higher graduation rates, lower incarceration rates, and higher-income.⁵ Racially and socio-economically integrated classrooms are beneficial for all students. Low-SES students learn literacy, math, and other academic skills from their high-SES peers.⁶ For high-SES students, integrated classrooms provide opportunities for critical thinking, new perspectives, and reduced prejudices and biases.⁷

My capstone studies Calvin Hill, a Yale-affiliated day care program for Threes-Kindergarten. Calvin Hill follows an emergent curriculum, which focuses on the students’ “curiosity and individual creativity.” It seeks to create “strong relationships between teachers and

² Margaret Burchinal et al., “Neighborhood Characteristics, and Child Care Type and Quality,” *Early Education and Development* 19, no. 5 (2008): 702-725, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10409280802375273>; Bridget E. Hartfield et al., “Inequities in Access in Quality Early Care and Education: Associations with Funding and Community Context,” *Early Childhood Research Quarterly* 30, Part B (2015): 316-326, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0885200614000039>.

³ David T. Burkam and Valerie E. Lee, *Inequality at the Starting Gate: Social Background Differences in Achievement as Children Begin School* (Economic Policy Institute, 2002); Michael Sadowski, “The School Readiness Gap,” *Harvard Education Letter* 22, no. 4 (July/August 2006), <https://www.fcd-us.org/assets/2016/04/SchoolReadinessGap.pdf>.

⁴ Elizabeth Votruba-Drzal et al., “Child Care and Low-Income Children’s Development: Direct and Moderated Effects,” *Child Development* 75, no. 1 (2004): 296-312, <https://srcd.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2004.00670.x>; Eric Dearing et al., “Does Higher Quality Early Child Care Promote Low-Income Children’s Math and Reading Achievement in Middle Childhood?” *Child Development* 80, no. 5 (September/October 2009): 1329-1349, <https://srcd.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2009.01336.x>; Hani Morgan, “Does High-Quality Preschool Benefit Children? What the Research Shows,” *Education Sciences* 9, no. 1 (January 21, 2019): 2-3, <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci9010019>.

⁵ Hirokazu Yoshikawa et al., “Investing in Our Future: The Evidence Base on Preschool Education,” *Foundation for Child Development and Society for Research in Child Development*, (October 2013), <https://www.fcd-us.org/assets/2016/04/Evidence-Base-on-Preschool-Education-FINAL.pdf>.

⁶ Clio Chang, “Why Integrated Preschools Help Every Student,” *The Century Foundation*, April 30, 2015, <https://tcf.org/content/commentary/why-integrated-preschools-help-every-student/>; Jeanne L. Reid and Sharon Lynn Kagan, “A Better Start: Why Classroom Diversity Matters in Early Education,” *The Century Foundation and the Poverty & Race Research Action Council*, (2015), <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED571023.pdf>.

⁷ Chang, “Why Integrated Preschools Help Every Student”; Reid and Kagan, “A Better Start.”

families, as well as to provide...a stimulating, nurturing learning community.” Its teachers are highly trained and experienced. At Calvin Hill, “play is really children’s work,” and through this play children learn “basic values, positive self-concept, observation, language and literacy, math and science skills.”⁸ All of this and more make Calvin Hill a high-quality center.

Calvin Hill has a unique history. Founded to provide Yale employees in the Local 35 Union (dining hall workers and maintenance staff) affordable child care, Calvin Hill’s sliding tuition scale promotes high-quality care to a diverse economic range of families. Diversity at Calvin Hill includes race, economics, and international status. The bottom of the sliding scale serves primarily graduate students and post-docs, but they do not contribute to diversity in the same complex, hard-to-articulate way a Local 35 member contributes. The doctoral students and graduate students are low-income at the moment but they are not low-SES because they have high social status and ample opportunity to be high-income. In contrast, a Local 35 member who has the same income as the graduate student contributes to diversity of educational attainment, social mobility (the potential to rise to a higher socio-economic status), and social capital (the benefits one receives from their personal relationships and networks). In this understanding of “SES,” Calvin Hill has few low-SES families.

Calvin Hill lends itself particularly well to a case study on the challenges to increasing SES diversity in child care programs. My own pre-K classroom at a private school in the Gold Coast of Chicago was expensive and one price for all. Because the Gold Coast community itself is full of high social status, high-income, white families, the reasons for my school’s lack of SES diversity were obvious. But Calvin Hill has a sliding tuition scale. Calvin Hill’s mission statement affirms its commitment to providing high quality, affordable child care to all types of

⁸ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Parent Handbook. Calvin Hill Daycare Center and Kitty Lustman-Findling Kindergarten,” 2019-2020.

children. Its staff and director actively seek to serve families across the sliding scale spectrum. Plus, the Calvin Hill building is close to Yale employees' work location, just one mile from campus and on the Yale shuttle route. This location overcomes challenges associated with residential segregation. Nevertheless, Calvin Hill serves very few children of Local 35 employees. (Calvin Hill students have included children from a range of Yale employees—faculty, administrators, and even children of parents in the Clerical and Technical Union—but these Yale employees are different from employees who perform custodial and maintenance jobs.) For all these reasons, Calvin Hill's lack of low-SES families is not institutionally determined. This is precisely why Calvin Hill serves as the perfect case study. It mitigates many extraneous factors (program commitment, cost, location, etc.) and allows investigation into the root of questions of access, affordability, and segregation.

Research Questions

- 1) How have child care trends and the politics of child care been reflected or resisted by Calvin Hill?
- 2) What are the common challenges for the recruitment of socio-economically diverse classrooms? And to what extent do those challenges apply to Calvin Hill?
- 3) What factors explain why employees in the Local 35 Union very rarely send their children to Calvin Hill?
- 4) If Local 35 employees want to send their children to Calvin Hill, what are the internal structures and external constraints holding low-SES diversity back?
- 5) What changes and shifts in Calvin Hill's history have affected the families it serves?

Scope of Research

Solving SES segregation in pre-K is a problem of great complexity. Many factors contribute to the problem and will contribute to the solution. Just a few of the elements that contribute to the difficulty of the solution are costs of running a day care center (teacher salaries, teacher training, etc.), schedule/calendar/hours of operation, town and gown tensions, the history of day care at Yale, and even the perception of day care in society at large.

This capstone puts Calvin Hill in the context of child care history and highlights the importance of a case study on Calvin Hill, but it does not provide an in-depth and nuanced study of child care history, the reasons for segregation in pre-K classrooms, or issues of access and affordability in child care at large. Also, the scope of this research is generalizable to other child care centers only in limited circumstances. As discussed below, the lessons of Calvin Hill potentially apply to other high-quality or university-affiliated centers seeking greater low-SES diversity but not to low-SES segregated centers that would need high-SES families for diversity.

The research focuses on the factors that led Calvin Hill to serve the population it does and the reasons that so few Local 35 employees currently attend Calvin Hill. In this context (and from here on), “Local 35 employees” or “Union employees” refers to workers in Yale’s Local 35 bargaining unit, “the blue-collar union representing 1,400 cafeteria, maintenance and physical plant workers.”⁹ This capstone focuses on Union employees because Calvin Hill’s founders opened the Center to provide affordable day care for Local 35 employees. These low-SES families are more likely to attend Calvin Hill because they come to Yale for work. Integrating more Union employees into Calvin Hill also will create a more inclusive Yale community. Finally, Calvin Hill students must be 75% Yale-affiliated because Yale requires that as part of its

⁹ Michelle Liu et al., “Yale Workers Approve Five-Year Pact,” *The CT Mirror*, January 19, 2017, <https://ctmirror.org/2017/01/19/yale-workers-approve-five-year-pact/>.

commitment to provide free space. This capstone has not investigated the recruitment of low-SES families in the greater New Haven area.

Methodology

In order to understand the relationship between quality care and SES diversity, I conducted a literature review. The literature review targets the fields of (1) history of child care, (2) race and SES segregation in education, (3) quality in child care and the benefits of high-quality care for low-income children, and (4) the benefits of an integrated classroom. This review establishes the importance of this case study, the background to evaluate how Calvin Hill evolved to its current form, the tools for a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics at play, and an insight into what might be possible and desirable as Calvin Hill pursues greater diversity.

In order to answer research questions related more specifically to Local 35 and Calvin Hill's shifting mission and demographics, I reviewed historical records from the Center and conducted interviews. Calvin Hill has extensive archives and granted reasonably broad access to Board minutes and additional Board materials from Calvin Hill's founding through 2009. I also reviewed parent handbooks, budget sheets, recruitment flyers, and the sliding scale. Finally, I interviewed Carla Horwitz, the Director Emerita of Calvin Hill, and Susan Taddei, the current Director of Calvin Hill. These sources revealed the demographics of Calvin Hill over time, including family income level, New Haven School Readiness enrollment, parent occupations, Yale affiliation, race/ethnicity, and international status (i.e., at least one parent who is not U.S. born, the child has lived in a foreign country, or English as a second language). These sources also identified significant policy changes that might have affected recruitment and enrollment.

While analyzing the materials, I asked questions to best help me understand how Calvin Hill evolved from serving the founders' intended families to serving the families it does today:

- What was the composition of Calvin Hill in the past and what is the composition now?
- What changes has Calvin Hill made over time that might affect who attends Calvin Hill?
- What changes have been made that would impact low-SES family enrollment?
- In what ways does Calvin Hill historically and currently go about recruiting its families?
- How does Calvin Hill want to represent itself in the community—both in the sense of what image does it present and also by what communication channels?
- How have Calvin Hill's program and budget priorities shifted over time?
- In what ways does Calvin Hill reflect or not reflect its original mission?

One possible limitation inherent to these primary source documents is that many are opinion-based and biased because they were written by Calvin Hill's own Board of Directors. For purposes of my capstone, however, the potential biases are less problematic because the opinions of Calvin Hill's Board are effectively the subject of my study. Also, not all decisions and day-to-day functioning are documented, and the things that are documented do not always explain the intention or reasoning. Because I have a bias towards more SES diversity, I reminded myself of the novelty of a preschool with quality as high as Calvin Hill's and that such quality requires a variety of priorities and compromises. The diversity mission needs to be balanced against many other factors necessary to serve children and families. I was careful to understand the tradeoffs that have been made.

In order to evaluate the low number of Union families enrolled at Calvin Hill, I undertook a survey of Union workers who are parents to discern their knowledge and opinions of Calvin Hill and their child care preferences. I worked with Rafi Taherian, the Associate Vice President of Yale Hospitality, who supervises the dining hall workers, and Kara Tavella, the Associate Director of Facilities, who supervises the maintenance and custodial workers. I distributed the

paper survey at dining hall workers' "family meetings," and Ms. Tavella distributed the paper survey to facilities workers at prominent locations for them to complete. The survey provided a URL allowing respondents to enter a raffle and win one of three \$25 Amazon gift cards. I applied to IRB for approval of my survey and qualified for an exemption under category 2.

The survey responses helped explain the main reasons that Union employees do not choose Calvin Hill and the main factors that might draw Union employees to Calvin Hill. I considered the following questions:

- Are Local 35 employees rejecting Calvin Hill as an option, or are they unaware of Calvin Hill?
- To what extent are the contributing factors driving child care choices based on realities of Calvin Hill's program versus misconceptions?
- To what extent are the choices of Local 35 employees driven not by concerns over Calvin Hill but instead preferences for other child care options?

When surveying people, there may not have been full candor; however, my surveys did not pose a risk to the respondents likely to influence answers. Therefore, I accepted the information at face value. One weakness of the survey format was that I could not ask follow up questions. Also, based on the responses completed in my presence, most respondents did not invest a significant amount of time in their answers. Because the survey was mostly multiple choice and discrete questions (e.g., about a certain factor instead of someone's opinions), these weaknesses did not pose a significant problem. Further, an advantage of a survey over an interview was that I collected more responses, and the responses were anonymous. I consciously showed respect for the Local 35 employees and recognized my positionality as a white, Yale undergraduate. I was

mindful of the reputation and power of being a Yale student and the potentially sensitive relationship between Calvin Hill, Local 35 employees, and Yale University.

Potential conflicts of interest and structural limitations also run through my capstone more generally. First, my advisor is Carla Horwitz, the Director Emerita of Calvin Hill. This could create a conflict of interest for me to the extent some of my conclusions might be interpreted as critiques of an institution Director Horwitz largely created. Further, my primary sources to some degree were curated by Director Horwitz, and she personally provided information to fill knowledge gaps. This cuts both ways, because the people closest to Calvin Hill can be the most forgiving and the most critical. Although these potential conflicts could have placed me in a difficult spot, I had the security of knowing that Carla Horwitz, Director Susan Taddei, and Calvin Hill had asked me to work on this capstone. They acknowledged the relative lack of low-SES diversity should be investigated further. Second, I currently serve on the Board of Directors for Calvin Hill. I arrived at this project precisely because I am so close to the Calvin Hill community and feel strongly about the quality of care it provides. The potential bias from membership in the Calvin Hill community, however, also was a plus because Calvin Hill granted me more access and more time than would have been the case absent the trust engendered by my own connections. Third, I have dedicated immense time, academically and professionally, to investigating educational injustices and inequities for under-resourced communities. Therefore, I was drawn to Calvin Hill's founding mission and sensitive to any divergence. Being conscious of this bias and working to see the other side helped me combat this bias. Also, my literature review supported my inclinations, which allowed me to base many of my conclusions on the academic work of others and not just my own feelings about the topic.

Access, Quality, and Diversity in U.S. Child Care

To understand the political realities of child care, the role of socio-economics in child care, and the common challenges in creating diverse child care environments, I drew from the fields of (1) child care history; (2) segregation by race and class in education; (3) high-quality child care and the impacts of high-quality care on low-income students; and (4) the benefits of diverse classrooms. Child care history and the scholarship supporting best practices in child care help explain Calvin Hill's evolving, high-quality pedagogy and also support the advantages of increased low-SES diversity.

History of Child Care

The ebbs and flows of public and political support for child care in the U.S. rarely have had anything to do with the best interest of children. Calvin Hill operates in this controversial child care landscape. In some ways, Calvin Hill remains subject to the same market and social forces as any other center, and in other ways it has carved out a unique path for itself.

Child care services historically have hinged on the dynamic of low-income families and welfare. As far back as the 1830's, infant schools allowed poor mothers to find work and to "provide 'moral education' to poor children."¹⁰ In the 1870's and 1880's, upper-class women opened day nurseries as charity for poor families. These nurseries were not educational; rather, they were for "small, dirty, ill-behaved, lower-class children who were left alone daily...while their mothers went off to the factory or domestic work."¹¹ The direct mission of day nurseries was not to benefit children but instead to control and reform the poor, lower classes who were "dirty" and "ill-behaved" in the eyes of society. Through the first half of the 20th century, society

¹⁰ Edward Zigler and Mary Lang, *Child Care Choices: Balancing the Needs of Children, Families, and Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1991), 29.

¹¹ Margaret O'Brien Steinfels, *Who's Minding the Children? The History and Politics of Day Care in America* (Simon and Schuster, 1973), 41.

viewed day care as a welfare service. Sending a child to child care would label a woman a “‘problem’ mother with a maladjusted family....day care was not a service for the normal.”¹²

On rare occasions, child care arose to a national priority because of economics and labor shortages. During the Depression, the Roosevelt administration became the first administration to provide public funds for child care. The reason was to “supply jobs for unemployed teachers, nurses, [etc.].”¹³ It was “to get the unemployed off the welfare rolls.”¹⁴ And later, during WWII, the national war effort led to the Lanham Act, which supplied grants for child care because it became a “patriotic necessity for women to go to work.”¹⁵ The necessity was temporary, and when the men came back the women were to return back home with their children. Nonetheless, the centers employed some of the best trained teachers in America coming out of the progressive education movement. But because the services were only in place for wartime needs and not for the children, the end of the war brought the “closing of twenty-eight hundred centers [and] left over a million and a half children without day care services.”¹⁶

The 1960’s feminist movement incorporated child care policy into its platform. In this period, child care began to really take off. Steinfels explains, however, that the child care demand was “directly related to freeing women from their sex-role occupations and allowing them to participate equally with men in the labor market.”¹⁷ This is not to say that women in the feminist movement did not care about the development and well-being of their children, but their child care demands were not grounded in the best education for their children.

Congress attempted to enact the Comprehensive Child Development Act in 1971, which

¹² Steinfels, *Who’s Minding the Children?*, 63.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 66-7.

¹⁴ Zigler and Lang, *Child Care Choices*, 33.

¹⁵ Steinfels, *Who’s Minding the Children?*, 67.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

called for “federal funding of high-quality child care for welfare recipients and...the creation of new child care facilities.”¹⁸ Although Nixon backed the bill originally, he surprised the nation by vetoing it. He worried that the government was favoring “communal approaches to child rearing over against the family-centered approach.”¹⁹ Nixon played into gendered ideology of the nuclear family, as well as interpretations of public support for child care as communism.

The history of other educational movements in the U.S. intersects with the world of child care. From the early 1900’s to the 1940’s, the progressive education movement made waves that carry on into high-quality classrooms today. John Dewey, the face of progressive education, pushed for “more freedom for children,” “greater attention to individual growth,” “unity between education and life,” “a more meaningful school curriculum,” and a “democratizing of culture and learning.”²⁰ Dewey promoted “learning by doing” and learning by play. He saw schools as “agents of constructive social change.”²¹ The role of the teacher was that of “a guide, not master.”²² In sum, the progressive education movement championed child-centered schools focused on individuals, interaction with the real world, and educating children ready to reform and participate in a democratic society. These same ideas were espoused by the best early childhood classrooms and influenced Calvin Hill’s curriculum after Director Horwitz was hired.

More specific to early childhood, the nursery school movement flourished in the first decades of the 20th century. Even before Maria Montessori developed her model in Italy, the McMillan sisters had started the nursery school movement in England in the 1880’s. They were concerned with the “physical health” and “irreparable damage” brought on by “bad conditions” for poor

¹⁸ Zigler and Lang, *Child Care Choices*, 41.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 43.

²⁰ Lawrence A. Cremin, “John Dewey and the Progressive-Education Movement, 1915-1952,” *The School Review* 67, no. 2 (1959): 162, www.jstor.org/stable/1083643.

²¹ Cremin, “John Dewey,” 163.

²² Kathleen Weiler, “What Can We Learn from Progressive Education?” *The Radical Teacher*, no. 69 (2004): 5, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20710239>.

children from the slums.²³ The McMillans “stressed good health and hygiene for children, parent education for better mothering, and children’s education...through play.”²⁴ Abigail Adams Eliot brought these principles back to the U.S. The movement focused on “well-trained teachers” who knew how to “create safe, healthy, and enriching experiences for young children.”²⁵ The play was often outdoors and emerged from children’s interests and choices. The nursery school movement preached not only basic care but also “a carefully organized learning environment.”²⁶

Although the movement’s clientele in England were low-income children, nursery schools in the U.S. began to serve a more mixed clientele of “educated mothers” with “money to spend.”²⁷ These mothers became interested in the emergence of a multitude of child study research. As the movement flourished in the 1940’s and 1950’s, the mothers formed child study groups to discuss how best to raise and educate their children. Nursery schools were often partial day. These mothers chose to send their children to nursery school not because they needed child care but because they wanted the educational and socialization benefits that could not be provided by stay-at-home mothers or hired nannies.²⁸ Calvin Hill grapples with this issue when faced with the choice to enroll students with a stay-at-home parent.

Child study as a field began in earnest in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Theories of children and childhood date as far back as Rousseau and as recently as Pestalozzi and Froebel (pedagogical theorists focused on early learning, the teacher-student relationship, direct

²³ Elise Steiner, “The Nursery School Idea,” *Developmental Medicine & Child Neurology* 4, no. 2 (April 1962): 184, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1469-8749.1962.tb03128.x>.

²⁴ Betty Liebovich, “Abigail Eliot and Margaret McMillan: Brining the Nursery School to the United States,” *YC Young Children* 71, no. 2 (2016): 92, www.jstor.org/stable/ycyoungchildren.71.2.92.

²⁵ Liebovich, “Abigail Eliot and Margaret McMillan,” 93.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 95.

²⁷ Emily D. Cahan, *Past Caring: A History of U.S. Preschool Care and Education for the Poor: 1820-1965* (New York: National Center for Children in Poverty, 1989), 23, <https://www.researchconnections.org/childcare/resources/2088/pdf>.

²⁸ Cahan, *Past Caring*, 22.

interaction with the world). The child study movement emerged from many sources. Parents and teachers wanted to learn more “about how to teach children”; social Darwinists and psychologists wanted to “know about how adult differences started”; and child welfare workers wanted to know how to plan better “programs to help children.”²⁹ Granville Stanley Hall pushed the diverse interests towards a more cohesive movement focused on scientific pedagogy, more effective teaching and parenting, and child development theories based on research.³⁰ Out of the movement came lasting teacher preparation programs (e.g., Bank Street), child study institutes (e.g., the Yale Child Study Center opened by Arnold Gesell, a leader in the child study movement), and innovative schools (e.g., Caroline Pratt’s City and Country).

Some university child study institutes sponsored affiliated nursery schools. These schools were used for teacher training and child study research.³¹ Affiliation with a university meant that the schools served mostly upper and middle class children whose families were working in academia.³² The juxtaposition of custodial care in typical U.S. centers with the educational and research driven care at university-affiliated centers created a two-tiered system of child care, where those with high SES had the opportunity to send their children to the highest quality programs. As discussed below, Calvin Hill’s founders resisted traditional university affiliation, and Calvin Hill’s sliding tuition scale helps bridge the two tiers.

²⁹ Emily S. Davidson and Ludy T. Benjamin, “A History of the Child Study Movement in America,” in *Historical Foundations of Educational Psychology*, ed. John A. Glover and Royce R. Ronning (Boston, MA: Springer, 1987), 46.

³⁰ Davidson and Benjamin, “A History of the Child Study Movement in America,” 46.

³¹ See e.g., University of New Hampshire, “Child Study and Development Center: About Us,” College of Health and Human Services, <https://chhs.unh.edu/child-study-development-center/about-us>; University of Minnesota, “University of Minnesota Child Development Center,” College of Education + Human Development, <https://www.cehd.umn.edu/ChildDevelopmentCenter/>.

³² University of Minnesota, “University of Minnesota Child Development Center;” University of California Los Angeles, “UCLA Early Care and Education Eligibility and Enrollment Policies and Procedures,” June 2018, <https://ucla.app.box.com/v/ece-enrollment-policies>; University of California, “Applicant Pool Forms, Tuition Assistance,” Early Care and Education, <https://www.ece.ucla.edu/enrollment-tuition/applicant-pool-forms-tuition-assistance>.

Head Start, established in 1965, is the best example of a government effort to provide child care for the sake of the children. It provides educational opportunities and services (e.g., clinics, dentistry, food) to under-resourced children and families.³³ Head Start was the first major step in improving the achievement gap. It also developed an internal career ladder where parents and paraprofessionals could enter the field and progress through professional development. In striving to bridge the educational gap that emerges between high-income and low-income children early in life, Head Start “popularized the notion that early childhood education was appropriate for all children” and focused on the educational rather than “custodial” aspects of child care.³⁴ Even so, Head Start offered programming only to low-income children, which perpetuated economic and racial segregation. Head Start remains active today, and several respondents in the survey for this capstone indicated that their children have participated.

The Connecticut School Readiness Program (started in 1997) and similar programs in other states follow in Head Start’s footsteps, with the aim of closing the achievement gap. It focuses on providing “affordable high-quality programs” to “minimize developmental delays.”³⁵ Like Head Start, it promotes family involvement, health services, and nutrition services. Most of the children are “at or below 75 percent of the State Median Income.”³⁶ Unlike Head Start, however, School Readiness facilitates integration by not only creating centers of its own but also providing funds for families to attend local, existing centers. Calvin Hill partners with the Connecticut program, and a half-dozen students each year benefit from School Readiness funds.

Although state school readiness programs and New York’s Universal Pre-K promote

³³ Maria Vinovskis, “Early Childhood Education: Then and Now,” *Daedalus* 122, no. 1 (1993): 159-163, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20027154>.

³⁴ Steinfels, *Who’s Minding the Children?*, 85.

³⁵ Connecticut Office of Early Childhood, “What is Connecticut’s School Readiness Preschool Program?,” https://www.ct.gov/oec/lib/oec/School_Readiness_Overview_2020.pdf.

³⁶ Connecticut Office of Early Childhood, “What is Connecticut’s School Readiness?”

affordability, child care was and is enormously expensive. In 2016, 31% of parents who had difficulty finding child care cited cost as the reason.³⁷ The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services determined that 7% of household income is affordable for families with low income.³⁸ In Connecticut, however, center-based care for two children consumes on average 22.9% of a family's income. Further, for families at the poverty line, center-based care for two children could cost 112.7% of their income.³⁹ In 2019, a parent who worked at Yale confirmed that the child care "options offered there are too expensive for her to access."⁴⁰ Addressing the substantial cost of child care was one reason Calvin Hill was conceived of in the first place and is why Calvin Hill's sliding scale remains important.

Segregation in Education

Almost all studies of educational segregation draw on *Brown v. Board*, the aftermath of the civil rights movement, and busing. K-12 schools are more segregated now than they were immediately after desegregation efforts compelled by law.⁴¹ The leading collector of school segregation data has been the National Center of Education Statistics' Common Core of Education Statistics. Forty-five years after *Brown*, the Harvard Civil Rights Project and Gary Orfield analyzed the Common Core data and found "increasing segregation in states with

³⁷ Lisa Corcoran et al., "Early Childhood Program Participation, Results from the National Household Education Surveys Program of 2016," *U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics*, (January 2019), <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2017/2017101REV.pdf>.

³⁸ "The US and the High Price of Child Care: An Examination of a Broken System," *ChildCare Aware of America*, (2019): 12, https://cdn2.hubspot.net/hubfs/3957809/2019%20Price%20of%20Care%20State%20Sheets/Final-TheUSandtheHighPriceofChildCare-AnExaminationofaBrokenSystem.pdf?utm_referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.childcareaware.org%2Four-issues%2Fresearch%2Fthe-us-and-the-high-price-of-child-care-2019%2F.

³⁹ "Price of Child Care in: Connecticut," *ChildCare Aware of America*, (2019), https://info.childcareaware.org/hubfs/2019%20Price%20of%20Care%20State%20Sheets/Connecticut.pdf?utm_campaign=2019%20Cost%20of%20Care&utm_source=2019%20COC%20-%20CT.

⁴⁰ Mary E. O'Leary, "Childcare Costs, Integration in Center Stage at New Haven Mayoral Forum," *New Haven Register*, August 29, 2019, <https://www.nhregister.com/news/article/Childcare-costs-integration-in-center-stage-at-14397168.php>.

⁴¹ Meatto, "Still Separate, Still Unequal."

substantial black enrollment,” “severest segregation occurring in Latino communities,” a “link between segregation by race and poverty,” and “growing segregation among Blacks and Latinos in Suburban Schools.”⁴² Little has changed since that review by the Harvard Civil Rights Project. Subsequent scholars cite similar data and similar reasons for school segregation.

Most scholarship focuses on segregation in public K-12 schools, ignoring early childhood classrooms and private programs. The early years are the most critical for neuro-connections, social-emotional regulation, and social development.⁴³ Also, the achievement gap opens before a child even enters kindergarten.⁴⁴ Therefore, scholars miss an essential topic when they overlook early childhood classrooms. Because “6/10 four-year-olds are not enrolled in publicly funded preschool programs,”⁴⁵ the majority of children are either not enrolled in child care or enrolled in private programs. Thus, scholars make another mistake by ignoring the private sector. A case study of Calvin Hill helps fill these gaps by studying a private child care center.

Segregation in early childhood classrooms is a significant problem. Erica Frankenberg recently concluded that “more than half of all Black and Hispanic preschool students are enrolled in schools that have 90% or more students of color,” while “the typical white preschool student attends a school that has nearly 70% of students who are white.”⁴⁶ Segregation also occurs along socio-economic lines.⁴⁷ Early childhood classrooms are even more segregated than K-12

⁴² “New National Study Finds Increasing School Segregation,” Harvard Graduate School of Education, last modified June 8, 1999, <https://www.gse.harvard.edu/news/new-national-study-finds-increasing-school-segregation>.

⁴³ Jack Shonkoff and Deborah Phillips, *From Neurons to Neighborhoods: The Science of Early Child Development*, (Washington, D.C: National Academies Press, 2000).

⁴⁴ Burkam and Lee, *Inequality at the Starting Gate*; Sadowski, “The School Readiness Gap.”

⁴⁵ U.S. Department of Education, “A Matter of Equity: Preschool in America,” (April 2015), <https://www2.ed.gov/documents/early-learning/matter-equity-preschool-america.pdf>.

⁴⁶ Erica Frankenberg, “Segregation at an Early Age,” *Center for Education and Civil Rights, PennState College of Education*, and *The National Coalition on School Diversity*, (October 2016), https://cecr.ed.psu.edu/sites/default/files/Segregation_At_An_Early_Age_Frankenberg_2016.pdf.

⁴⁷ Reid and Kagan, “A Better Start,” 7-8.

classrooms.⁴⁸ Despite this problem, there are only a few scholars that examine segregation in early childhood classrooms. Currently, they stick mostly to the data without explaining the reasons for the segregation or solutions to the problem. These main authors are Halley Potter with The Century Foundation and Jeanne L. Reid & Sharon Lynn Kagan with The Century Foundation & Race Research Action Council. A recent conference entitled “The Path Forward for Pre-K: A Roadmap for Socioeconomically Integrated Early Childhood Programs” was sponsored by the Education Alliance and The Century Foundation and included Halley Potter on the panel.⁴⁹ The circle of scholars exploring issues of segregation in early childhood classrooms is quite small, and the scholars tend to reference one another. The most common solutions suggested are universal pre-K or sliding scales.⁵⁰ Universal pre-K does not seem realistic in the near future, and although it might expand the population of children attending pre-K, it would not necessarily integrate pre-K classrooms. Sliding scales are more realistic but again do not always achieve full diversity, as some of Calvin Hill’s demographics reveal.

High-Quality Child Care and the Effects of High-Quality on Low-Income Children

Although many components contribute to high-quality, there is a relative consensus on the most important elements for high-quality child care. They include structural quality (the facilities, the teacher-to-student ratio, etc.) and process quality (the interactions and curriculum/pedagogy). Structurally, there needs to be a high teacher-to-student ratio with at least 1 teacher per every 10 preschoolers. The facilities must be safe, clean, neatly organized, allow enough space for learning stations and deep learning, and include a conducive outdoor space. For

⁴⁸ Jackie Mader, “Early Childhood Programs are More Segregated than K-12 Schools,” *The Hechinger Report*, October 3, 2019, <https://hechingerreport.org/early-childhood-programs-are-more-segregated-than-k-12-schools/>.

⁴⁹ The author attended this conference on October 30, 2019, in New York City.

⁵⁰ See e.g., Linda Jacobson, “Study: Early-Childhood Programs More Segregated than K-12,” *Education Dive*, October 1, 2019, <https://www.educationdive.com/news/study-early-childhood-programs-more-segregated-than-k-12/563945/>.

process, high-quality care focuses on the whole child (not just academics), stresses the importance of relationships teacher-to-child and child-to-child, and involves hands-on learning through play. Teachers must be well trained, as well as receive ongoing professional development and support. Further, the child care center must develop a partnership with each child's caregiver(s) and encourage parent involvement in the center.⁵¹ The most popular resources for defining high-quality child care are faculty research in university child study departments and organizations like the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) or Zero to Three.

Based on that definition of high-quality care, low-income children often receive low-quality care, whereas affluent children are more likely to receive high-quality care.⁵² There are a wide variety of short-term studies that focus on the academic benefits of high-quality preschool for low-income students—e.g., vocabulary acquisition and arithmetic improvements.⁵³ Also, many studies trace long-term benefits. The Perry Preschool Study started in 1962 and showed that a quality preschool for under-resourced children improves “their commitment to school, scholastic achievement, and school placement.”⁵⁴ (The Perry Program also yielded more than \$8 of social

⁵¹ National Association for the Education of Young Children, “The 10 NAEYC Program Standards,” <https://www.naeyc.org/our-work/families/10-naeyc-program-standards>; Marjorie Wechsler et al., “The Building Blocks of High-Quality Early Childhood Education Programs (policy brief),” *Learning Policy Institute*, (April 20, 2016), <https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/product/building-blocks-high-quality-early-childhood-education-programs>.

⁵² Chantelle J. Dowsett et al., “Structural and Process Features in Three Types of Child Care for Children from High and Low Income Families,” *Early Childhood Research Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (2008), <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0885200607000427?via%3Dihub>.

⁵³ Dearing, “Does Higher Quality Early Child Care Promote Low-Income Children’s Math and Reading Achievement in Middle Childhood?”; Frances A. Campbell et al., “The Development of Cognitive and Academic Abilities: Growth Curves from an Early Childhood Educational Experiment,” *Developmental Psychology* 37, no. 2 (March 2001): 231-242, <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ628465>.

⁵⁴ Lawrence J. Schweinhart and David P. Weikart, “Effects of the Perry Preschool Program on Youths Through Age 15,” *Journal of the Division for Early Childhood* 4, no. 1 (October 1, 1981): 29-39, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/105381518100400105>; Arthur J. Reynolds et al., “Paths of Effects of Early Childhood Intervention on Educational Attainment and Delinquency: A Confirmatory Analysis of the Chicago Child-Parent Centers,” *Child Development* 75, no. 5 (September 2004): 1299-1328, <https://srdc.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2004.00742.x>; Arthur J. Reynolds, *Success in Early Intervention: The Chicago Child-Parent Centers* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Arthur J.

benefit for every \$1 invested.⁵⁵) Besides Perry, the most commonly cited examples are the Abecedarian Project, Head Start, and the Chicago Child-Parent Centers. All of these studies, however, are interventions that were comprehensive (provide medical services, work with families in their homes on parenting and child development knowledge, and have a general social work component) and served only low-income students.

Benefits of Racially and Socio-Economically Diverse Environments for All Children

All children benefit from diverse environments. Gerilyn Slicker and Jason Hustedt conclude that socio-economically diverse pre-K settings have a positive effect on all children “in academic preparedness and in other ways that prepare them for success in a diverse workforce and society.”⁵⁶ Children learn from their peers. In a diverse environment, low-SES children gain many academic and social-emotional skills.⁵⁷ In a controlled study specifically designed to test the impact of socio-economic diverse classrooms for low-income children, “children in integrated programs scored significantly higher” in language skills.⁵⁸ A high-SES student that might be more advanced from her home environment will impart her knowledge to other students. High-income students, of course, also learn from their peers and the unique experiences of other children. Children from all different backgrounds bring new ideas to the dramatic play

Reynolds et al., “Age 21 Cost-Benefit Analysis of the Title I Chicago Child-Parent Centers,” *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 24, no. 4 (2002): 267–303, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3594119>.

⁵⁵ Steffanie Clothier and Julie Poppe, “New Research: Early Education as Economic Investment,” *National Conference of State Legislatures*, <https://www.ncsl.org/research/human-services/new-research-early-education-as-economic-investme.aspx>.

⁵⁶ Gerilyn Slicker and Jason Hustedt, “Children’s School Readiness in Socioeconomically Diverse Pre-K Classrooms,” *Early Child Development and Care*, (February 2019), <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03004430.2019.1582527>.

⁵⁷ Janet H. Bagby, Loretta C. Rudd, and Majka Woods, “The Effects of Socioeconomic Diversity on the Language, Cognitive and Social–Emotional Development of Children from Low-income Backgrounds,” *Early Child Development and Care* 175, no. 5 (2005): 395–405, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0300443042000270768>.

⁵⁸ Carlota Schechter, and Beth Bye, “Preliminary Evidence for the Impact of Mixed-Income Preschools on Low-Income Children’s Language Growth,” *Early Childhood Research Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (2007): 137–146, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0885200606000846>.

area, the blocks area, and more. Diversity teaches every student, high-income included, critical thinking skills and negotiation skills.⁵⁹ Further, diversity has the potential to reduce the biases and prejudices of all children.⁶⁰

Although interventions that increase access for low-income children help them receive high-quality care, the programs also perpetuate silos of low-income children. Because the programs ignore middle-income or high-income students and do little to integrate classrooms, these programs miss the benefits of diverse classrooms. Calvin Hill, in contrast, presents an opportunity for a high-quality and mixed-income environment.

Calvin Hill Day Care Center

This section details Calvin Hill's history and the shifts in mission and structure that affected the demographics of the families it serves. To a large degree, Calvin Hill was subject to the same political realities and challenges for the recruitment of socio-economic diversity as the rest of child care centers in the country. At the same time, Calvin Hill's founding mission, sliding tuition scale, and university-affiliation make it unique.

Calvin Hill was the first Yale-affiliated child care center. In fall 1969, child care options were not a concern of the men who ran Yale. That changed in November when Yale fired a food server named Colia Williams after she missed work because she could not afford child care. Some of the same students actively promoting more general social justice and racial justice causes (e.g., in alliance with the New Haven Black Panther Party) protested on behalf of Ms. Williams. They forced Yale to rehire Williams,⁶¹ and students from Davenport College demanded affordable day care for all low-SES Union employees. The students were motivated

⁵⁹ Chang, "Why Integrated Preschools Help Every Student;" Reid and Kagan, "A Better Start."

⁶⁰ Chang, "Why Integrated Preschools Help Every Student;" Reid and Kagan, "A Better Start."

⁶¹ Richard M. Schwartz, "Undergrads Propose Day Care at DKE," *Yale Daily News*, February 11, 1970, <http://digital.library.yale.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/yale-ydn/id/11079/rec/1>.

“to ease the financial strain on low-income workers.”⁶² Kurt Schmoke ('71) and Mary Pearl ('72) led this effort and became co-directors of a child care center that existed only in concept. They sought support from student organizations and prominent alumni. The students found a constellation of support in certain members of the administration, Provost Taft foremost among them. In addition, the students received essential encouragement and assistance from faculty members associated with the Yale Child Study Center, such as Davenport Head of College Seymour Lustman and his wife, Kitty Lustman. Calvin Hill's kindergarten is named the “Kitty Lustman-Findling Kindergarten” in honor of her support. All of these efforts came up short until then-President of Yale Kingman Brewster intervened.

Support for Calvin Hill aligned with overarching social justice causes of the time. Brewster and his special assistant, Henry Chauncey, expected a Black Panther May Day rally in New Haven and efforts by Yale students to “close the university down” with a general strike.⁶³ Chauncey arranged a meeting between the students' Strike Steering Committee and President Brewster in April 1970, and child care made the agenda. The Committee demanded that Yale “recognize its responsibility to provide day-care for children of the Yale community” and “ensure that the Calvin Hill Day Care Center be established and functional by September 1970.”⁶⁴ One week later, former Yale football star and NFL player Calvin Hill agreed to lend his name to the cause and spoke at a fundraiser. He connected child care with social justice by invoking “Daycare Power.”⁶⁵

President Brewster agreed to provide Calvin Hill with space free of charge and with some

⁶² Schwartz, “Undergrads Propose Day Care at DKE.”

⁶³ Paul Bass and Doug Rae, “The Panther and the Bulldog: The Story of May Day 1970,” *Yale Alumni Magazine*, July/August 2006, http://archives.yalealumnimagazine.com/issues/2006_07/panthers.html.

⁶⁴ Strike Steering Committee, “Strike Steering Committee's Summary of an Unsatisfactory Meeting with Kingman Brewster, Jr. Regarding the 26 April Strike Demands,” May 3, 1970, <http://exhibits.library.yale.edu/document/8502>.

⁶⁵ Richard M. Schwartz, “Hill Speaks at Concert,” *Yale Daily News*, May 11, 1970, <http://digital.library.yale.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/yale-ydn/id/11326/rec/1>.

of Yale's money for a limited time. The University made space available at St. Thomas More House.⁶⁶ (Later, when Calvin Hill outgrew its original space, the University remodeled a firehouse on Highland Street and provided that space free of charge.⁶⁷) Chauncey originally insisted that Yale could not afford to support the center financially, but by May 1970 the University "agreed to match the amount of money raised by any organization."⁶⁸ Still, Yale did not make an open-ended financial commitment to Calvin Hill, and the Center "is not a Yale University program" but a university-affiliated, independent non-profit.⁶⁹

The opening of Calvin Hill prompted the University to establish formal child care policies. Yale provides and maintains the space for Yale-affiliated centers but does not subsidize or help operate them. Yale's original Child Care Policy stated that there will be a day care consultant that would provide information to "Yale employees interested in day care" and to "any group of employees seeking the University's assistance in establishing a new day care facility." Yale provides "space...without charge" in Yale buildings, but the center "must be separately incorporated and must provide day care on a priority basis for the children of students or employees of the University." Finally, each child care center "shall be solely responsible for the administration of the center, for all operations and expenses of the center, the hiring of personnel, the maintenance and any renovation of the facility, licensing requirements, insurance and all liability."⁷⁰ Since Calvin Hill, five more Yale-affiliated centers have opened, such as the Edith B. Jackson Child Care Program and Phyllis Bodel Child Care Center. Later, Yale added a

⁶⁶ Richard M. Schwartz, "Child Care Center Commences in Fall," *Yale Daily News*, June 1, 1970, <http://digital.library.yale.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/yale-yn/id/194595/rec/1>.

⁶⁷ Marcia Libes, "Calvin Hill Center Continues Low-cost Day Care Program," *Yale Daily News*, October 26, 1977, <http://digital.library.yale.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/yale-yn/id/196517/rec/1>.

⁶⁸ Richard M. Schwartz, "Calvin Hill to Speak at Benefit Concert," *Yale Daily News*, May 8, 1970, <http://digital.library.yale.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/yale-yn/id/11319/rec/1>.

⁶⁹ Libes, "Calvin Hill Center Continues Low-Cost Day Care Program."

⁷⁰ Yale University, "Proposed University Day Care Policy," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

Child Care Office and Child Care Coordinator (Child Study Center faculty member Nancy Close), responsible for advising the Yale community on child care options and serving as a liaison between the affiliated centers and the administration. These responsibilities now fall to Susan Abramson and WorkLife. Over time, Yale began to provide additional services directly to the affiliated centers, such as utilities, maintenance, heating, phone, snow removal, and Internet.

A Snapshot of Calvin Hill, Then and Now

Yale undergraduates established Calvin Hill in 1970 (with the first class in the 1970-71 academic year) to provide day care for “children of the staff and students (not the faculty or administration) of the University.”⁷¹ Because the target families were staff and students, the sliding tuition scale was established to ensure affordability. In these turbulent times, activism included racial justice, anti-war, and even child care. Five years after Head Start, affordable child care became a hot button political issue. In 1971, Congress passed the Comprehensive Child Development Act, which would have provided affordable care, especially for those on welfare, had Nixon not vetoed it. Calvin Hill’s founding reflected this national interest, while also doing its small part to follow through on the Act Nixon vetoed.

Although the founders preferred quality, day care for low-income staff and students was the mission. In particular, Calvin Hill focused on employees in the Bargaining Unit (now called Local 35). At one of its first meetings, the Board confirmed it “would continue to admit only children of the union employees, but that others could be put on the waiting list,” as long as they were “single parent families, Yale employees,” and “low income.”⁷² Just a month later, the Board opened “eligibility to children of non-faculty, clerical, technical, secretarial and

⁷¹ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Letter to Yale Charities Drive, April 12, 1977,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives (emphasis added).

⁷² Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, August 20, 1970,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

student[s].”⁷³ The original Center included no more than about 20 children. The first Calvin Hill class had 8 families from Local 35, 8 graduate student families, 6 secretary-technician families, and 1 staff family.⁷⁴ The original sliding scale ranged from \$5 per week (weekly income of less than \$100) to \$25 per week (weekly income of over \$250).⁷⁵

In the founding years (1970-71, 1972-73, 1975-76),⁷⁶ graduate and post-doc students comprised 54% of the community; clerical-technical staff comprised 24%; Local 35 employees comprised 15%; Drug Dependency Unit families comprised 3%; undergraduates comprised 3%; and faculty comprised 1.4%.⁷⁷ In 1970-71, the Union peak, Local 35 made up 35% of the class.⁷⁸ In 1972-73 and 1974-75, 40.5% of families paid the lowest level on the sliding scale (\$600-\$700 per year, which would be about \$3,300 in 2017 dollars); 36% paid the next lowest level on the sliding scale (\$800-\$900 per year); 5% of families paid \$1,000 per year; 26% paid \$1,300 per year; 5% paid \$1,500 per year; and 12% paid \$1,700 per year (which would be about \$8,100 with inflation).⁷⁹ In 1972-73, white families comprised 65%; Asian families comprised 9%; and black families comprised 26%.⁸⁰ In sum, the founding years were marked by low-income families, low tuition, and low SES. Only 1 spot over several years was allocated to faculty.

Today, Calvin Hill is a national model for child care, with classrooms for Threes,

⁷³ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, September 28, 1970,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

⁷⁴ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, November 24, 1970,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

⁷⁵ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, August 12, 1970,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

⁷⁶ My document review included demographic information related to race, vocation, income, international status, Yale-affiliation, and School Readiness. One limitation, however, was that only subsets of that information were available in any given year. Further, even when race or vocation was available, it was not necessarily available for all families. To address this limitation, my capstone uses averages and seeks to be clear as to what years and what data support the conclusions.

⁷⁷ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, November 24, 1970”; Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, January 9, 1973,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives; Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, September 1975,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

⁷⁸ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, November 24, 1970.”

⁷⁹ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, January 9, 1973”; Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, September 10, 1974,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

⁸⁰ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, January 9, 1973.”

Preschool, and Kindergarten, serving about 60 students. Its current mission is “to serve as a support for whole families, working in partnership with parents to help meet the emotional, social, physical, language and intellectual needs of their children. The Center values... diversity...of its families and is made richer by the inclusion of our families’ many backgrounds.” Calvin Hill aims to provide a “nurturing learning community for adults and children.” The current mission alludes to Calvin Hill’s history, observing that the “sliding scale upholds the Center’s founding mission to provide high quality, affordable child care...to the children of Yale and greater New Haven Communities... ensuring that the community of families enrolled is economically diverse.”⁸¹

In recent years, graduate and post-doc students comprised 34.4% of the center; professors (assistant, associate, and full) comprised 38%; professionals (doctors, lawyers, etc.) comprised 9.1%; other white collar (HR, teacher, etc.) comprised 15%; and blue collar, Local 35, and unemployed families each comprised 1.1%.⁸² In sum, recent classes are mostly filled with children of academics and professionals, all high-SES. In 2017-18, 21% of the families were international.⁸³ In 2017-18, white families comprised 58.5%; Asian families comprised 22.6%; black families comprised 7.5%; Latinx families comprised 2%; and mixed race comprised 7.5%.⁸⁴ In 2017-18, the distribution of family income is reflected on the chart below.⁸⁵ Significantly, more than half of the families had an income of \$125,000 per year or higher.

⁸¹ “Mission and Philosophy,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center, <https://www.calvinhilldaycare.org/About/MissionandPhilosophy.aspx>.

⁸² These averages are based on the 2017-18 and the 2019-20 school years. Family occupation was determined by the parent with the highest-SES job. Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Family Forms, 2017-18,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives; Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “University Affiliation Forms, 2019-20,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

⁸³ Calvin Hill, “Family Forms, 2017-18.”

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

Family Income 2017-2018

\$0-30,000/year	0	0%
\$30,000-40,000/year	2	3.3%
\$40,000-60,000	9	15%
\$60,000-90,000	6	10%
\$90,000-125,000	11	18.3%
\$125,000-175,000	12	20%
>\$175,000	20	33.3%
Total	60	

Overall, the mission and the demographics have undergone changes. The mission statement now includes extensive discussion about quality and emphasizes the sliding scale's promotion of economic diversity. The founding mission's main focus was affordable care for low-income and low-SES Yale employees. Demographically, about 1/3 of Calvin Hill is now made up of faculty families, while faculty families were not even allowed in the founding years (except under very special cases). Also, in the recent past, Calvin Hill has had either no Local 35 families or only one Local 35 family, while the founding class was 35% Union and the founding years were at least 15% Union. Finally, the sliding scale has expanded upwards and the distribution of families on the scale has changed. In 2017-18, the lowest earning family enrolled at Calvin Hill would have paid (if they were not School Readiness) about \$3,500 per year. The low end of the scale was true to the founding years, where the lowest earning families (with inflation) paid about \$3,300 per year. The difference occurs at the top of the scale. The top tuition price currently is \$18,750 per year (App. D), while the top tuition price in the founding years (with inflation) was only \$9,450. Therefore, the top of the sliding scale has nearly doubled. Further, the distribution of families has changed. In the founding years, 76.5% paid in the bottom two brackets of the sliding scale (average of 1972-73 and 1974-75). Accounting for inflation, the

same two categories today would apply to incomes up to \$50,000. The case study categories that most closely correspond to the lowest two categories from the founding years include only 18.3% of families. That is a steep drop from 76.5%. Calvin Hill families today, on average, are higher SES and much higher income than in the founding years.

The Founding Years (1970-1975)

In its first 5 years, Calvin Hill held fast to its mission to provide affordable child care to low-SES families. When the first Board received an application from a faculty member of the Transitional Year Program, the application was “denied on the grounds that Yale faculty children are not eligible.”⁸⁶ The Board defined its mission by specifying the priority for enrolling students. 1) “presently enrolled children,” 2) “Union employees,” 3) “technicians, secretaries, less well-paid Yale employees,” 4) “graduate students,” and 5) “if openings are still available,” faculty “who are single parents or who may have special needs.”⁸⁷ To cement this priority, the Board clarified that Calvin Hill would reluctantly accept “children of postdoctoral and junior faculty” if spaces needed to be filled, but “the Center should not solicit this group.”⁸⁸

Almost all the founding years’ Board minutes contain discussion of Calvin Hill’s original mission. When the school had vacancies to fill, the Board determined “in line with the founding principles of the Center,” that the Center should “first try to attract union employees.”⁸⁹ Similarly, in 1973, the Minutes confirmed that “the primary thrust of the Center was still oriented toward the Yale community-lower income employees.”⁹⁰

The sliding tuition scale, for its part, expanded and shifted each year at this time but

⁸⁶ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, October 21, 1970,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

⁸⁷ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Executive Committee Minutes, May 24, 1972,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

⁸⁸ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, November 30, 1972,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

⁸⁹ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, November 30, 1972.”

⁹⁰ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, January 9, 1973.”

always within a narrow range. In 1972, the range started at \$25 per week (for incomes below \$125 per week) and ended at \$45 per week (for incomes above \$200 per week).⁹¹ In 1973, the Board established that the “top income category (weekly income over \$200) should be limited to 5 children” and that families with a yearly gross income higher than \$20,000 “cannot be considered for child care at Calvin Hill.”⁹² These limits helped ensure that the overall character of Calvin Hill remained low SES. Even so, during the founding years, the demographics shifted. The Yale Charities Drive, an undergraduate foundation and one of Calvin Hill’s funders, noticed the change and expressed concern about “the high number of parents who were graduate students in comparison to the low number of parents who were union employees.”⁹³ And by 1975, there were 11 graduate student families, 2 post-doc families, 8 employee families (only 1 from Local 35), 2 places for Drug Dependency Unit families, and 3 openings.⁹⁴

Calvin Hill tried hard to reach Union employees and keep tuition low. Calvin Hill met with the Union president “to inform him of the Center and to discuss the relationship of Union members to the Center.”⁹⁵ The Board “suggested that a group canvass the union workers to ascertain the numbers now interested in day care and to inform them again of the existence of the service at Calvin Hill” despite “the small results of the previous canvasses.”⁹⁶ The Center also conducted a survey of union workers, only to find that “there were few children of eligible age within the union.”⁹⁷ Only 10% of the 1,000 surveys sent to the Union were returned, “of which only 6 had children.”⁹⁸ In sum, Calvin Hill’s commitment to the mission in its founding years

⁹¹ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, May 29, 1972,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

⁹² Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, June 14, 1973,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

⁹³ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, September 28, 1972,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

⁹⁴ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, September 1975.”

⁹⁵ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, February 23, 1972,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

⁹⁶ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, November 16, 1971,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

⁹⁷ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, February 23, 1972.”

⁹⁸ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, September 28, 1972.”

was rock solid, but Calvin Hill never had a golden age for recruitment of Union families. The founders often discussed ways to improve outreach, identifying “the problem of what media to use to reach these people most effectively.”⁹⁹ In another meeting, the Board recognized that “employees are not getting information about the Center” and felt this was because “there is no single source from which such information can be distributed to all new employees.”¹⁰⁰ They felt that a “centralized university office to deal with child care is need[ed].”¹⁰¹

Transition Years: The Rise of Quality (~1975-1982)

Two fundamental changes beginning in approximately 1975 dramatically altered the types of families that Calvin Hill served. The first change was a significantly deeper commitment to quality care and a program that could be a national model for the highest standards. The second change was a mission shift from serving only low-SES Yale employees to seeking socioeconomic diversity (i.e., affordable care for families across a broad spectrum of income levels).

Calvin Hill always was interested in providing quality care, but that was not its main priority. And “quality” in the eyes of the undergraduate founders likely did not mean the same thing that Director Horwitz or this essay means when calling Calvin Hill “high quality.” The founding Board discussed the extent of Calvin Hill’s affiliation with the Yale Child Study Center and the role of Yale students. Historically, the child study movement and university child study centers had affiliated nursery schools for research and training, emphasizing child development and deemphasizing day care. Many Board members were worried that an affiliation might lead to a laboratory school. They did not want that,¹⁰² but the Calvin Hill of today has many lab elements, from teacher training fellowships to student observations.

⁹⁹ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, January 9, 1973.”

¹⁰⁰ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, October 15, 1975,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁰¹ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, October 15, 1975.”

¹⁰² Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, February 18, 1971,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

“Quality” began to mean something different in 1975, when Calvin Hill recruited Director Horwitz. Before then, Calvin Hill did not have a well-defined curriculum. Kitty Lustman reached out to Director Horwitz because Director Horwitz had a reputation as a very effective progressive elementary school teacher. (As discussed above, high-quality child care often draws on key tenets of the progressive education movement.) Lustman explained that Calvin Hill needed an expert to help professionalize.¹⁰³ At first, the teachers were reluctant to accept outside advice; however, the teachers’ respect for Director Horwitz grew, and she was made Director in 1977. Director Horwitz revised the curriculum (e.g., learning by doing and the teacher as a guide), the structure of the day, the school-parent relationship, and more. But increased quality led to increased costs. Better credentialed, more experienced teachers get paid more. In 1978, Calvin Hill increased salaries and included health insurance.¹⁰⁴

The flip side of the quality coin was that higher quality attracted higher-SES families. As a result, the sliding scale, the types of families served, and the socio-economic diversity began to change more than in the founding years. In 1976, the Board approved an application from a Visiting Associate Professor to fill an open space.¹⁰⁵ At the same time, Director Horwitz had a meeting with a Union leader to discuss “the problem of soliciting enrollment from families of union workers.”¹⁰⁶ In 1977, the Board decided that “whatever vacancies remain may be filled by children of junior faculty or graduate students.”¹⁰⁷ The demographics that year were 9 secretarial-technical families, 2 Local 35 families, 14 graduate student families, 3 post-doc families, and 1 faculty family.¹⁰⁸ The next school year there were 2 Local 35 families, 8 staff

¹⁰³ Carla Horwitz, interview by Hannah Perlman, March 4, 2020.

¹⁰⁴ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, May 15, 1978,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁰⁵ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, October 11, 1976,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁰⁶ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, October 11, 1976.”

¹⁰⁷ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, April 4, 1977,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁰⁸ Calvin Hill, “Letter to Yale Charities Drive, April 12, 1977.”

families, 11 graduate student families, 3 post-doc families, and 2 visiting professors families.¹⁰⁹ Only 7 years in, there were few families from Local 35 and many graduate and post-doc families. Still, Calvin Hill stressed “its commitment to the low income,” and the number of families paying the lowest weekly fee of \$20 actually increased from “five in 1975-76 to fifteen in 1976-77, more than half of the total enrollment.”¹¹⁰ Low-income, however, did not always mean low-SES or Union employees.

Yale Charities raised this distinction at the time: “members have lingering doubts about the disadvantages of grad students relative to those of other disadvantaged groups.”¹¹¹ For this reason, Yale Charities considered withdrawing funding. Because “high-income families often clamor for the high-quality services offered,” Yale Charities suggested that Calvin Hill “extend your sliding fee scale up to \$60 or \$65 per week, and fill the newly available slots with six students paying at the highest end of the scale” in order to subsidize “the lower income clients.”¹¹² It further suggested a “quota system which would ensure that no more than six high-income clients could be accepted.”¹¹³ A Calvin Hill administrator reported back to the Board that the Yale Charities Drive had suggested “extending the tuition scale upward,” accepting “new categories of children,” and accepting “community children.”¹¹⁴ The very next year Calvin Hill reported that the sliding scale ranged from \$20 to \$65 “in response to the recommendations of the 1976-77 Charities Drive.”¹¹⁵

By 1980, zero Union families attended Calvin Hill (9 secretarial-technical families, 11

¹⁰⁹ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, October 3, 1977,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹¹⁰ Calvin Hill, “Charities Drive, April 12, 1977.”

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, May 11, 1977,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹¹⁵ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Letter to Yale Charities Drive, April 20, 1978,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

graduate student families, 6 post-doc families, and 4 junior faculty families),¹¹⁶ and Calvin Hill considered the Charities Drive suggestion of quotas. Director Horwitz suggested “that categories of tuition levels be instituted so that” there would be a “fixed amount of tuition income each year. Only a certain amount of people would be accepted in each tuition category.”¹¹⁷ Although this suggestion kept the sliding scale intact, Calvin Hill also committed to “a fixed amount of tuition income each year” to run the school. The Finance Committee pushed back, reminding the Board of “the Center’s commitment to lower income families and the need to always have a few spaces available for them.” Still, “a few spaces” was different than the original mission of nearly all the spaces. At least implicitly, quality and the low-end of the scale were in tension.

Finances and Financial Tensions

Money was not the driver of change prior to 1982, but money always mattered. Calvin Hill has never had substantial reserves and always had to budget carefully. Early on, Calvin Hill subsidized tuition for all families; therefore, Calvin Hill needed considerable outside funding. At that time, the Board had many well-connected members, such as Provost Charles Taylor, Master of Davenport College and Child Study Center faculty Kitty Lustman, Dean of Yale College Horace Dwight Taft and his wife, and Child Study Center faculty Sally Provence. These Board members could draw on friends to generate contributions. Plus, “some money was forthcoming” from Yale.¹¹⁸ As the initial founding excitement and connected Board members started to dwindle, however, financial pressures increased.

Calvin Hill has pursued numerous strategies to address its financial struggles. It repeatedly has asked Yale to do more. Calvin Hill would not be possible without the support of

¹¹⁶ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Letter to Yale Charities Drive, April 1980,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹¹⁷ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, June 11, 1980,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹¹⁸ Horwitz, interview.

Yale's in-kind contributions, most especially rent-free tenancy in a Yale building. Over the years, Yale has chipped in additional amenities, including wifi, snow removal, and a telephone line. Yale does not contribute money, despite the many arguments advanced by Calvin Hill and other child care advocates. In 1975, a Yale day care task force encouraged administrators to subsidize child care to support two-parent working households and to promote career opportunities for women.¹¹⁹ In 1983, Edith B. Jackson Child Care Program (EBJ), another Yale-affiliated child care program, and Calvin Hill argued to President Giamatti that money should be allocated because the programs had become "national models of quality" and Yale could take "justifiable pride in responding to the needs of Yale families."¹²⁰ In 1987, Director Horwitz explained to Associate Provost Linda Lorimer that Yale employees need more affordable care, and that University money could prove "to union employees and the community that Yale can respond to the needs of its lower income members."¹²¹ In 1988, Nancy Close reasoned that more money from Yale would support "high quality day care" and "the use of the day care programs for research and demonstration."¹²² None of these arguments has ever convinced Yale to contribute significant money. By way of context, in the 1980's Stanford had seven child care centers and other peer universities provided some child care support, but Cornell and M.I.T. were the only two who offered day care as an employee benefit.¹²³ Yale had little competitive incentive to live up to higher standards.

Calvin Hill also pursued funding from sources other than Yale, including appeals to

¹¹⁹ "Letter to Albert Solnit, Sally Provence, Deborah Ferholt, Lola Nash, Katharine Lustman, Marion Kessen, Ann Casper, Gerri Rowewl, Bonnie Sherman, Cynthia Pincus, December 15, 1975," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹²⁰ Edith B. Jackson Child Care Program and Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Letter from EBJ and Calvin Hill to A. Bartlett Giamatti President of Yale, April 28, 1983," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹²¹ Carla Horwitz, "Letter to Linda Lorimer, January 6, 1987," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹²² Nancy Close, "Letter to Mr. Charles Long, June 16, 1988," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹²³ "Report of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences Advisory Committee on the Education of Women, April 1984," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

foundations for grants. With few exceptions, however, grants have not proven to be a consistent source of income. In 1987-88, in coordination with other Yale-affiliated day care centers, and with the backing of Yale's development office, Calvin Hill solicited big-name foundations like Rockefeller, Ford, McArthur, and Carnegie.¹²⁴ The joint appeal failed. In 2005, the Board discussed applying for "grants from commercial sources such as Disney and Target," but Director Horwitz explained that Calvin Hill was "not very successful in securing grants from outside sources" because "many grant organizations do not view us as a 'needy institution'" because of the Yale affiliation.¹²⁵ Calvin Hill has only received occasional grants.

Calvin Hill has pursued smaller, more piece-meal fundraising options, often led by parents and Board members. These include a Tag Sale, Plant Sale, Calendar Sale, Benefit Concerts, and direct appeals.¹²⁶ The Tag Sale and Plant Sales ended because they were time intensive with low return. Calvin Hill personally donates. Kurt Schmoke, one of the founders, also consistently donates. About 20-40 members of the class of 1971 consistently donate anywhere from \$25-\$300. None of these efforts has created a sustained surplus, much less an endowment. Some types of fundraising conflict with Calvin Hill's community mission. For example, Director Horwitz explained that Calvin Hill "will never have an auction" because "the point of the sliding scale is that nobody knows what other families pay" in order to not be divisive to the community.¹²⁷ Similarly, Calvin Hill has never required Board members to contribute a certain amount of money because "not all Board members can contribute."¹²⁸

Calvin Hill has been sustained by four significant sources of money. First, the Yale Child

¹²⁴ Carla Horwitz, "Notes on the Affiliated Centers Directors Meeting, April 25, 1988," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹²⁵ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Board Minutes, June 21, 2005," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹²⁶ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Board Minutes, May 4, 1983," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹²⁷ Horwitz, interview.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

Study Center paid the Director's salary for Calvin Hill (and EBJ) for the first decade. At that time, the Charities Drive also contributed substantial monetary support. Second, specific expansion projects were supported by capital campaigns. For example, Calvin Hill's expansion to include a Kindergarten was paid for by significant contributions of friends, alumni, and parents of the Calvin Hill community. The expansion to include a Toddler's Program was paid for in part by Connecticut Bond Commission money and contributions. And the most recent and largest expansion, to include a "Studio," was paid for by the contributions of Calvin Hill's friends and alumni. Third, the New Haven School Readiness Program, which provides funds to subsidize the cost of child care for low-SES families in New Haven, began in 1997. Calvin Hill applied for and received some of this funding, reporting in May 1998 that School Readiness funds were helping the Center break even.¹²⁹ Calvin Hill still receives School Readiness funding, but the funds are not available to children outside of New Haven. Also, in 2001, School Readiness began requiring minimum days and minimum hours to qualify for full funding. Calvin Hill only qualifies as a part-time program, receiving less money per Readiness child.¹³⁰ Even if Calvin Hill qualified as a full-time program, Readiness funds are less than the tuition cost on the sliding scale. Fourth, at different times over a 25 year span, the Seedlings Foundation, the Harris Foundation, and the Lustman Foundation have paid for fellowships. These fellows help Calvin Hill's financial situation by adding teachers at no cost, while also supporting Calvin Hill's educational and training mission (i.e., mentoring young professionals) as a national model.

By 1983, however, Calvin Hill had reached a financial low. As noted, the Yale Charities Drive had cut off funding.¹³¹ Simultaneously, the Child Study Center's support of the Director's

¹²⁹ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Board Minutes, May 26, 1998," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹³⁰ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Board Minutes, February 26, 2001," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹³¹ Calvin Hill, "Board Minutes, May 4, 1983."

salary was phased out from 1982/83 through 1985 due to its own financial crisis.¹³² Director Horwitz wrote that the withdrawal “presents a grave threat to the health, vigor and continuity of day care at Yale.”¹³³ Although the tuition scale ranged from \$30 a week to \$80 a week at this time, “only four families...pay more than the average tuition,” while “fourteen families pay less than \$40 a week.”¹³⁴ Calvin Hill was not receiving significant funds from parent fees or outside sources. The financial situation was critical.

Calvin Hill Post-Tipping Point (1985-Present)

In the midst of this fiscal crisis, Calvin Hill opened a Kindergarten in 1983. Although Director Horwitz wanted to open up the Kindergarten regardless of the financial situation, she acknowledged that nearly doubling the student population and collecting more tuition improved finances.¹³⁵ The combined impact of lost funding and the new Kindergarten mark an institutional tipping point, when the primary mission and the families Calvin Hill served rapidly began to change. First, Calvin Hill’s sliding scale began to be discussed in relation to the desire to maintain (financially) the high-quality care established in the “transition” years. In 1982, Calvin Hill considered raising fees at the lower end of the scale, adding 2 extra children at the high end of the scale, or cutting staff.¹³⁶ Raising fees at the lower end of the scale was rejected to protect families with low income. In 1985, Director Horwitz’s personal notes assessed the tension between the sliding scale and quality as-follows: “further cut backs—make choice—eliminate all but 1 or 2 subsidized slots OR reduce professionalism in ways that might terminate the program long term.”¹³⁷ This tension repeats again and again. High-quality care is expensive, and focusing

¹³² Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Letter to the Yale Charities Drive, April 1982,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives; Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, March 31, 1983,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹³³ Edith B. Jackson and Calvin Hill, “EBJ and Calvin Hill to A. Bartlett Giamatti.”

¹³⁴ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Budget Sheet, 1981-1982,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹³⁵ Horwitz, interview.

¹³⁶ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, March 23, 1982,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹³⁷ Carla Horwitz, “Notes, 1985,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

on affordability reduces income. Year after year, Calvin Hill sought to balance the perceived tension between quality care and affordable care.

At around this time, the nature of child care in the U.S. also was changing. Child care no longer carried a negative, derogatory connotation. It was not limited to single mothers or welfare recipients. Instead, more women were entering the workforce in the U.S. by choice. At Yale specifically, there were more women pursuing graduate degrees, as well as positions on the faculty and administration. Calvin Hill responded to this political trend. Faculty families started enrolling. “There were more working families and women who were looking for child care...so particularly when it came to the Kindergarten, that was not restricted to just low income kids anymore.”¹³⁸ The full day Kindergarten was especially responsive to parent needs because most kindergartens at the time operated only a few hours per day. For Director Horwitz and the Board, this change was not a conscious mission shift. Calvin Hill saw it as “logical to add children who needed child care at a time when the demographic of people who needed child care was changing.”¹³⁹ Horwitz explained that Calvin Hill “thought about the mission but we didn’t think that this would disrupt the mission,” and it was still “a good thing to do for working families.”¹⁴⁰ Further, Calvin Hill met “parents’ needs, which was part of the mission by providing access to high quality.”¹⁴¹ These new, high-income families insisted on high quality because they had options. Money was not the reason for the shift, but “we wanted to run a day care center and you can’t do that if you are so pure...I mean we would have been closed.”¹⁴² As a result of these new families, the sliding scale began to increase more and more at the top.

¹³⁸ Horwitz, interview.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

Soon after (late 1980's), Calvin Hill became "very popular. It was very hard to get in here. It was highly competitive."¹⁴³ Calvin Hill filled a need and was inundated with interested parents, so it no longer needed to actively recruit. Outreach to Union families common in the early years was neglected, and Calvin Hill's articulation of its own mission changed in lock step. Instead of focusing on low-SES employees, the mission expanded to include not only quality but also broad socio-economic diversity through the sliding scale. The 1989 guidelines for admission considered age, gender, Yale affiliation, and diversity ("every effort is made to welcome families from different parts of the University (students, staff, faculty)").¹⁴⁴ Diversity of SES and Yale affiliation became the new touchstones. These admissions guidelines never mentioned Local 35 employees. A flyer for the Toddler Program stated it was for "all members of the Yale Community, including union employees, faculty members, and students."¹⁴⁵ Contrary to the original mission, faculty families were not only allowed but embraced as part Calvin Hill's diverse community. In 1999, the Center expressed that "every attempt is made...to draw together a diverse group of children from all levels of the sliding tuition scale."¹⁴⁶ Again, striving for "all levels" of the scale favors diversity and is a perfectly laudable goal. Nevertheless, it shifted the original mission, especially because the sliding scale at this point had greatly expanded. Board documents also used words like "diversity" and "the family mix,"¹⁴⁷ suggesting that the mission was maintaining a variety of people not serving low-SES Yale employees. The Board explicitly recognized a "trend to attract more families toward the top of our scale."¹⁴⁸

Calvin Hill's high quality drew high-SES families, and "many of our families learn about

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Guidelines in Admission Decisions, 1989," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁴⁵ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Flyer for Toddler Program," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁴⁶ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Enrollment and Termination Policies, 1999," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁴⁷ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Board Minutes, June 7, 1990," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁴⁸ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Board Minutes, April 24, 1989," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

Calvin Hill through ‘word of mouth.’”¹⁴⁹ This trend brought Calvin Hill financial stability, and even a surplus, in 1989/the early 1990’s. In 1990, the Board reported that “tuition income is higher than we planned” because “there are more families at the top of the scale than we predicted.”¹⁵⁰ Calvin Hill used the surplus to pay teachers more, while the Board also was “successful in keeping the lower end of the tuition scale untouched.”¹⁵¹ The Board considered that “we may be able to use some of these funds for scholarships”¹⁵² and “we really might be able to ‘afford’ to bring in lower income families.”¹⁵³ But the numbers say otherwise. In 1991, there were 13 graduate student families, 33 faculty families, 22 staff families, and 1 alumni family.¹⁵⁴ There were zero Union families and a plurality of faculty families. In the kindergarten and preschool programs, 47% of the families that year had income of \$90,000 or above, while 23.5% were in the top income category of \$150,000+.¹⁵⁵ This was not founding-era Calvin Hill.

Recognizing these developments, the Board did express concern about the shifting demographics, acknowledging that “we would like to see more diversity”¹⁵⁶ and the need to “continue to encourage lower income families to apply.”¹⁵⁷ The Board created an Outreach Committee to increase “efforts to recruit lower income families”¹⁵⁸ and to work “to more widely disseminate information about the center’s programs, highlighting the sliding tuition scale.”¹⁵⁹ The Committee wondered if Calvin Hill had an “‘image’ problem” where families did not “know

¹⁴⁹ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, April 24, 1989.”

¹⁵⁰ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, September 11, 1990,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁵¹ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, February 6, 1989,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁵² Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, October 30, 1989,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁵³ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, June 7, 1989,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁵⁴ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, December 9, 1991,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁵⁵ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, October 21, 1991,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁵⁶ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, June 7, 1990.”

¹⁵⁷ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, October 30, 1989”; Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Notice Regarding Toddlers Program,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁵⁸ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, February 7, 1990.”

¹⁵⁹ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Letter to Parents, January 21, 1991,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

about our sliding scale.”¹⁶⁰ Calvin Hill made “posters and brochures” for “various departments throughout the University.”¹⁶¹ Although it is unclear which “departments” were included, the context makes it unlikely that “departments” referred to the spaces that Union employees occupied. The Committee also “sent a letter to past families encouraging them to refer lower income families.”¹⁶² Calvin Hill “did not notice a particular response from the union employees, although Carla did work with their representatives.”¹⁶³ Unsurprisingly, it was difficult to attract Union families through word-of-mouth efforts when the existing Calvin Hill community had so few Union families. Further, the Outreach Committee suggested extending the school day to a 5:15 P.M. closing time to help low-SES families because “many employees find it difficult to ask their supervisors for an early leaving time.”¹⁶⁴ With the opening of the Toddler Program, some suggested that Calvin Hill “‘target’ some openings for lower income families.”¹⁶⁵

Renewed interest in attracting low-income families provoked not only concern about the recent absence of such families but also “concern that we will create too much demand and have to disappoint those families who we have encouraged to apply.”¹⁶⁶ Though understandable, these enrollment questions turn the original mission on its head, from “should we allow high-SES families into Calvin Hill at all?” to “how many low-SES families can we allow into Calvin Hill?”. Calvin Hill’s current enrollment focus follows a similar top-down approach, focusing on enrolling enough high-income families to ensure financial viability and not losing high-income families to other programs.¹⁶⁷ As discussed below, the risk of having too many low-SES families

¹⁶⁰ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, April 24, 1989.”

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, February 7, 1990.”

¹⁶³ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, April 5, 1990,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁶⁴ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, December 10, 1990,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁶⁵ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, June 7, 1990.”

¹⁶⁶ Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, February 7, 1990”; Calvin Hill, “Board Minutes, June 7, 1989.”

¹⁶⁷ Susan Taddei, interview by Hannah Perlman, March 3, 2020.

was and is remote because such families have never been more than a quarter of the Calvin Hill community in the last 40 years.

This brief period of increased attention to recruiting low-income families did not succeed. Calvin Hill already was extremely popular. It had to “turn people away.”¹⁶⁸ “At a certain point, we didn’t really have to do a lot of recruitment. It was a seller’s market.”¹⁶⁹ In short, recruiting high-SES families was easier and better economics. Later, in the 1990s, Director Horwitz made another effort “to appeal to the Union...I even talked to the Union hierarchy several times.”¹⁷⁰ The conversations again did not produce results. A Union leader told Director Horwitz that a lot of the Union members “don’t have kids anymore” and that “our benefits are so good in the Union that everybody is old.”¹⁷¹ Director Horwitz also sensed a stigma with being Yale-affiliated. In the Union’s eyes, Director Horwitz felt, “Yale was not somebody that you wanted to be a tremendous promoter of,” so being “Yale-affiliated...was problematic.”¹⁷²

These later outreach efforts largely confirm two realities. On the one hand, they confirm that recruiting Union families consistently has been difficult and there may be incompatibilities between Calvin Hill’s program, the founding mission, and the needs and interests of Local 35 employees. The three do not overlap as tightly as the founders assumed. On the other hand, just because recruiting low-SES and Union employees was difficult and would not fully succeed in fulfilling the rosy assumption of the founding mission, that did not mean the effort would not be worthwhile. Director Horwitz acknowledges that she “tried,” but “not as hard as I might have.”¹⁷³ To be clear, however, no obstacle would prevent Calvin Hill from reaching its quality

¹⁶⁸ Horwitz, interview.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

goals. In the early years, Calvin Hill made much stronger efforts to communicate directly with the Local 35 employees, despite the indifference of Union leadership. Into the 2000's, no attempts were made to contact Union employees—"it felt like beating dead horses. And of course it would not have been but it would have been starting out again."¹⁷⁴ For the last 25 years, the commitment to creating a fair sliding scale remained, but Calvin Hill pursued recruitment of low-SES and Union families with reduced fervor (at least as shown in the Board documents).

Turning to those Board documents, they reveal an effort to maintain equity and the sliding scale. The Kindergarten (1983) and the Toddler Program (1991) provoked questions "regarding the availability of families at the appropriate tuition levels" and about charging the full price of care.¹⁷⁵ Director Horwitz proudly stated that both times the "Board would say absolutely not," "this is who we are."¹⁷⁶ When the Toddler Program opened, Calvin Hill received a grant specifically "in support of the sliding tuition scale."¹⁷⁷ Tuition proposals from year to year almost always drew a line to protect families at the bottom of the scale.¹⁷⁸ Often, the Board approved a 3% increase at the top of the scale with no increase at the bottom. Board Member Ray Fair—the head of the Finance Committee, treasurer for 40 years, a Calvin Hill parent, and an economist on the Yale faculty—was the most committed to the sliding scale mission. In 2006, he authored a report that appealed to Yale for funds to support the sliding scale. Fair's model showed that funds would "enable us to equalize and reduce the percent of income families at

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Calvin Hill, "Board Minutes, December 10, 1990."

¹⁷⁶ Horwitz, interview.

¹⁷⁷ Calvin Hill, "Board Minutes, December 10, 1990."

¹⁷⁸ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Board Minutes, April 8, 1997," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives; Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Board Minutes, February 22, 2006," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives; Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Board Minutes, February 14, 2007," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives; Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Board Minutes, February 27, 2008," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives; Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Board Minutes, February 19, 2009," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

most levels of the scale” pay.¹⁷⁹ When Calvin Hill considered switching to packed lunch, Fair “pointed out that providing lunch was in the spirit of the sliding scale philosophy.”¹⁸⁰

Overall, however, the Board Minutes at this time rarely mentioned low-SES groups unless the topic overlapped with the proposed budget/sliding scale. In contrast, early Board documents almost always discussed the low-SES mission and frequently included breakdowns of the number of families in different Yale affiliations, racial groups, and categories on the sliding scale. Although Director Horwitz recalls that economic diversity was discussed by certain subcommittees, after the 1990’s the Board minutes themselves include enrollment and demographic discussions covering only the number of students in each class and sometimes the gender breakdown. Economic diversity was not abandoned—Calvin Hill aimed for an even distribution of families across the sliding scale—but the more limited statistics reported to the entire Board and reflected in the Minutes suggest a change in priority.

Expenditures of money represent priorities, and financial surpluses almost always were spent on quality instead of the sliding scale. In 1999, “in light of a favorable economic situation this year, and in recognition of the superior dedication, professionalism, and expertise of all of the staff,” Calvin Hill increased teacher salaries.¹⁸¹ A surplus in 2000 yielded “an additional increase in salaries to some of the staff” and “construction and equipment for the new studio.”¹⁸² The 2001 surplus led to a bonus for staff members and a 3% salary increase.¹⁸³ From the perspective of Calvin Hill, spending surplus money on teachers made perfect sense, in the same

¹⁷⁹ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, December 7, 2006,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁸⁰ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, January 21, 2009,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁸¹ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Proposal of the Joint Personnel and Finance Committee, November 29, 1999,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁸² Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, October 10, 2000,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁸³ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, December 3, 2001,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives; Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, November 17, 2001,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives; Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, February 12, 2004,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

way that Yale might decide it makes sense to pay professors more. The teachers at Calvin Hill are professionals, integral to Calvin Hill's success, and economically undervalued by society. Paid in the range of \$24,000-\$60,000 per year, they deserve to be paid more. Nevertheless, repeatedly directing surpluses to teacher pay reflected a shifting of priorities in the mission. Could some of that money, in combination with outreach, have attracted two or three Union families? The trade-off does not appear to have been discussed. Instead, curriculum (quality) discussion increasingly filled the Board Minutes. Beginning around 2000 (through the present), all the Board Minutes have included an extensive discussion of curriculum and what was happening in each classroom. This too reveals how integral quality became to the mission.

In 2001, the Board created "a new upper income category."¹⁸⁴ Instead of focusing on recruiting low-SES families, the Outreach Committee met "to discuss diversity issues" and "cultural sensitivity and how it relates to our program."¹⁸⁵ These were extremely important matters, especially when the goal was to create an environment where all families felt welcome. Still, the Outreach Committee's activities again represented a shift from a focus on low-SES families to a focus on the type of diversity that already existed at Calvin Hill (cultural).

In retrospect, Calvin Hill's mission shift resulted from a series of small, nuanced changes. Each change was minor, but over time minor changes aggregated to a mission shift.

Calvin Hill Continuities Over Fifty Years

The nature of this capstone compels examination of differences, but there also have been continuities between the original Calvin Hill and the current Calvin Hill. First, Calvin Hill always has pursued a social justice mission. Private schools and child care centers all over America provide education at one price for all, with a few scholarships. Calvin Hill's sliding

¹⁸⁴ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Board Minutes, March 26, 2001," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁸⁵ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Board Minutes, November 28, 2000," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

scale model acknowledges the differences in family situations. Even amongst the Yale-affiliated centers, Calvin Hill has been the only one with a sliding scale. Thus, Calvin Hill has maintained a form of economic justice. Second, Calvin Hill always has prioritized service to working families, a motivation shared by the founders who supported a Local 35 employee that lost her job for lack of child care. In 1981, Director Horwitz asked the Board, “Should Calvin Hill take a child who has a parent at home full time?”¹⁸⁶ While enrolling new categories of families and income levels, Calvin Hill maintained that it would serve the need of working families. Even today, Director Taddei expressed her intent to be a “service for working parents” and her reluctance to admit families where one parent is stay-at-home.¹⁸⁷ Therefore, Calvin Hill was and is a center that serves working families. And third, Calvin Hill has always delivered child care and education to some kids whose parents could not have afforded that national model quality.

Recent Events Impacting the Center

Unfortunately, Calvin Hill might be on the cusp of a financial crisis similar to the early 1980’s. Two current events threaten finances. First, due to COVID-19, Calvin Hill closed in March. Some families will not pay tuition through the end of the year, even though Calvin Hill will pay its teachers. Relatedly, the start of the September semester might be delayed or less students might enroll. Because of Calvin Hill’s commitment to its teachers, there will be pressure to pay them starting in September, regardless of when the program resumes at full capacity.

Second, as described above, Calvin Hill currently benefits economically from two fellowships that are both funded by private family foundations. The funds for the Carla Horwitz Fellowship end this year, and the funds for the Seedlings Fellowship end next year. There is a possibility of renewing one of them, but it is not yet confirmed. As mentioned above, the

¹⁸⁶ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, April 9, 1981,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁸⁷ Taddei, interview.

fellowships help finances because they allow Calvin Hill to have extra teachers without having to pay them out of the budget. The loss of these fellowships will be a big financial hit. Given the perceived connection between quality and the revenue generated by the sliding scale tuition payments, the next few years might stress the current mission.

Local 35 Employees

While the last section examined issues from the perspective of Calvin Hill, this section examines the perspective of Local 35 employees. That perspective helps identify the challenges of achieving a socio-economically diverse class, and specifically why Union employees very rarely send their children to Calvin Hill.

Yale has always had a tense relationship with child care. When I investigated the history of child care at Yale for a seminar, Yale administrator Susan Abramson responded defensively and with skepticism. Further, although child care often appears on the platform of labor organizing groups, the issue falls off during negotiations. For these reasons, I expected it would be difficult to conduct a child care survey of Union employees. The difficulties exceeded my expectations. Many different parties had to be “warned” for fear of backlash. “Where was the survey coming from?” “Why were the questions being asked?” “What was the purpose of the survey?” Deborah Stanley-McAulay, Associate Vice President for Employee Engagement and Workplace Culture, and Susan Abramson, Manager of WorkLife, were notified. I left two messages for the President of Local 35 but never received a response. The head of Hospitality (Rafi Teherian) and the head of Maintenance (Kara Tavella) graciously agreed to meet about distribution of surveys, and an HR representative showed up at the meeting “just in case.”

The group who attended the meeting was excited about the survey. Most said they had not heard of Calvin Hill and thought it could be a great resource for their employees. Yale

Maintenance agreed to distribute the survey to its workers at various locations. Yale Hospitality agreed to take time out of its January 9th “All Hands on Deck” meeting to allow Union workers to fill out the survey. On the day of the All Hands meeting, I received an email notifying me that Hospitality had “run out of time” and had distributed the surveys for employees to fill out at home. Although discouraged, I met with Yale Hospitality to organize another strategy. I attended four dining hall “family meetings”—Berkeley, Pierson and Davenport, Branford and Saybrook, and Franklin and Murray. I gave a little explanation in the beginning and had anyone who was willing take the survey, fill it out on the spot, and return it to me.

While waiting for the dining hall workers to fill out the survey, I overheard side conversations. “Have you ever heard of this before?” “No, I’ve never.” And “\$X a week?! Ya right.” Some of the employees had follow-up questions for me. One man asked for the website information. One woman asked me more specifically about the schedule/calendar. And another woman who used to work at Head Start asked me about the curriculum. The employees were very kind. I thanked each person individually as he/she returned the survey. Later, when I swiped into Davenport dinner, the employee behind the desk smiled and exclaimed, “Hey! You’re the girl who was handing out the surveys!” Dining hall workers and Yale students at times have a tense relationship. I am glad that I had the chance to meet many of the dining hall workers.

Survey Results

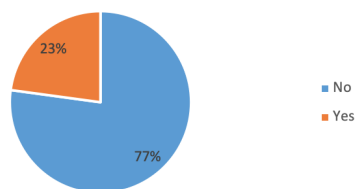
84 surveys were returned, of which four were rejected because the respondents were not members of the Local 35 Union or were not parents.¹⁸⁸ Out of the 80 remaining surveys, 35 were dining hall workers and 45 were maintenance staff. Within the dining hall workers, there were a

¹⁸⁸ Hannah Perlman, “Calvin Hill Day Care Center Survey,” distributed January-February 2020. All subsequent references to the survey rely upon responses to this survey, which data have been tabulated in a spreadsheet possessed by the author.

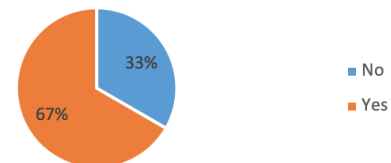
variety of roles represented, from chef to pantry worker to desk attendant. Similarly, within the maintenance staff, there were a variety of roles represented, from custodial to fire inspector to physical plant worker. The gender break down was 19 females, 53 males, and 8 blanks. The maintenance staff population is predominantly male.

The first section of the survey investigated respondents current knowledge of Calvin Hill. Ultimately, the simplest question turned out to be one of the most important: “Have you heard of Calvin Hill?” The dining hall staff overwhelmingly had never heard of Calvin Hill. Many of the maintenance staff, however, had heard of Calvin Hill.

Dining Hall: Have You Heard of Calvin Hill?

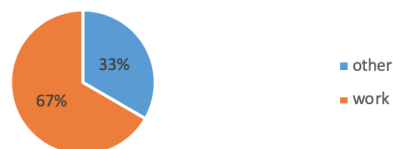


Maintenance: Have You Heard of Calvin Hill



At first glance, this difference seemed surprising, but the responses of maintenance staff to the question “Where did you hear about it?” suggested an answer.

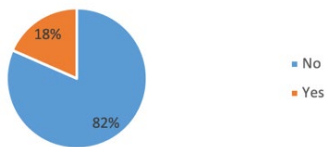
Maintenance: If yes, where did you hear about it?



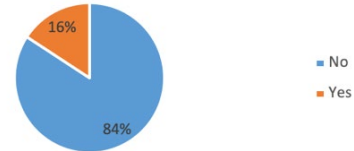
Most maintenance workers knew of Calvin Hill from servicing it. These employees had been inside Calvin Hill changing a light bulb, fixing a plumbing issue, or a slew of other on-site tasks. Their familiarity was not based on outreach efforts by Calvin Hill. About 10 employees had heard about Calvin Hill through a friend or co-worker. Only 3 people had heard of Calvin Hill from an advertisement, and only 2 had heard of it from the Yale WorkLife website.

The Union employees who knew about Calvin Hill provided valuable answers to questions about Calvin Hill’s founding and the sliding tuition scale.

If you have heard of Calvin Hill, did you know it was created for Local 35 Union?



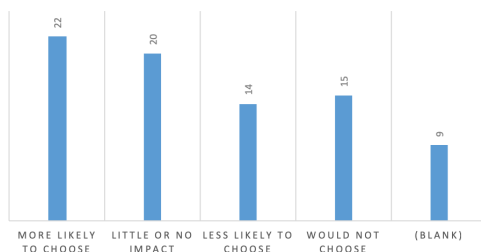
If you have heard of Calvin Hill, did you know it has a sliding scale?



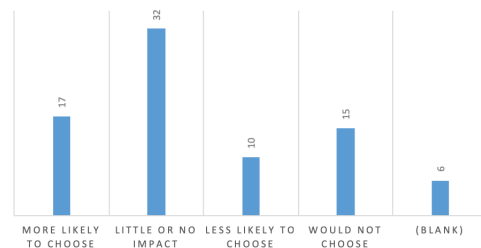
These results reveal that Calvin Hill has not effectively communicated its origins and sliding scale. Even Local 35 employees who know about Calvin Hill do not know that it is for them or might be accessible to them. Of the respondents who had heard of Calvin Hill, only 3 had considered sending their children.

The second section of the survey posed questions to gauge if Calvin Hill’s program would fit the child care needs and preferences of the Local 35 population. Each question had the respondent rate the factor’s impact on the desirability of choosing Calvin Hill on a range from “more likely to choose,” “little or no impact,” “less likely to choose,” to “would not choose.”

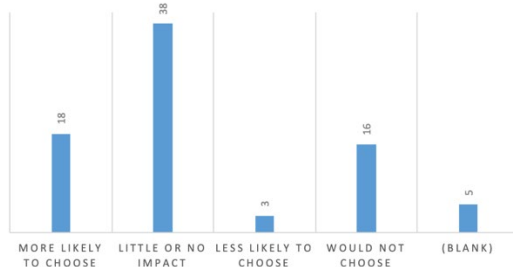
IMPACT OF HOURS



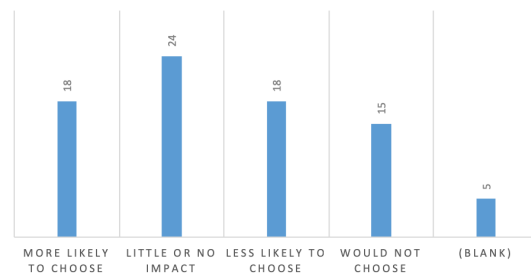
IMPACT OF CALENDAR

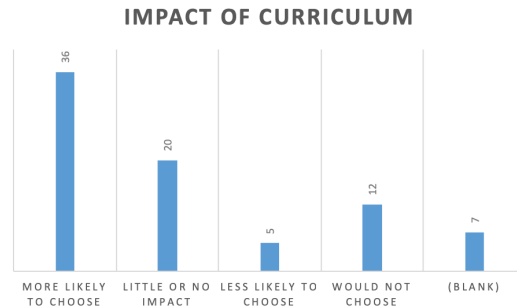


IMPACT OF LOCATION



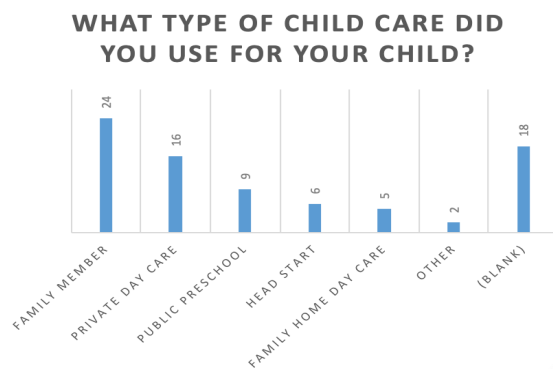
IMPACT OF COST





No one factor jumps out as an overwhelming positive or negative. Still, 29 people felt that Calvin Hill’s hours of 8 am-5:15 pm would not match their schedule. 33 people felt Calvin Hill would be too expensive. 36 people were drawn to Calvin Hill’s curriculum.

The final section of the survey investigated respondents actual child care choices.



Many respondents placed their children with family members. This segment of the Local 35 population would be hard to win over because their status quo was a near zero cost option and/or a preference for family. Similarly, public preschool or Head Start options are near zero cost options. Conversely, 16 respondents sent their children to private day care options and could have been candidates for Calvin Hill. With the sliding scale and School Readiness funds, any of these respondents might have valued Calvin Hill for its curriculum, community, and diversity.

To get a sense of the employees’ priorities in child care, the survey asked, “What were the main factors that contributed to your child care decision?” Many respondents left this question blank. Some respondents provided several factors, all of which were tallied. Overall,

there were 8 mentions of hours, 8 mentions of location, 20 mentions of cost, 10 mentions of the environment/teachers/curriculum, and 4 mentions of familiarity with the program through social networks. Clearly, cost played a significant role in how these families made their child care decisions. Although one hypothesis of this case study was that hours and location played a major role in the child care decisions for Local 35 families, the educational environment was mentioned more frequently. Local 35 parents want a great education for their children. This bodes well for Calvin Hill, as one of its main points of attraction is quality.

The culminating questions get to the heart of the matter: “Would you ever consider sending your child to Calvin Hill? Why or why not?” Fully 35 respondents marked that they would consider sending their child to Calvin Hill. Thirty-two of those respondents wrote something to the effect of “I am interested” or “If I had known, I would have been interested.” Of those responses, 15 added the stipulation that they would be interested, if the cost was affordable. The “no” responses mentioned hours, expense, or a preference for other options.

Summary and Analysis of Survey Results

Given Calvin Hill’s longstanding and persistent challenges in recruitment of this population, the survey results provide reason to be optimistic. First, many Union employees did not reject Calvin Hill; they had never heard of Calvin Hill. There is an information gap. For much of its existence, Calvin Hill seems to have operated on the assumption that Union employees are rejecting Calvin Hill in favor of other options. Director Taddei acknowledged the possibility that Union employees might not be “aware of us.”¹⁸⁹ Perhaps Union families would reject Calvin Hill for other options, but this cannot be said for sure because the employees do not even know that Calvin Hill is an option. Calvin Hill’s current recruitment strategies are not

¹⁸⁹ Taddei, interview.

reaching Local 35. Director Taddei explained that Calvin Hill’s “best advertising is parents talking to one another.”¹⁹⁰ This is a self-reinforcing cycle, as parents are usually friends with parents similar to them. Calvin Hill also recruits through an open house; however, this would require families already to be aware of and interested in Calvin Hill. Calvin Hill posts flyers around New Haven, such as pediatrician offices and libraries. Director Taddei also attends New Haven school fairs. These are good outreach ideas but are not targeted at Local 35 employees. Only 3 respondents had heard of Calvin Hill from an advertisement. The outreach efforts most likely to reach Local 35 would be distributed through Yale WorkLife. That too is not succeeding. Only 2 respondents had heard about Calvin Hill from Yale WorkLife. This outreach problem has a relatively clear and actionable solution. Calvin Hill could distribute information in different avenues if it wants to attract more Local 35 families, such as break rooms, bulletin boards near dining halls, work-related emails, or orientations. Another way to get information to Local 35 would be to ask the one Union employee who currently is part of the Calvin Hill community.

Second, even among the Union employees who had heard about Calvin Hill, many were unaware of Calvin Hill’s founding mission and unaware of the sliding tuition scale. In the free response section, some respondents wrote they “never knew it was for us” or that Calvin Hill “should have let us know we were welcome.” Employees who literally were in the school, interacting with Calvin Hill administrators and teachers, seeing the classrooms, and talking with the children did not know Calvin Hill was an option for them. This was a missed opportunity because maintenance employees know first-hand that Calvin Hill is a safe and nurturing program. Plus, they have live and more personal conversations with the Director.

Third, there undeniably are some incompatibilities between the desires of the Union

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

employees and Calvin Hill's program. Many respondents are deterred by Calvin Hill's hours and cost. Calvin Hill operates 8 am-5:15 pm and some Union employees (dining hall workers especially) work irregular hours. Calvin Hill's hours simply do not align with the times when these employees need child care. Calvin Hill chooses not to extend its hours of care for child development reasons. More than 9 hours is too long in a child care setting. The reality, however, is that our economy often demands variable work hours from parents, and they need coverage for their children. Nevertheless, most other centers do not provide care late into the night or on weekends, so Calvin Hill's hours are not unique.

Survey respondents also flagged affordability as a concern. It was extremely difficult to convey how much Calvin Hill would cost in the survey because the sliding scale has so many different variations. The survey provided a range of the weekly costs and also included information about additional savings that might be obtained through the School Readiness Program. Still, respondents were unable to calculate exactly what they would be paying. Even so, many respondents volunteered that cost/affordability was important to them in the free response questions. Such responses reflect the current state of child care. Costs continue to rise and often take a big chunk out of parents' incomes, which hits low-SES families especially hard. Even though Calvin Hill might be surprisingly affordable, many respondents assume or perceive it to be out of their economic reach.

Finally, Calvin Hill should feel hopeful. Thirty-five respondents expressed positive interest in Calvin Hill, and those 35 responses were out of only a small subset of the Union employees. Of course, not all would end up sending their children to Calvin Hill, but a few of them might. Calvin Hill was operating from a few assumptions that do not seem to hold. Calvin Hill thought that hours and calendar would be a clear-cut reason that Union employees would

reject Calvin Hill. Although this was true for some, 42 respondents either actively liked the hours or were undeterred by the hours, and 49 respondents either actively liked the calendar or were undeterred by the calendar. Calvin Hill also thought that there might be a town-gown issue at play. It suspected that employees might not feel like Yale was their community and that they would prefer to send their children to a local child care option. Again, this never directly appeared in any of the responses and was only hinted at in a handful. One respondent wrote that Calvin Hill “should have let us know we were welcome,” suggesting that he might not have felt comfortable with Calvin Hill’s reputation but had an open mind. Predominantly, however, the responses were positive. The respondents whose interest in Calvin Hill was peaked wrote things like, “I have not heard of it before but after this survey I would consider it,” “I’m interested in Calvin Hill. I would love to know more,” “never heard of it. Definitely doing research,” “wish you did this earlier. Wanted my kids to go but no one reached out.” An expectant mother said, “I will consider CH when the time comes.” Employees were not put off by Calvin Hill. They did not know it was an option for them, and many are enthusiastic about it as an option.

Critical Choices

For better or worse, the Calvin Hill mission the founders had in mind 50 years ago has changed. The reasons for the change were varied, reasonable, and well-meaning. The two major mission changes were to prioritize high quality and to emphasize broad economic diversity over service to low-SES employees. Over time, Calvin Hill began to perceive a tension between elevating quality and serving families on the lower end of the sliding scale. Questions and decisions implicitly assumed that if more lower-income students enrolled, quality would suffer—e.g., one less teacher or no salary raises. Quality and the low end of the sliding scale did not carry equal weight in the mission, with quality emerging as the first priority. Calvin Hill

dedicated itself and its budget choices to retaining a highly professional workforce, providing fellowships, and developing the curriculum. The economic diversity goal remained but was rarely a deciding factor. Often, this perceived tension emerged due to limited funds. Right now, the tension has been amplified. Not only has tuition revenue decreased (partially because of more quality options for high-SES families), but also COVID-19 presents real financial threats.

The Calvin Hill administrators and Board probably have not grappled with the mission shift because the Center's institutional memory has been lost. The current Calvin Hill mission statement references Calvin Hill's founding mission but ignores its key focus—namely, low-SES Union employees. The home page of the Calvin Hill website includes a “Director’s Welcome” note that states that current day Calvin Hill upholds the “founding mission to provide affordable, high-quality childcare and education to the children of the Yale and greater New Haven communities.” In fact, the focus of the founding mission was on low-SES Yale employees and made no mention of “high-quality.” The History page of the Calvin Hill website tells the social justice story of the Black Panther trials, the fired dining hall worker, and the undergraduate founders, but it omits the founding mission. Instead, the History page claims that the founders hoped to “establish a developmentally informed, high quality day care.” That was not the founders’ priority or their words. For her part, Director Taddei recognizes that the lower end of the sliding scale was intended for “clerical-technical, facilities, union workers” and that those spaces are now occupied by post-docs and grad students.¹⁹¹ She understands the difference between those two groups and is aware that it has been an “awfully long time since we have had” Union employees. Still, during our interview, Director Taddei expressed a desire to know whether Calvin Hill in its founding years was “primarily families at a lower-income level or was

¹⁹¹ Taddei, interview.

there a balance,” including families at the top end. Director Taddei’s comment shows that she is unaware of the original mission’s explicit commitment to low-SES employees (and explicit exclusion of high-SES families).

As a practical and factual matter, the unacknowledged mission shift has resulted in the absence of certain low-SES families that would contribute both to the founding mission and Calvin Hill’s current diversity mission. This is true even though Calvin Hill sustains the sliding scale and some economic diversity. Specifically, although there have been and still are a number of low-income families that pay at the low end of the sliding scale, these families are rarely low SES. The diversity offered by graduate students and doctoral students is not the same as the diversity of dining hall workers or maintenance workers. The “income” of doctoral students may be comparable to many Union employees, but the social status and future economic prospects of the doctoral students are nothing like the Union employees the founders had in mind.

Ultimately, Calvin Hill needs to decide whether to recruit and enroll a meaningful number of Union families. Does Calvin Hill want to embrace this as a core part of its current mission? Or, does Calvin Hill prefer to treat low-SES diversity as one goal among many? If the answer is that Calvin Hill chooses to re-elevate the low-SES Union focus of the founding mission, the survey responses provide reason to be optimistic. Of course, success will require a lot of effort. My case study suggests three critical steps.

First, Calvin Hill would need to establish a practical and concrete definition of “success.” Recruiting 5-7 Union families would be a good benchmark. For starters, that is a realistic and manageable number. In its founding years, Calvin Hill had approximately this many Union families, and Calvin Hill was much smaller. But Calvin Hill never had a dozen Union families, so it would be unrealistic to expect that many today. Given that over 40% of survey respondents

expressed an initial interest in Calvin Hill, it is reasonable to expect that 5-7 families out of 1,000+ Union employees would want to attend.

Recruiting 5-7 Union families also would be economically feasible and not actually in tension with quality. Calvin Hill remains committed to the sliding scale and holding spaces for low-income families on the bottom end of the scale. Calvin Hill could shift those existing low-tuition slots to Union families without adversely impacting Calvin Hill's finances. In addition, Calvin Hill consistently has received School Readiness slots, even though the number varies year to year. "A lot of" those School Readiness slots have been filled with post-doc families, even though the School Readiness program has expressed to Director Taddei that it prefers the slots not go to the "temporary poor" post-docs.¹⁹² Although the slots are not certain and not all Union families are from New Haven, shifting School Readiness slots from post-docs to Local 35 families would increase low-SES diversity and be responsive to the School Readiness program. Also, the low-SES diversity contemplated by 5-7 Union families is not in tension with quality. Socio-economic diversity should be more heavily weighted in the definition of quality. SES diversity benefits all students and, therefore, low-SES students support the high-quality mission. Plus, many parents find Calvin Hill's economic diversity an "incentive" for attending.¹⁹³ This mission reorientation would allow the two prongs of the mission to be mutually reinforcing instead of in opposition. 5-7 Union families would support the high-quality mission.

Second, Calvin Hill would need to make Union family recruitment an explicit institutional priority. Although Director Taddei marked the sliding tuition scale as "the core" to the mission statement, she acknowledged and even pondered that Calvin Hill's "mission

¹⁹² Taddei, interview.

¹⁹³ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, "Board Minutes, November 30, 2004," Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives; Horwitz, interview.

statement itself doesn't actually mention a lot of' the economics piece and that Calvin Hill has not "done a mission statement revision" in a long time.¹⁹⁴ A good start would be to put recruitment of Union families on the agenda for Board meetings. Calvin Hill's founding Board strained to enroll Union employees, but because it was a priority a Board meeting rarely went by without specific discussion of Union employees and different approaches to reaching them. The founding Board labored, brainstormed, and experimented to engage Union employees because that was their mission. The current Calvin Hill Board is smart, well-intentioned, and diverse. Therefore, if the Board treated recruitment of Union employees as part of its core mission, the Board would come up with solutions. When the Board and Director put their minds to quality, Calvin Hill transformed a small idea into a national model program. That same energy could be brought to this issue. To be sure, Director Taddei, the Board, the teachers, and families already are happy to enroll Union families. Calvin Hill "would love to have" more low-SES families instead of so many post-docs.¹⁹⁵ The Director and Board wish more Union families would apply. Nevertheless, an open-minded desire is different than a committed goal.

Third, Calvin Hill would need to communicate directly to Union employees that Calvin Hill is a desirable, realistic option for them and that Union employees hold a place at the heart of the mission. Director Taddei, Director Horwitz, and I (in pursuit of this capstone) have all reached out to Union leaders, and without exception they were unresponsive. The survey, however, shows that leadership's disinterest is not representative of the Union employees. Director Taddei and the Board would need to find a path to the employees themselves. Yale managers were more interested and responsive to Calvin Hill outreach, but that also is no substitute for direct engagement with the Union employees. The managers expressed excitement

¹⁹⁴ Taddei, interview.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

when I met with them; however, in February 2009, Calvin Hill “had a very productive meeting with Rafi Taherian, Manager of Yale Dining, and Karen Doherty, Yale Dietician.”¹⁹⁶ The administrators’ lack of familiarity with Calvin Hill demonstrates the need for direct and continued communication. Calvin Hill is not their priority and cannot count on them to follow through. And even if the managers do discuss Calvin Hill with employees, the managers cannot make it a tangible and attractive option in the same way a Calvin Hill representative could.

Evidence from the founding years and from two months ago show that employees respond to the direct physical presence of Calvin Hill representatives, talking to them and answering their questions. One way Calvin Hill could do this is by sending a representative to meetings attended by Union employees, frequently and consistently. To be sure, as previously discussed, the relationship between Calvin Hill, the Union, and the Yale administration is a delicate one. Calvin Hill cannot neglect Union leaders or Yale WorkLife. The difficulty is to maintain enough transparency with these parties to preclude any plausible claim of an end run, while remaining persistent nonetheless. Director Taddei said she would “love to present” at such “meetings,” but she has only tried to make contact through the Union or Susan Abramson.¹⁹⁷ Director Taddei should reach out to the managers instead. They were more helpful in facilitating the survey. Again, working with the managers while maintaining transparency with Union leaders will be very difficult. If Calvin Hill remains in contact with the same managers in the following years, however, the relationship already exists and the precedent for direct meetings is already established. After employees’ interests are peaked, Calvin Hill would need to follow through by pursuing contact with those interested, inviting them to visit, connecting them with the low-SES families who have attended Calvin Hill, and emphasizing the financial feasibility.

¹⁹⁶ Calvin Hill Day Care Center, “Board Minutes, March 30, 2009,” Calvin Hill Day Care Center Archives.

¹⁹⁷ Taddei, interview.

Calvin Hill's successes and challenges recruiting Union employees (and other low-SES families) exist in a very particular context that make this case study not easily transferable to other child care centers. Calvin Hill's founding, Yale's in-kind subsidies, and the diversity afforded by Yale and New Haven are unique. Still, diversity challenges fall into one of two main buckets. Some centers, like Calvin Hill, need more low-SES families to diversify. Other centers, like Head Start centers, need high-SES families to diversify. Centers that care about social justice have to ask whether it is more beneficial to the community to serve 50 low-SES and under-resourced children or to serve fewer low-SES children in an SES-diverse environment. Is it more important to reach the most low-SES kids or to create the broadest diversity? Calvin Hill has lived through both ends of the spectrum, starting with a mission to serve as many low-SES children as possible and currently focusing on the highest-quality, diverse environment. This capstone highlights the pros and cons, the risks and rewards. Some centers, like Head Start or School Readiness dedicated classrooms, have chosen service to low-SES families over broader diversity. Other centers who do not serve many high-SES families face challenges—e.g., residential segregation—that impose external constraints on diversity. This capstone is not readily transferable in those circumstances.

For centers in Calvin Hill's current bucket, however, there are two primary lessons suggested by this capstone that might apply. First, even centers that are explicitly interested in low-SES diversity should not expect it to fall into their laps. Acceptance and even celebration of diversity are not enough. Consistent, concerted effort and active recruitment will always be needed. Second, centers concerned about low-SES diversity should investigate the reasons for their challenge. Calvin Hill had a controlled population that was definable and relatively accessible—Local 35 members—which made investigation easier. Still, centers should not make

assumptions about why low-SES populations do not attend their program. The assumptions may be wrong. There may be more, or fewer, or different impediments to low-SES diversity than those expected. Centers should go to the source whenever possible.

Conclusion

My investigation of Calvin Hill Day Care Center's families, history, mission, and socioeconomic diversity provides a nuanced understanding of Calvin Hill's trajectory from its founding mission and families to its current program. The shift from a founding mission of serving low-SES Yale employees to the current mission of providing high-quality care and economic diversity occurred gradually, on account of finances, prioritization of quality, and Calvin Hill's growing popularity with high-SES families. That the shift occurred for good reasons and probably not by design does not change the outcome. Meanwhile, contrary to opening hypotheses, Union employees are not rejecting Calvin Hill on account of programming obstacles or town-gown tensions; rather, most are unaware that Calvin Hill is even an option for them. Many respondents acknowledged a concern about cost but nevertheless expressed genuine interest and curiosity about the program.

My research challenges Calvin Hill to solidify its mission statement and make a choice about recruiting Union families. My research also points the way to several steps that might help Calvin Hill re-energize the founding mission, if it chooses to do so. The path forward would be difficult and require significant effort over a period of years, but my research suggests the realistic possibility of success. As a prospective early childhood educator in under-resourced areas, this project serves as the jumping off point to my career. My study opened my eyes to the real trade-offs and challenges that come with running a high-quality child care center and

committing to diversity. But my study also reaffirms my belief that all young children deserve high-quality care and that all types of children should learn together.

For the current administrators and teachers at Calvin Hill, my walk through the history of Calvin Hill highlights an extraordinary journey about which everyone involved should be proud. Regardless of the specific founding mission, the spirit of Calvin Hill's early years offers a legacy ripe for recapturing. Precisely on account of its success, Calvin Hill has been a bit myopic. Calvin Hill assumes that the Yale community knows the Center exists and does great work. Calvin Hill assumes that Union employees know about Calvin Hill but choose not to apply for various insurmountable reasons. Calvin Hill also assumes, perhaps, that Yale administrators have heard of Calvin Hill and appreciate its role in the University community. Such assumptions are fed by the reality that those who do know Calvin Hill appreciate it immensely. Each year, Calvin Hill's open house is full of hopeful parents and applications are plentiful. There are plenty of students to fill the Child Study classes. For these reasons, Calvin Hill might have mistaken its popularity with certain communities as universal popularity. In its early years, however, Calvin Hill loomed larger in Yale's consciousness. It was opened by undergraduates during a time of great social change. There was substantial canvassing and fundraising. *The Yale Daily News* wrote dozens of articles about Calvin Hill. Prominent members of the administration and faculty were Board members. None of this fully applies today. If anything, Yale administrators recently seem more interested in distancing the University from the affiliated-centers and child care more generally. Two generations of leadership have passed, and with time personal or compelling connections to the history have been lost. Thousands of students and others who are part of the Yale-extended community have no idea Calvin Hill exists, much less what it offers.

Spring 2020 represents an unprecedented time, with unprecedented challenges. Ironically, that child care and Calvin Hill are more threatened than ever could be a call to arms. Now could be the time for Calvin Hill to re-assert itself as part of Yale. Currently, Calvin Hill is Yale-affiliated with emphasis an “affiliated.” The emphasis could change to “Yale.”

Acknowledgements

This capstone would not have been possible without the inspiration and support of Carla Horwitz. I committed to a career teaching young children only after I completed classes in Early Childhood Education and in Child Development taught by Professor Horwitz. Both classes allowed me to observe at Calvin Hill Day Care Center, a national model built by Director Horwitz. The kids fascinated me. The pedagogy and the teachers motivated me. Professor Horwitz always made time to answer my questions. She became the best sort of mentor, one who encouraged me but also challenged me. She took my ideas seriously even when she might not have agreed with them. Professor Horwitz helped me formulate the topic for my capstone. She worked with me to gather the primary documents; she granted me hours of interviews; and she read draft after draft (without complaining at the increasing length). I could not have asked for a better professor or friend in my college years.

I also would like to thank Richard Lemons, whose class on Leadership and Change in Education inspired me in a different sort of way. My work with children in under-resourced communities fires my passion to seek change. Professor Lemons taught me how difficult it is to make meaningful change but also that there are practical ways to succeed. Class discussions were always exhilarating. The final project presentations were a genuine event, one which I returned to even after I was no longer enrolled. Professor Lemons leads by example. He continued to take me and my ideas seriously, even after attending a Rhythmic Blue hip-hop show

entitled “RB After Dark.” And Professor Lemons provided me with invaluable, “outsider” comments on my capstone.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family. Thanks to my brother, Seth, without whom the pie charts in the survey section would not have been possible. Thanks to my parents for supporting me and providing me with my own incomparable educational opportunities. Thanks to my mom for driving me to every corner of Chicago and to my dad for teaching me when to use a semi-colon before “however.” And thanks to everyone in my extended family who never asked me, “Why would you go to Yale to become a preschool teacher?!”

Appendix

Sample Information Sheet and Survey	App A
Interview Questions for Carla Horwitz	App B
Interview Questions for Susan Taddei	App C
Sample Sliding Tuition Scales	App D

App A

INFORMATION SHEET TO PARTICIPATE IN CALVIN HILL RESEARCH STUDY

Purpose of Study

My name is Hannah Perlman. I am conducting this survey for an undergraduate thesis project. The purpose of this survey is to help Calvin Hill Day Care Center welcome a greater diversity of families. We hope this survey will help Calvin Hill better understand (i) the reasons that Yale employees in the Local 35 Union do or do not consider Calvin Hill for their children; (ii) the day care priorities of Local 35 employees; and (iii) how parents made their day care decisions.

If you decide to participate in the study, you will be asked to return the survey to the presenter.

Risks and Benefits

Although this study will not benefit you personally, your responses may help Calvin Hill provide services to more families and may help future parents and families. Although your name will not be linked to your responses, there is some slight risk of a loss of confidentiality.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to decline to participate, to end participation at any time for any reason, or to refuse to answer any individual question. Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will not affect your job or your relationship with the University or your union.

Confidentiality

All of your responses will be held in confidence. Only I, and Yale officials (e.g., Institutional Review Board) responsible for making sure that participants are safe, will have access to the answers you provide. The surveys will be destroyed after my project is completed.

Questions

If you have questions later or if you have a research-related problem, you can contact the Principal Investigator: Hannah Perlman at hannah.perlman@yale.edu (Grace Hopper College). If you would like to talk with someone other than the researcher to discuss problems or concerns, to discuss situations in the event that the researcher is not available, or to discuss your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Yale University Human Subjects Committee, 203-785-4688, human.subjects@yale.edu. Additional information is available at <https://your.yale.edu/research-support/human-research/research-participants/rights-research-participant>. You may keep this sheet for reference.

Calvin Hill Day Care Center Survey

Dear Yale employee,

I am a Yale senior conducting a survey of Local 35 employees who have had young children while working at Yale as part of my project on family enrollment at Calvin Hill Day Care Center. Calvin Hill is a Yale-affiliated day care center with three age groups (Threes, Preschool, and Kindergarten). At Calvin Hill, children learn academic skills, as well as how to make friends, to love learning, and to develop their individual personality. Calvin Hill was opened in 1971 by students hoping to provide affordable day care for Yale dining hall, maintenance, and custodial employees. Calvin Hill would like to continue to serve a diverse group of families.

This survey is anonymous, and your honest answers, positive or negative, are valued. Your responses will not be linked to your name. Only I will review the completed responses. After you finish, you will have the option of entering your email address (not connected to your survey answers) into a drawing to win one of three \$25 Stop & Shop gift cards.

Survey Questions

What gender do you identify as? _____

What race do you identify as?

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| a) Asian | d) Hispanic/Latinx |
| b) Black | e) Native American |
| c) Caucasian/White | f) Other. Please specify. _____ |

How old are you? _____

Are you a member of the Local 35 Union? Yes No

Are you a full-time employee? Yes No

What is your general job title at Yale (e.g., dining hall, maintenance, etc.)? _____

Knowledge of Calvin Hill:

1) Have you ever heard of Calvin Hill Day Care? Yes No

2) If yes, where did you hear about Calvin Hill?

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| a) Co-Worker | d) Yale Child Care Website or Yale Administration |
| b) Friend | e) An Advertisement or Flyer |
| c) Family Member | f) Other. Please Specify. _____ |

3) Did you know before now that Calvin Hill was founded to provide affordable day care for Yale dining hall, maintenance, and custodial employees? Yes No

4) Did you know that Calvin Hill has a sliding scale tuition based on family income? Yes No

5) Have you considered sending any of your children to Calvin Hill? Yes No

6) If yes, which factors led you to consider Calvin Hill and which factors contributed to your decision to choose another day care center? _____

7) Do you know anyone who has sent their child to Calvin Hill? Yes No

Factors in Choosing Calvin Hill:

Please respond to these questions whether or not you currently have young children and whether or not you are actively looking for child care.

8) Calvin Hill is open Mon-Fri from 8 am-5:15 pm. How would these hours impact your choice?

More Likely to Choose Little or No Impact Less Likely to Choose Would Not Choose

What would your preferred day care hours be? _____

9) Calvin Hill is open Sept-July and is closed in August. How would this calendar impact your choice?

More Likely to Choose Little or No Impact Less Likely to Choose Would Not Choose

10) Calvin Hill is located on Highland Street, adjacent to the Newhallville neighborhood and one mile north of campus. The Yale shuttle has a stop at Calvin Hill. How much would the location impact your choice?

More Likely to Choose Little or No Impact Less Likely to Choose Would Not Choose

11) At Calvin Hill, children eat healthy and kid-friendly food options provided by the school for breakfast, lunch, and a snack. How much would this food program impact your choice?

More Likely to Choose Little or No Impact Less Likely to Choose Would Not Choose

12) At Calvin Hill, families pay different amounts depending on their income. The cost is between about \$55 a week and \$370 a week. How would the cost of Calvin Hill impact your choice?

More Likely to Choose Little or No Impact Less Likely to Choose Would Not Choose

Did you know that Calvin Hill participates in New Haven School Readiness, which could lower the cost even further? Yes No

13) Calvin Hill encourages children to play and allows them to choose between small group and individual activities in art, reading, math, science, social studies, story-telling, and music. Although children learn academic skills, academic work is combined with play instead of being totally teacher-directed. How would this way of learning impact your choice of Calvin Hill?

More Likely to Choose Little or No Impact Less Likely to Choose Would Not Choose

Would you prefer different activities for your child? Yes No
If yes, what activities would you prefer? _____

The Child Care Choices You Made:

14) What child care option do you or did you send your child to?

- a. Yale-Affiliated Center (Calvin Hill, Bright Horizons West Campus, Edith B. Jackson, Phyllis Bodel, The Nest at Alphabet Academy, YLS Early Learning Center)
- b. Private Day Care Center
- c. Head Start
- d. Public Preschool
- e. Family Home Day Care
- f. Family Member
- g. Other. Please specify. _____

15) How much do you or did you approximately pay for child care per week? _____

16) What were the main factors that contributed to your child care decision? _____

17) Would you consider sending your child to Calvin Hill? Yes No

Why or why not? _____

18) If you had heard of Calvin Hill before, what are your opinions? If you had not heard of Calvin Hill before, what are your opinions on Calvin Hill after this survey? Please be specific and honest.

19) What ideas do you have about how Calvin Hill can be more effective in outreach to Yale employees?

20) Anything else you would like to share about Calvin Hill, your child care priorities or decisions?

If you would like to be entered into a raffle for a \$25 Stop & Shop gift card, please enter your email into the following link. Your survey answers will not be connected to this. (To scan, open your camera and focus on the QR code.) https://yalesurvey.ca1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_80Tva1BkMgjsMYZ

App B

Interview Questions for Carla Horwitz:

- 1) What is your understanding of the founding mission of Calvin Hill?
- 2) To what degree did the mission evolve?
- 3) What do you see as the current mission of Calvin Hill or the mission when you left your position as Director?
- 4) Tell me about the clientele at Calvin Hill or the types of families Calvin Hill served. Did you see any shifts in the clientele? If yes, what is your understanding of those shifts?
- 5) How would you define Calvin Hill's relationship with the Yale community? With Yale employees? With the New Haven community?

- 6) How was Calvin Hill funded? What were the constraints that accompany the funding model? Did funding change throughout the years? What was Calvin Hill's relationship with the School Readiness Program?
- 7) Tell me about the biggest challenges you faced in providing high-quality care.
- 8) Tell me about the biggest challenges you faced in providing an affordable and sliding scale model.
- 9) What was the relationship between providing high-quality care and the sliding scale? Was there a tension?
- 10) Tell me about your recruitment strategies? How did you think about recruitment? Did it change over time?
- 11) What were the successes and challenges of the recruitment process?
- 12) How did you think about the selection process? Did it change over time?
- 13) To what degree did a parent's ability to pay at the top end of the scale affect enrollment?
- 14) In your view, what were the biggest challenges facing Calvin Hill's recruitment of Yale employees in the Local 35 Union and low-SES families?
- 15) If I came to Calvin Hill without any previous knowledge of it and shadowed you for a day when you were the Director, what would I have seen in your day to day work that you think exemplifies the mission or that would explain the mission to me as an uninformed observer?
- 16) How much was Calvin Hill impacted (explicitly or implicitly) by child care governmental policies (e.g., School Readiness) and child care trends (e.g., the 1960's feminist movement's demands for day care)?
- 17) If you had more time, money, authority, etc., what changes would you enact at Calvin Hill right now? Why haven't those changes been possible?

App C

Interview Questions for Susan Taddei:

- 1) What is your understanding of the founding mission of Calvin Hill?
- 2) To what degree has the mission evolved since you became a part of the Calvin Hill community and since you became Director?
- 3) What do you see as the current mission of Calvin Hill?
- 4) Tell me about the clientele at Calvin Hill or the types of families Calvin Hill serves.
- 5) Have you seen any shifts in the clientele since you have arrived and since you have been Director? If yes, what is your understanding of those shifts?
 - a. What do you think the reasons for those changes were, both internally (Calvin Hill organizational decisions) and externally (parents' priorities and why they were or were not choosing Calvin Hill)?
- 6) How is Calvin Hill funded?
- 7) What were/are the constraints that accompany the funding model? Has funding changed since you have become Director? What is Calvin Hill's relationship with the School Readiness Program?
- 8) Tell me about the biggest challenges you face in providing high-quality care.
- 9) Tell me about the biggest challenges you face in providing an affordable and sliding scale model.

- 10) What is the relationship between providing high-quality care and the sliding scale? Is there a tension?
- 11) How would you define Calvin Hill's relationship with the Yale community? With Yale employees? With the New Haven community?
- 12) What is your recruitment strategy? How do you think about recruitment?
- 13) What are the successes and challenges of the recruitment process?
- 14) If there is anything you could change in the recruitment strategy or process, what would it be?
- 15) Who is involved in making recruitment and enrollment decisions? Tell me about how the selection process works.
- 16) To what degree does a parents ability to pay at the top end of the scale effect enrollment?
- 17) What are the biggest challenges facing Calvin Hill's recruitment of Yale employees in the Local 35 Union and low-SES families?
- 18) If I came to Calvin Hill without any previous knowledge of it and shadowed you for a day, what would I see in your day to day work that you think exemplifies the mission or that would explain the mission to me as an uninformed observer?
- 19) What are your plans or ideas for the future of Calvin Hill? What is your vision for Calvin Hill in the next few years? Are there any big changes that you anticipate?

App D

Original Sliding Scale—1970-71

(Income and payments reported per week)

<\$100 → \$5	\$200-\$250 → \$20
\$100-\$150 → \$10	>\$250 → \$25
\$150-\$200 → \$15	

Sliding Scale—1974-75

<u>Weekly family income</u>	<u>Weekly tuition</u>
under \$100	\$15 ¹⁸
100 - 125	23
125 - 150	28
150 - 175	35
175 - 200	40
over 200	45

Sliding Scale—1982-83

RECOMMENDED TUITION SCHEDULE 1982-83.

	Proposed wk	(1981-82)	year	(1981-82)
less than 9,000	30	30	1,200	1,200
9,000 - 9,999	35	32	1,400	1,280
10,000 - 10,999	37	34	1,480	1,360
11,000 - 11,999	40	37	1,600	1,480
12,000 - 12,999	42	39	1,680	1,560
13,000 - 13,999	45	42	1,800	1,680
14,000 - 14,999	48	44	1,920	1,760
15,000 - 15,999	51	47	2,040	1,880
16,000 - 16,999	55	51	2,200	2,040
17,000 - 17,999	59	54	2,360	2,160
18,000 - 18,999	62	58	2,480	2,320
19,000 - 19,999	67	62	2,680	2,480
20,000 - 20,999	71	66	2,840	2,640
21,000 - 21,999	75	70	3,000	2,800
22,000 - 22,999	80	75	3,200	3,000
23,000 - 23,999	85	80	3,400	3,200

Sliding Scale—1991-92

~~2015~~ Tuition
91-92

Income Category	No. Fam.	Regular Tuition	Reg. Tuit. x No. Fam.	% of income
0-9999	0.00	1230.50	0.00	
10000-19999	1.00	1845.75	1845.75	12.30
20000-24999	0.00	2768.63	0.00	12.31
25000-29999	0.00	3383.30	0.00	12.30
30000-34999	2.00	3998.55	7997.10	12.30
35000-39999	2.00	4614.38	9228.75	12.31
40000-49999	2.00	5537.25	11074.50	12.31
50000-59999	2.00	6325.00	12650.00	11.50
60000-69999	0.00	7074.80	0.00	10.88
70000-79999	3.00	7383.00	22149.00	9.84
80000-89999	1.00	7690.62	7690.62	9.05
90000-12499	2.00	7998.25	15996.50	7.44
125000-1499	0.00	8305.30	0.00	6.04
150000+	1.00	8600.00	8600.00	

Sliding Scale—1999-2000

99-00				
Income Category	No. Fam.	Regular Tuition	Reg.Tuit. x No.Fam.	% of income
Under 25000	5.00	2021.00	10105.00	8.08
25000-29999	1.00	3890.00	3890.00	14.15
30000-34999	3.00	4295.00	12885.00	13.22
35000-39999	3.00	4749.00	14247.00	12.66
40000-44999	6.00	5366.00	32196.00	12.63
45000-49999	1.00	6002.00	6002.00	12.64
50000-54999	2.00	6629.00	13258.00	12.63
55000-59999	2.00	7265.00	14530.00	12.63
60000-64999	2.00	7579.00	15158.00	12.13
65000-69999	3.00	7882.00	23646.00	11.68
70000-74999	2.00	8165.00	16330.00	11.26
75000-79999	1.00	8387.00	8387.00	10.82
80000-84999	2.00	8579.00	17158.00	10.40
85000-89999	2.00	8711.00	17422.00	9.96
90000-94999	3.00	8812.00	26436.00	9.53
95000-99999	3.00	8943.00	26829.00	9.17
100000-124999	4.00	9246.00	36984.00	8.22
125000-149999	4.00	9448.00	37792.00	6.87
150000+	14.00	9650.00	135100.00	6.43

Sliding Scale—2005-06

05-06				
Income Category	No. Fam.	Regular Tuition	Reg.Tuit. x No.Fam.	% of income
Under 25000	3.00	2294.51	6883.53	
25000-29999	1.00	4015.93	4015.93	14.60
30000-34999	2.00	4703.64	9407.28	14.47
35000-39999	1.00	5393.49	5393.49	14.38
40000-44999	4.00	6110.12	24440.50	14.38
45000-49999	4.00	6827.83	27311.32	14.37
50000-54999	5.00	7544.46	37722.31	14.37
55000-59999	1.00	8262.17	8262.17	14.37
60000-64999	4.00	8949.88	35799.50	14.32
65000-69999	2.00	9351.58	18703.15	13.85
70000-74999	2.00	9840.04	19680.09	13.57
75000-79999	1.00	10098.20	10098.20	13.03
80000-84999	2.00	10326.37	20652.74	12.52
85000-89999	0.00	10498.83	0.00	12.00
90000-94999	1.00	10642.37	10642.37	11.51
95000-99999	1.00	10785.91	10785.91	11.06
100000-124999	5.00	11130.84	55654.20	9.89
125000-149999	0.00	11360.08	0.00	8.26
150000-175000	0.00	11676.08	0.00	7.19
175000+	22.00	11997.44	263943.68	

Sliding Scale—2020-21

Yearly Income (Gross)	Yearly Tuition	9 payments				Yearly Income (Gross)	Yearly Tuition	9 payments
1000	102	12				51000	5179	576
2000	203	23				52000	5280	587
3000	305	34				53000	5382	598
4000	406	46				54000	5483	610
5000	508	57				55000	5585	621
6000	609	68				56000	5686	632
7000	711	79				57000	5788	644
8000	812	91				58000	5889	655
9000	914	102				59000	5991	666
10000	1015	113				60000	6092	677
11000	1117	125				61000	6194	689
12000	1218	136				62000	6295	700
13000	1320	147				63000	6397	711
14000	1422	158				64000	6499	723
15000	1523	170				65000	6600	734
16000	1625	181				66000	6702	745
17000	1726	192				67000	6803	756
18000	1828	204				68000	6905	768
19000	1929	215				69000	7006	779
20000	2031	226				70000	7108	790
21000	2132	237				71000	7209	802
22000	2234	249				72000	7311	813
23000	2335	260				73000	7412	824
24000	2437	271				74000	7514	835
25000	2539	283				75000	7616	847
26000	2640	294				76000	7717	858
27000	2742	305				77000	7819	869
28000	2843	316				78000	7920	881
29000	2945	328				79000	8022	892
30000	3046	339				80000	8123	903
31000	3148	350				81000	8225	914
32000	3249	362				82000	8326	926
33000	3351	373				83000	8428	937
34000	3452	384				84000	8529	948
35000	3554	395				85000	8631	959
36000	3655	407				86000	8732	971
37000	3757	418				87000	8834	982
38000	3859	429				88000	8936	993
39000	3960	441				89000	9037	1005
40000	4062	452				90000	9139	1016
41000	4163	463				91000	9240	1027
42000	4265	474				92000	9342	1038
43000	4366	486				93000	9443	1050
44000	4468	497				94000	9545	1061
45000	4569	508				95000	9646	1072
46000	4671	519				96000	9748	1084
47000	4772	531				97000	9849	1095
48000	4874	542				98000	9951	1106
49000	4975	553				99000	10052	1117
50000	5077	565				100000	10154	1129

Yearly Income (Gross)	Yearly Tuition	9 payments				Yearly Income (Gross)	Yearly Tuition	9 payments
101000	10256	1140				151000	14776	1642
102000	10357	1151				152000	14861	1652
103000	10459	1163				153000	14946	1661
104000	10560	1174				154000	15031	1671
105000	10662	1185				155000	15116	1680
106000	10763	1196				156000	15200	1689
107000	10865	1208				157000	15284	1699
108000	10957	1218				158000	15368	1708
109000	11050	1228				159000	15452	1717
110000	11142	1238				160000	15536	1727
111000	11234	1249				161000	15620	1736
112000	11326	1259				162000	15703	1745
113000	11417	1269				163000	15786	1755
114000	11509	1279				164000	15870	1764
115000	11600	1289				165000	15952	1773
116000	11691	1300				166000	16035	1782
117000	11782	1310				167000	16118	1791
118000	11873	1320				168000	16200	1801
119000	11964	1330				169000	16283	1810
120000	12054	1340				170000	16365	1819
121000	12144	1350				171000	16447	1828
122000	12235	1360				172000	16528	1837
123000	12325	1370				173000	16610	1846
124000	12414	1380				174000	16691	1855
125000	12504	1390				175000	16773	1864
126000	12594	1400				176000	16854	1873
127000	12683	1410				177000	16935	1882
128000	12772	1420				178000	17016	1891
129000	12861	1429				179000	17096	1900
130000	12950	1439				180000	17177	1909
131000	13038	1449				181000	17257	1918
132000	13127	1459				182000	17337	1927
133000	13215	1469				183000	17417	1936
134000	13303	1479				184000	17497	1945
135000	13391	1488				185000	17576	1953
136000	13479	1498				186000	17656	1962
137000	13567	1508				187000	17735	1971
138000	13654	1518				188000	17814	1980
139000	13741	1527				189000	17893	1989
140000	13829	1537				190000	17972	1997
141000	13916	1547				191000	18050	2006
142000	14002	1556				192000	18129	2015
143000	14089	1566				193000	18207	2023
144000	14175	1576				194000	18285	2032
145000	14262	1585				195000	18363	2041
146000	14348	1595				196000	18441	2049
147000	14434	1604				197000	18518	2058
148000	14520	1614				198000	18596	2067
149000	14605	1623				199000	18673	2075
150000	14691	1633				200000 & Up	18750	2084

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