

Choice and equal access in early childhood education and care: the case of Germany

UEL Docklands Campus Monday 12 December 2016





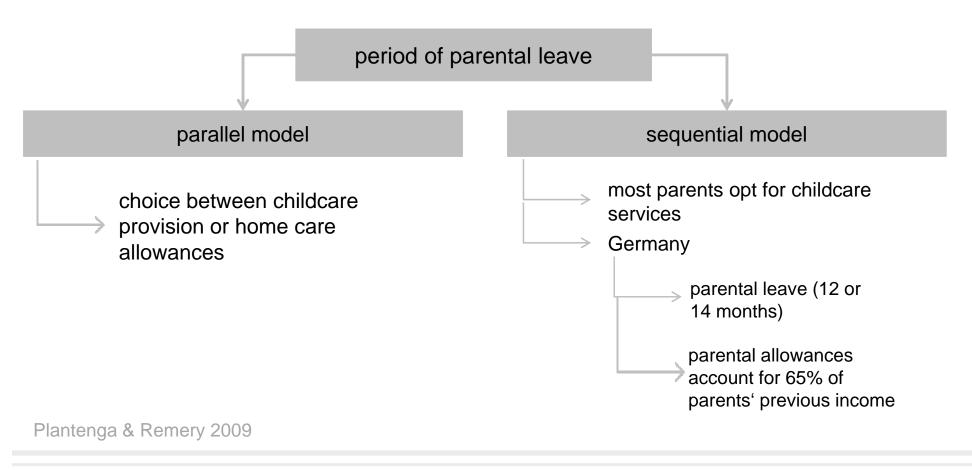


ECEC in Europe

- common agenda (education, labour market, social justice)
- systems of early childhood provision vary greatly between European countries (Plantenga & Remery 2009; Penn & Lloyd 2013; Penn 2014)
- How do system characteristics relate to choice, equity, and quality?

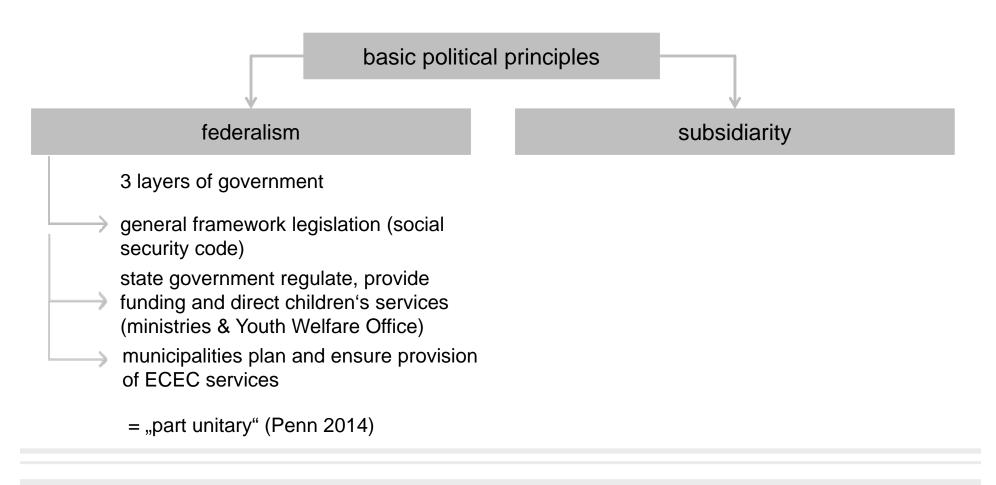


Models of day-care practice





ECEC system in Germany





ECEC system in Germany

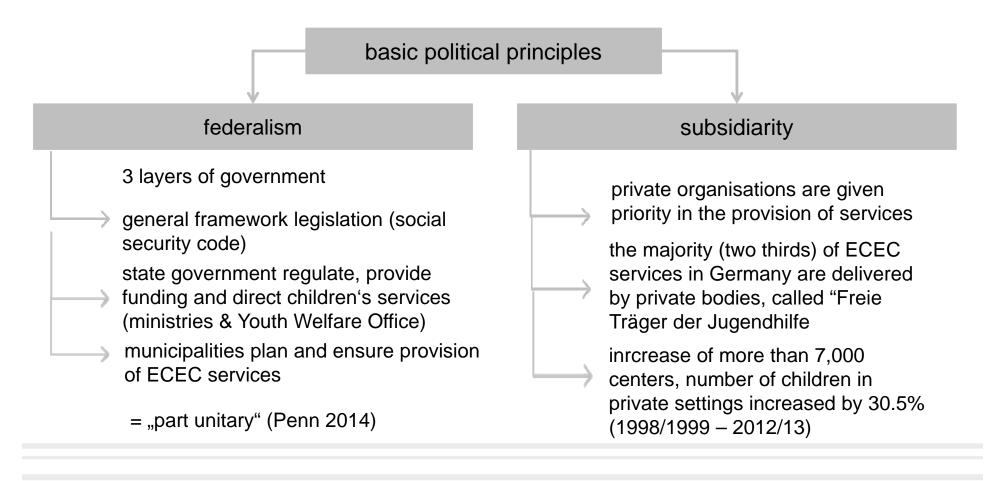
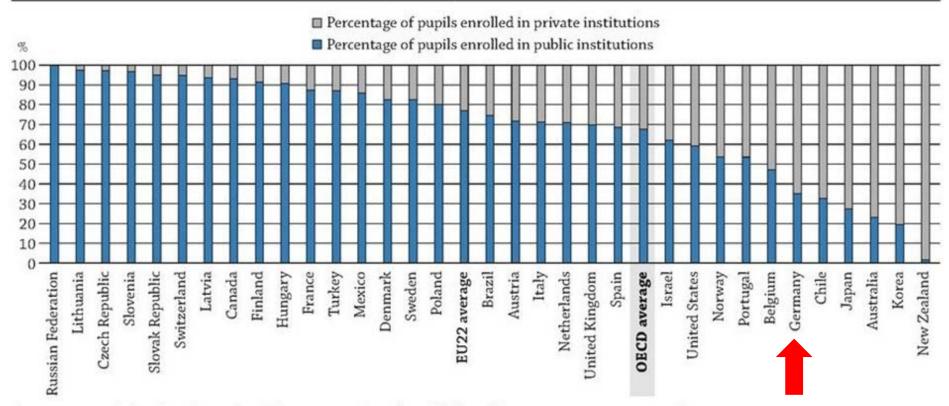




Figure C2.3. Percentage of pupils enrolled in public and private institutions in pre-primary education (2014)



Countries are ranked in descending order of the percentage of pupils enrolled in public institutions in pre-primary education.

Source: OECD. Table C2.2. See Annex 3 for notes (www.oecd.org/education/education-at-a-glance-19991487.htm).

StatLink | http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933398366

OECD 2016

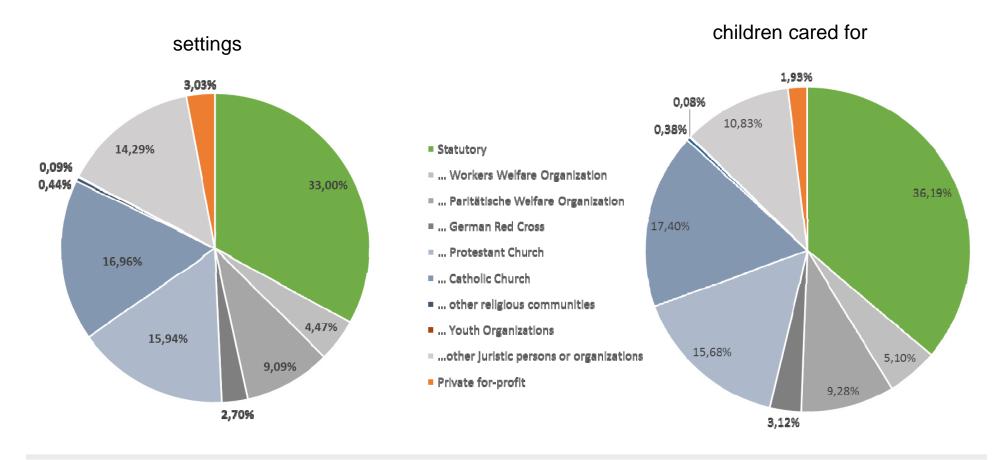


ECEC system as a ,childcare market'

- inequalities if private and state provision co-exist within a mixed exonomy (Lloyd 2013)
- private providers are eligible for generous state subsidies
- state funding is supply led
- licensing and regulatory regimes
 - number of places, opening hours, parent fees, building requirements and maintenance, group size, staff-child ratios and space
 - standards are monitored by Youth Welfare Office
- mechanismes allow governments to intervene in childcare markets (Lloyd & Penn 2014)
 - more homogenous, integrated and universal
 - little room for profits



Structure of the German ECEC market



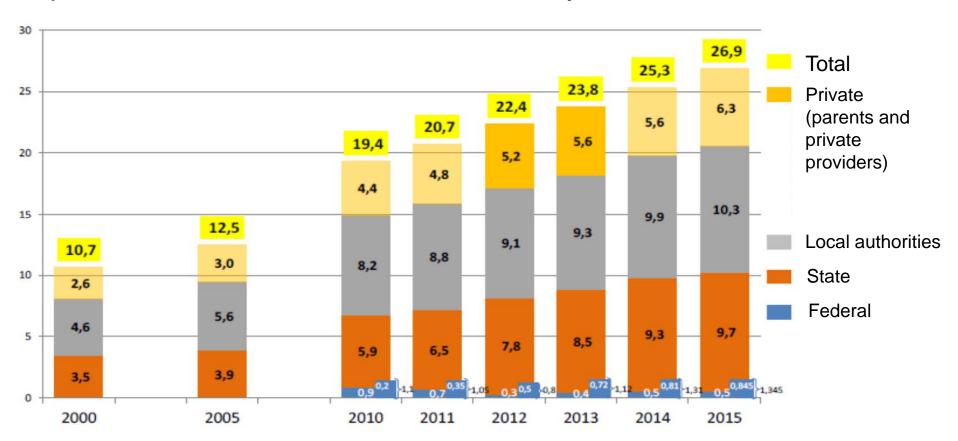


ECEC - system as a ,childcare market'

- "social markets" (OECD 2006, p.119)
- A network of mixed provision leads to choice and innovation while a sense of national and community responsibility for services remains.
- Such "public supply-side investment models managed by public authorities brings more uniform quality and superior coverage of childhood populations." (OECD 2006, p. 114)



Expense for ECEC services in Germany in Billion Euro



Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth 2016, p. 60)



Funding of ECEC

- Parental costs differ by region and municipality
 - in 2012, parents had to pay between 7% and more than 20%
- Different regulations in states
 - in ten states they have to pay for the services all the time
 - Hamburg does not collect charges at all
- parental fee-capping
 - income-related fee but low-income households are charged relatively more
 - informal care arrangements are more expensive
 - duration and age is relevant, sometimes siblings are given a "discount"



Funding of the ECEC

Kinder unter 3 Jahre, monatliche Betreuung									
Jahres-Brutto- einkommen	bis 45 Std.	bis 65 Std.	bis 90 Std.	bis 110 Std.	bis 130 Std.	bis 155 Std.	bis 175 Std.	bis 195 Std.	über 195 Std.
bis 37.000 €	0 €	0€	0 €	0€	0€	0 €	0€	0 €	0 €
bis 50.000 €	51 €	74 €	102 €	124 €	147 €	169 €	197 €	219 €	248 €
bis 62.000 €	67 €	98€	134 €	165 €	194 €	224 €	261€	291 €	329 €
bis 75.000 €	77 €	110 €	152 €	187 €	221 €	254 €	296 €	329 €	373 €
bis 85.000 €	92 €	132 €	183 €	224 €	265 €	305 €	355 €	395 €	447 €
bis 95.000 €	110 €	159 €	219 €	269 €	318 €	366 €	426€	474 €	537 €
bis 105.000 €	116 €	166 €	230 €	282 €	333 €	383 €	447 €	496 €	562 €
bis 125.000 €	127 €	183 €	253 €	310 €	366 €	422 €	491€	546 €	619€
bis 150.000 €	140 €	201 €	278 €	341 €	402 €	464 €	540 €	601 €	680 €
über 150.000 €	154 €	221 €	306 €	375 €	443 €	510 €	595 €	661 €	748 €

Monthly parental costs in Münster (August 2014)



Funding of the ECEC

	Wöchentliche Betreuungszeit Kindertagespflege								
Einkommen im Jahr	bis	bis	bis	bis	bis	bis	bis	bis	
(Gesamtbrutto)	10 Std.	15 Std.	20 Std.	25 Std.	30 Std.	35 Std.	40 Std.	45 Std.	
bis 17.500 €	0,00€	0,00€	0,00€	0,00€	0,00€	0,00€	0,00€	0,00€	
bis 25.000 €	18,00€	26,00 €	36,00€	44,00 €	52,00 €	60,00€	70,00€	88,00€	
bis 37.000 €	36,00€	52,00 €	72,00 €	88,00€	104,00€	120,00€	140,00€	176,00€	
bis 49.000 €	54,00€	78,00 €	108,00€	132,00 €	156,00€	180,00€	210,00€	264,00€	
bis 61.000 €	72,00€	104,00 €	144,00 €	176,00 €	208,00 €	240,00 €	280,00€	352,00€	
über 61.000 €	81,00€	117,00€	162,00€	198,00€	234,00 €	270,00 €	315,00€	396,00€	

Monthly parental costs in Hamm (August 2014)

Excluded are allowances for food and other additional costs



Entitlement

- ECEC in Germany as universal system = available to all children by choice
- children aged 3 + have right to visit a childcare centre since 1996
- entitlement has been expanded to all children aged 1 + (1st August 2013)
- younger children have the right to provision if
 - parents work, job-seeking, in school or other kind of training; live on benefits; or if it is required from the perspective of the child's development
- provision is not based on center-based day-care or preschool alone
 - includes a more non-formal sector based on in-home family day-care
 - qualified childminder takes care of a maximum of five children in his/her own home
 - organized and controlled for by public structure



Daily hours in entitlement

- the law on the federal level does not specify daily hours children are entitled to
- some states specify this in implementation laws
 - varies between 4 to 10 hours daily
 - half-day / part-time vs. full-day arrangement
- childminders can be booked for any number of hours
- in centre-based childcare half- and full-day provision is pre-specified



Daily hours in centre-based ECEC

Noth-Rhine-Westphalia (KiBiz)

25, 35, 45 hours per week

Berlin (KitaFöG)

> 4-5, 5-7, 7-9 or more than 9 hours per day

Hamburg (KibeG)

different structures depending on the children's age

flexibel, offers between 4 and 12 hours Hesse (HessKiföG)

> under age of three: 5, 5-7, and more than 7 hours per day

older children: 6 or 8 hours per day



Expansion and quality improvement



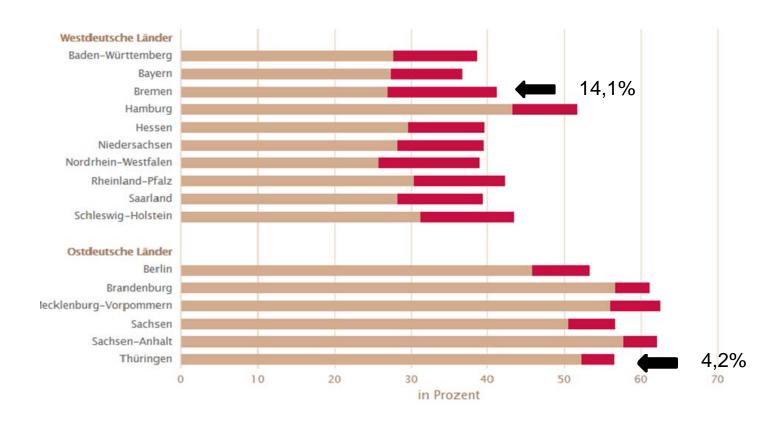


Coverage

- Increase from 2008 to 2014:
 - from 12.1% to 27.4% in the former Western states
 - from 41.9% to 52.0% in the former Eastern states
- in 2015:
 - 95.3% of all children aged three to under six
 - 32.9% for children under the age of three
- major differences between the states
 - coverage ranges from 25.9% to more than 50%



Discrepancies between provision and demand





Supply and parents' demand

- Higher demand than provision restricts choice
- Socially biased participation
- study that analysed parents' demand and supply structure on the level of municipalities showed that:
- 1. families participating in ECEC are usually also participating in the labour market, are highly educated and do not have a migration background;
- 2. families not participating although wanting to are planning to go back to work, are also quite educated but do often have a migration background;
- 3. families who do not want to participate are rather uneducated and hardly in-clined to participate in the labour market.

Fuchs-Rechlin et al. 2014



Participation rates

	All	Migration	No Migration
under age of three	33	22	38
over age of three	95	90	97

Participation rate of children in the German ECEC system in 2015 (in%)

→ Inequalities decrease when participation increases



Parental choice

- Hypothesis: If services become more accessible for all, privileged families try to find new ways to reproduce their social advantage (Wolf 2002; Brooks & Waters 2009; all & Nikita 2014)
- parents are free to choose any ECEC setting according to their preference
- power as service consumers has been strengthened in the last decade by the introduction of marked mechanisms like demand-oriented funding principles
- not all parents are equally able to make an informed choice
- parental preferences and their decision making differ as a function of family characteristics and resources and might lead to segregation



Segregation in the German ECEC system

- not much research
 - settings' proportions of migrant children or children from families with low SES, vary from zero to 70% or even more
 - 32% of the children who do not predominantly speak German at home visit ECEC centres in which more than 50% of all children do not speak German at home either



Role of type of provider

- school system: private or denomination schools can lead to segregation
- Early years researchers
 - commercial providers are said to be costly and selective (Lloyd & Penn 2014)
 - differentiation commercial vs. non-profit falls short of system complexities (not all commercial providers same segregating potential) (Ernst et al. 2014)
 - do not play a major role in the German system
 - What is the role of the private non-profit sector?
- Research questions:
- 1. Are there any systematic differences in the type of provider children of certain population groups attend?
- 2. Does this results in different demographic makeups of the settings?



Context of the study

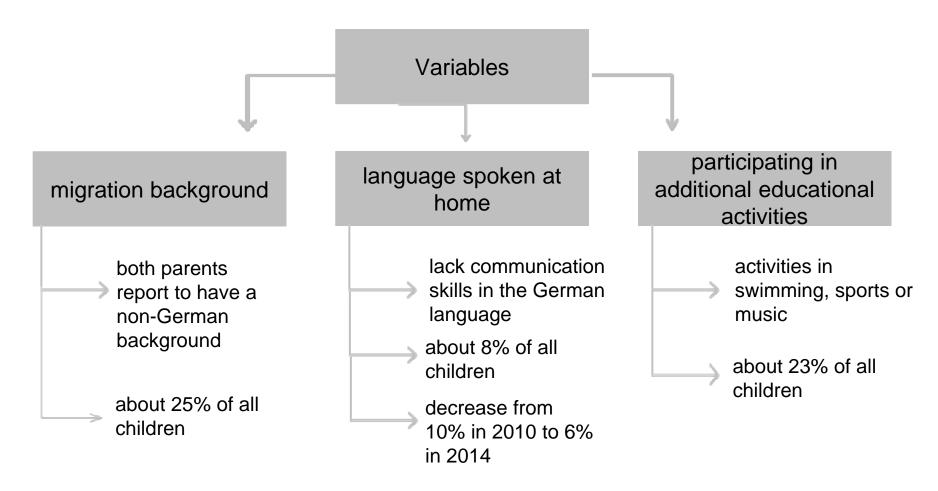
- data from the city of Münster in North Rhine-Westphalia
- medium-sized city: 300,000 residents (rather wealthy, mainly middle and upper class)
- there are altogether 181 preschool settings
 - 51 parent-run centres
 - 47 Catholic Church
 - 19 Protestant Church
 - 29 statutory facilities
 - less than ten in the categories of each of the welfare organization and others



Data

- Information on preschool children attend from school entry examination (SEE)
 - obligatory for all children
 - about 2,500 children per year
 - Developmental assessment, background characteristics
- Presentation draws on different studies and analyses
 - number of used cohorts vary from five to eleven
 - sample sizes of 11,834 to 26,497





 \Rightarrow

informed by debate on risk factors that are linked to educational disadvantage



Type of provider by migration background



9 cohorts, 2006 to 2014, n = 21,547 (16,240 without migration, 5,095 with migration, 212 missing)



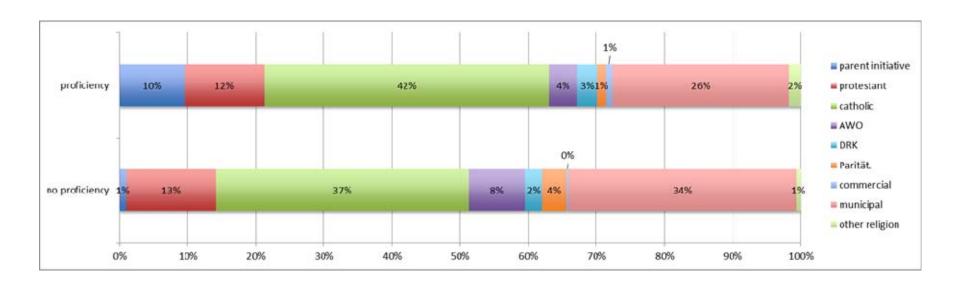
Type of provider by migration background



9 cohorts, 2006 to 2014, n = 21,547 (16,240 without migration, 5,095 with migration, 212 missing)



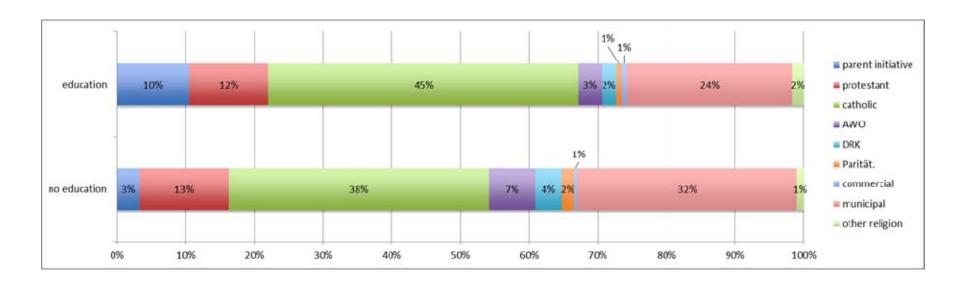
Type of provider by parental language skills



5 cohorts, 2010 to 2014, n = 11,834 (10,290 proficient in German, 978 not proficient in German, 566 missing)



Type of provider by additional educational experiences



11 cohorts, 2010 to 2014, n = 26,497 (19,690 with additional educational experiences, 6,198 without additional educational experiences, 609 missing)



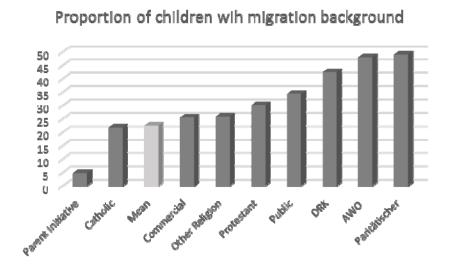
Odds Ratios

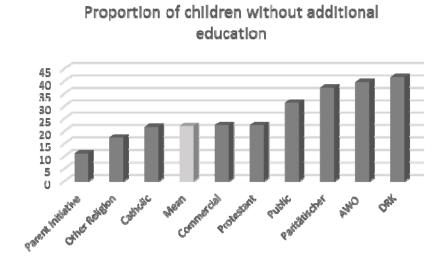
	PI	PROT	CAT	AWO	DRK	PAR	СОМ	STAT	OR
Migration	7,84	0,86	1,50	0,54	0,57	0,22	1,25	0,56	1,19
Language Skills	11,94	0,84	1,36	0,45	1,04	0,29	1,70	0,61	2,65
Additional Ed.	3,48	0,88	1,35	0,48	0,55	0,42	1,41	0,68	1,59

PI = Parent Initiatives, PROT = Protestant Church, CAT = Catholic Church, AWO = Workers Welfare Organization, DRK = German Red Cross, PAR = Paritätische Welfare Organization, COM = Commercial, STAT = Statutory, OR = Other Religion

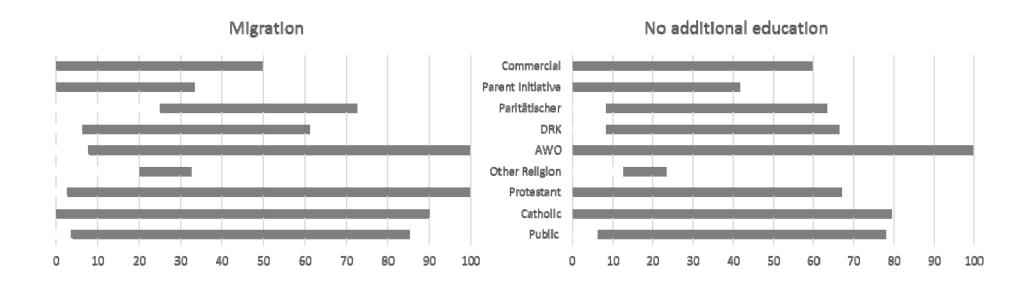


Demographic makeup of settings within provider categories

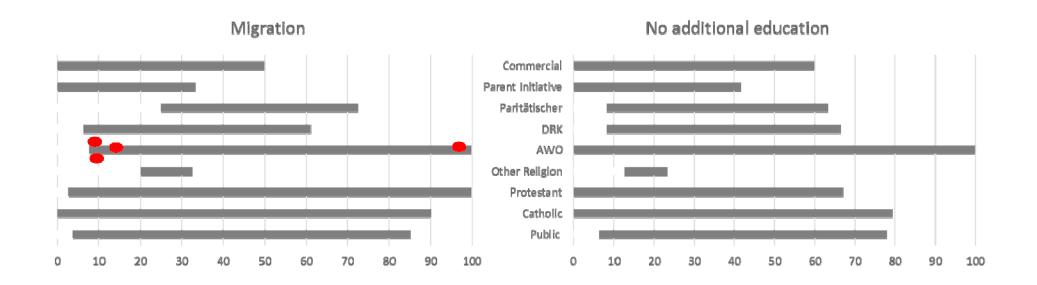




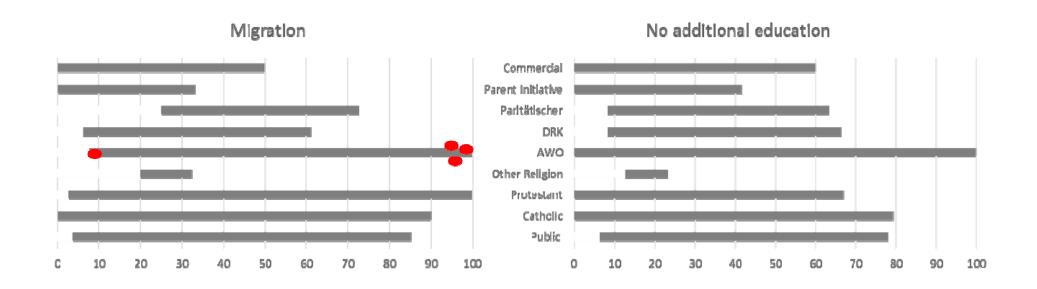




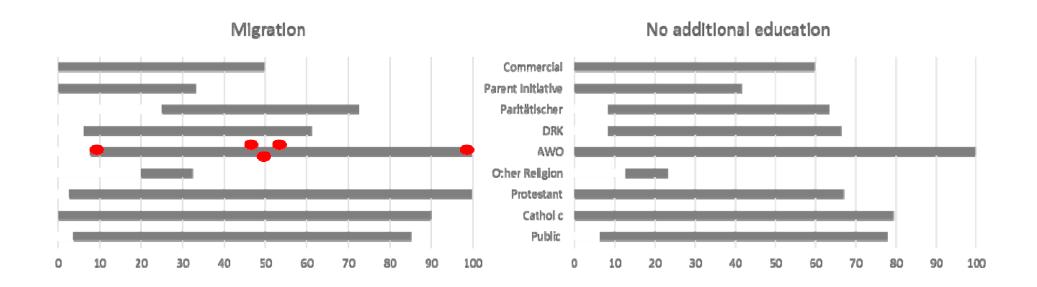






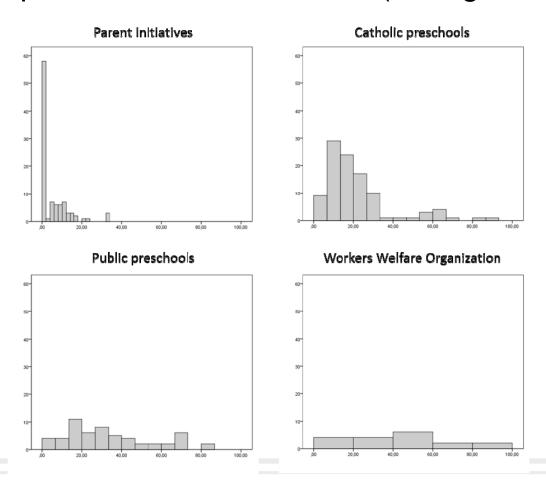








Distribution of provider's ECEC centres (% migrant children)





Conclusion

- segregation effect of catholic centres due to religion?
- extreme segregation effects of parent initiatives
 - result from efforts of advantage-seeking parents
 - parents find ways to reproduce social inequalities and maintain privileges
 - parents as providers implement access barriers which only certain parents are able to negotiate
- inequalities might only be tackled by centrally administered allocations systems



German ECEC system equitable?

Pro Contra

- every child aged one or older is entitled to a place in early childhood education services
- publicly funded
- fee capping positively discriminate parents
- childcare market mostly consists of non-profit players
- · regulation and standards
- No home care subsidies

- federalism as well as subsidiarity leads to regional variations
- lack of sufficient provision especially for children under the age of three leads to socially biased participation
- diverse provider structures create possibilities of distinction and segregation



Thank you for your attention!

nina.hogrebe@uni-muenster.de







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