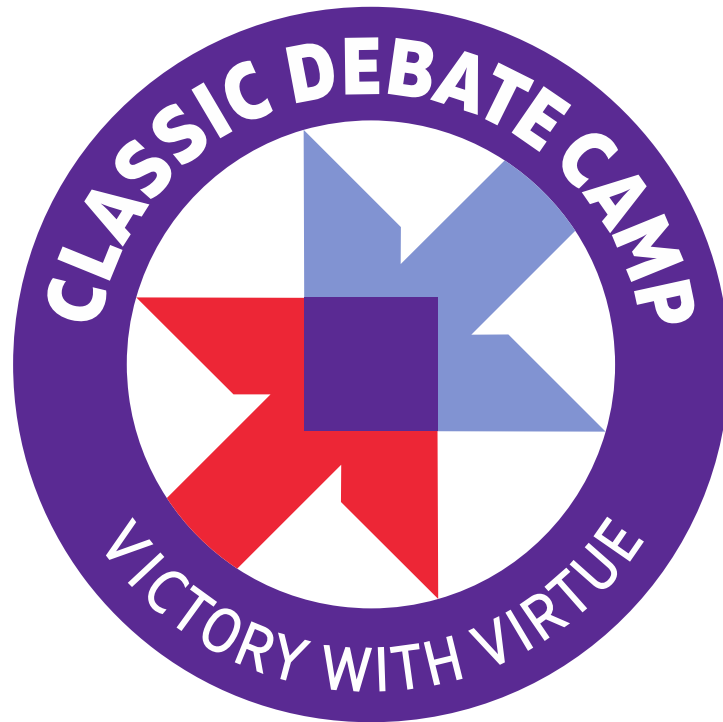


CLASSIC DEBATE CAMP
MARCH-APRIL 2021
LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE BRIEF



**Resolved: The United States ought to
guarantee universal child care.**

**Compiled by Rachael Harris
and Hannah Kim**

classicdebatecamp.com

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A NOTE FROM THE AUTHORS

Hello, Everyone! We want to congratulate you on making it this far into the season! Our primary goal in this brief is to provide some useful evidence to get the gears turning as you begin your own research on the topic. In other words, our brief is simply a launching pad. It is not intended to be comprehensive or exhaustive.

A special hello to all of our Classic Debate Camp friends! We will be cheering for all of you who qualified at the Ohio State Tournament this March! Congratulations!

Also, a special thank you to our fellow CDC instructors who helped us with this project, namely Maya Arora, Jen Gonda, and, of course, Mr. Paik! We appreciate your support very much.

Good luck, everyone! We believe in you all. Above all, remember that debate is a game – not combat, and be sure to have fun.

Please do not hesitate to reach out if you have any questions about this brief or the research contained in it. Here are our emails for you: harrisrach19@gmail.com & hyk6@case.edu

-Rachael Harris & Hannah Kim

Information on how we research:

1. We have included every link and citation for every source that we have cut a card or taken information from. If you plan on using any part of this brief, it is our strong recommendation that you download the full article or PDF, especially if you plan on using it in your case.
 - a. We do hold ourselves to a high standard when it comes to researching, and you should as well. However, “from the Classic Debate Camp brief” is not the most intelligent or compelling citation. You should **always** be citing the original author to give them credit for their work. This also lets everyone else know where the evidence is from. Citing our brief is very vague and will most likely not fly at States.
 - b. We always attempt to use sources that are accessible to all (i.e., without paywalls). However, if you find that the URL has been moved or that the link does not work anymore, please do not hesitate to reach out and we will find a way to put you in touch with the source that we are referencing.

2. We cut in whole paragraphs, even multiple if we find it all to be relevant. As an extension of the first point, we believe that if you plan on using these cards in round or in your cases, having the context for them does help for the breadth of your knowledge base and on the occasion that your opponent asks to see the evidence.
3. How we cut cards
 - a. **Tag**
 - b. Author last name, Year
 - c. Author full name. Author qualifications. Full date. “Title of article/work.”
Publication info (i.e., citation)
 - d. Link
4. Do we power tag? Absolutely not. Please read the card to understand how our claims are warranted. Maybe even attempt to figure out how we came to that conclusion or write your own tag (which we strongly recommend).

A WORD ABOUT SEXISM

We want to be cognizant of some important and sensitive social issues raised by this LD topic and arguments in this brief, and we hope that you will be as well. Before proceeding, we want to acknowledge that there are arguments contained in the literature that are rooted in sexist ideals. For example, the U.S. should resist Universal Child Care because it undermines traditional gender roles. Most arguments that are sexist will likely be more subtle and less blatant. One should certainly be aware of and on the look out for sexist arguments, whether they are implicit or explicit, and avoid using them.

On another note, we encourage debaters to give a trigger warning before a round begins, should you be discussing an issue that is sensitive and that may cause an opponent or judge to be distressed. (And in case someone does feel uncomfortable with your argument and/or case, you should always have a backup argument and/or case to run instead.) We believe that the debate community should be inclusive and equitable, and so each debate round must be a safe space for all competitors to be comfortable in, regardless of their background and any prior traumatic experience they may have had.

If you experience mistreatment by your opponent and/or judge in a round or at a tournament, please do not be hesitant to report it to your coach, a tournament official, or other trusted adult.

If you and/or your team are based in Ohio and would like to participate, @OhioForEquity is an organization that is striving to make Ohio Speech and Debate more inclusive and empowering for all students.

Above all else, we encourage everyone to be mindful and seriously consider how their words and their behavior may be impacting others, either positively or negatively.

Sincerely,
Rachael & Hannah

TOPIC ESSAYS

Exploring Universal Child Care

By Maya Arora¹ (mayamarora@gmail.com)

Introduction

Universal child care is a policy proposal which provides quality child care to all families regardless of income.² Most universal child care plans propose employing highly-trained caregivers and child educators. This policy seeks to ensure that no family is forced to pay more than they can afford for child care.

Currently, childcare is so expensive that it can be compared to college tuition in some states. Specifically, in Massachusetts, childcare can exceed \$34,000.³ That may be an extreme case, but across the US, a typical household can often spend over \$7,000 a year on childcare, or about 10% of their total income.⁴ As a result, many families are unable to use formal child-care services and instead rely on informal childcare options, such as help from family and friends, which can often be unreliable.

Affirmative Implementation

Universal child care policies have actually been proposed in the US before, for brief periods of time. During WW2 when more women were in the workforce because many men were away at war, there was a need for child care. To respond to this need, the US passed a child care program through the Lanham Act.

The Lanham Act created child care centers in 635 communities in every state (except for New Mexico).⁵ The centers employed teachers and nurses and provided children with

¹ Maya Arora was a two-time national champion in LD at the NCFL Grand National Tournament (2017 and 2019). She has also qualified for the NSDA national tournament three times and has accumulated five career bids to the Tournament of Champions. Currently, she is studying public policy at Duke University. Maya joined the CDC LD staff in 2020.

² ZERO TO THREE. 6-18-2019. "The Universal Child Care and Early Learning Act Elevates Quality, Affordable Child Care to National Stage." <https://www.zerotothree.org/resources/2781-the-universal-child-care-and-early-learning-act-elevates-quality-affordable-child-care-to-national-stage>

³ Mercado, Darla. Cfp. 8-29-2018. "Forget college tuition. Annual child-care costs exceed \$20,000 in these states." CNBC. <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/08/28/forget-college-tuition-annual-childcare-costs-exceed-20000-here.html>

⁴ Zandi, Mark et. al. 02-2019. "Universal Child Care and Early Learning Act: Helping Families and the Economy." Moody's Analytics. <https://www.economy.com/mark-zandi/documents/2019-02-18-Child-Care-Act.pdf>

⁵ Thier, Daphna. 12-27-2020. "The US Government Can Provide Universal Childcare — It's Done So in the Past." Jacobin. <https://jacobinmag.com/2020/12/universal-childcare-lanham-act-us-government>

meals. According to records of 500 children who were cared for at these centers and interviews of parents and teachers:⁶

“80 percent of the children had made good or excellent progress physically, emotionally, socially, and mentally, according to the program’s metrics — and overwhelming approval rates among all participants.”⁷

Also, a study by the *Journal of Labor Economics* in 2017 found that due to the Lanham Act:

“Mothers who participated in the program were more likely to have improved their economic conditions. And people who participated in the program as children were found to have reached higher levels of education, had better employment opportunities, and had children later in life.”⁸

A more recent implementation proposal for universal child care is the *Universal Child Care and Early Learning Act* which has been proposed by US Senator Elizabeth Warren.

“The program establishes a network of public child-care centers and family child care homes, staffed by child-care workers who will receive wages competitive with public school teachers in their communities. It builds on current federal child-care programs, most notably the military child-care program and the federal Head Start program.”⁹

Not only does this act seek to create new child care centers, but it prepares to build on existing childcare facilities and programs as well, which could slightly reduce costs as opposed to building infrastructure from scratch.

⁶ Kushok, Ruth Pearson. 1-30-2015. "Developmental Records of 500 Nursery School Children." Taylor & Francis. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00220973.1947.1101037>

⁷ Thier, Daphna. 12-27-2020. "The US Government Can Provide Universal Childcare — It’s Done So in the Past." Jacobin. <https://jacobinmag.com/2020/12/universal-childcare-lanham-act-us-government>

⁸ Herbst, Chris M. No Date. "Universal Child Care, Maternal Employment, and Children’s Long-Run Outcomes: Evidence from the US Lanham Act of 1940."

http://www.chriserbst.net/files/Download/C._Herbst_Lanham_Act_Child_Care.pdf

⁹ Zandi, Mark et. al. 02-2019. "Universal Child Care and Early Learning Act: Helping Families and the Economy." Moody’s Analytics. <https://www.economy.com/mark-zandi/documents/2019-02-18-Child-Care-Act.pdf>

Affirmative arguments

1. Universal child care will reduce poverty.

This is an extremely intuitive and predictable aff argument, yet every aff should probably argue it in some form. Childcare is often a massive financial burden on families, and a lack of childcare can prevent parents from working and earning income.

Based on an analysis of Warren’s universal child care proposal, at least 12 million children would receive care. Furthermore, “8.8 million kids in families below 200% of the federal poverty line would receive free child care. The typical American family with young children currently paying for formal care would see their annual child-care costs decline by 17% to less than \$6,000 per year.”¹⁰

2. Universal child care will benefit child development

If childcare is a guarantee regardless of a family’s income, millions of children will experience improved cognitive development and better life outcomes overall. Based on a study of 60,000 children in Norway’s universal child care program, universal child care improves children’s language skills, specifically for children from low-income families.¹¹

Furthermore, education and achievement of those low-income children was shown to improve:

“The narrowing of achievement gaps has been greatest in low-income Norwegian communities that made large increases in the number of children attending early childcare centers.”

3. Universal child care will promote equity for children with special needs.

Currently, parents who have children with disabilities and special needs have a harder time finding adequate child care compared to parents who have non-disabled children, according to data from the 2016 Early Childhood Program Participation Survey.¹² These families face obstacles for finding appropriate child care because many programs do not

¹⁰ Zandi, Mark et. al. 02-2019. “Universal Child Care and Early Learning Act: Helping Families and the Economy.” Moody’s Analytics. <https://www.economy.com/mark-zandi/documents/2019-02-18-Child-Care-Act.pdf>

¹¹ Boston College. 2-11-2021. “Universal Child Care Brings Language, Achievement Benefits, Report Researchers from Boston College and Norway report.” BC News. <https://www.bc.edu/bc-web/bcnews/nation-world-society/education/early-learning--language-study.html>

¹² Novoa, Cristina. 01-29-2020. “The Child Care Crisis Disproportionately Affects Children With Disabilities.” Center for American Progress. <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/early-childhood/reports/2020/01/29/479802/child-care-crisis-disproportionately-affects-children-disabilities/>

have the proper facilities to accommodate children with disabilities. While the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act offers free public education for children beginning with preschool, it does not include child care for infants or toddlers.¹³ Furthermore, it only offers programs to children who are diagnosed with specific

4. Universal child care will create widespread economic growth

One way in which this policy may create economic growth is through increased female labor force participation. As it becomes easier and more cost-effective for more parents to work outside of the home, some parents may pursue a new career or become able to work longer hours due to flexibility with childcare. This could massively increase GDP.¹⁴ According to a report by the *Economic Policy Institute*:

“If women’s labor force participation in the United States matched that of America’s international peers, the potential gains to gross domestic product (GDP) could be enormous—up to \$600 billion annually.”¹⁵

Economic growth may also be promoted as the achievement gap narrows:¹⁶

“McKinsey (2009) estimates that closing the gap in average educational achievement between American students and students in higher-performing national educational systems could boost U.S. GDP by roughly \$180 billion annually.”¹⁷

¹³ Novoa, Cristina. 01-29-2020. “The Child Care Crisis Disproportionately Affects Children With Disabilities.” Center for American Progress. <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/early-childhood/reports/2020/01/29/479802/child-care-crisis-disproportionately-affects-children-disabilities/>

¹⁴ Zandi, Mark et. al. 02-2019. “Universal Child Care and Early Learning Act: Helping Families and the Economy.” Moody’s Analytics. <https://www.economy.com/mark-zandi/documents/2019-02-18-Child-Care-Act.pdf>

¹⁵ Bivens, Josh et. al. 4-6-2016. “It’s time for an ambitious national investment in America’s children: Investments in early childhood care and education would have enormous benefits for children, families, society, and the economy.” Economic Policy Institute. <https://www.epi.org/publication/its-time-for-an-ambitious-national-investment-in-americas-children/>

¹⁶ Bivens, Josh et. al. 4-6-2016. “It’s time for an ambitious national investment in America’s children: Investments in early childhood care and education would have enormous benefits for children, families, society, and the economy.” Economic Policy Institute. <https://www.epi.org/publication/its-time-for-an-ambitious-national-investment-in-americas-children/>

¹⁷ McKinsey & Company. 04-2009. “https://dropoutprevention.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/ACHIEVEMENT_GAP_REPORT_20090512.pdf.”

Lastly, creating centers to provide child care will create jobs. Childcare centers currently employ 1.5 million workers.¹⁸ If child care programs are expanded, that number would certainly increase.

While some people may feel that universal child care is a “radical” proposal, it is actually very similar to existing policies and programs such as free K-12 public education. If our government and our society already believe that every child deserves to attend a K-12 school regardless of their economic status, then that mindset can also be extended to embrace universal child care. An enactment of universal child care would reflect the government’s recognition of their obligations to care for their citizens beyond just the bare necessities. Providing positive rights and services which benefit citizens socially and economically is within the realm of the government’s responsibilities.

Negative arguments

1. Universal child care is too expensive.

A common yet persuasive neg argument will be that this policy is too expensive and thus too expensive. As a result of its high cost, the government may have a difficult time finding money to pay for it. If they do somehow find money, they may cut funding for other important programs (Medicare, welfare programs, other education programs, etc.) or they may increase the national debt.

Based on Warren’s universal child care proposal, this program could cost around \$700 billion.¹⁹

According to the Tax Policy Center, in order to achieve this, the government may need to limit or reduce services, “raise taxes on middle-income households, do what politicians have been doing for decades and borrow the money, or rely on some combination of all

¹⁸ Zandi, Mark et. al. 02-2019. “Universal Child Care and Early Learning Act: Helping Families and the Economy.” Moody’s Analytics. <https://www.economy.com/mark-zandi/documents/2019-02-18-Child-Care-Act.pdf>

¹⁹ Gleckman, Howard. 4-24-2019. "How Warren’s Promises May Exceed Her Ability To Pay, And Teach Voters An Important Lesson." Tax Policy Center. <https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/taxvox/how-warrens-promises-may-exceed-her-ability-pay-and-teach-voters-important-lesson>

three.²⁰ The challenge would be especially difficult given that her [Warren's] promises would come on top of the existing \$17 trillion public debt."²¹

2. Government intervention in child care harms cognitive development of children.

Universal child care might have good intentions, but it may actually be counterproductive.²² Research²³ on Quebec's universal day care program "found large, detrimental effects on child non cognitive development, including *increased* rates of criminality."²⁴

There is evidence which shows that the child care program did not help relieve any burdens on families due to "increased aggressiveness and anxiety for the children, more hostile, less consistent parenting for the adults, and worse adult mental health and relationship satisfaction."²⁵

There were also negative long term impacts shown to result from Quebec's child care program. According to research from the *American Economic Journal* in 2019²⁶:

"We find the Quebec policy had a lasting negative impact on noncognitive skills. At older ages, program exposure is associated with worsened health and life satisfaction, and increased rates of criminal activity. Increases in aggression and hyperactivity are concentrated in boys, as is the rise in the crime rates. In contrast, we find no consistent impact on their cognitive skills."

²⁰ Gleckman, Howard. 4-24-2019. "How Warren's Promises May Exceed Her Ability To Pay, And Teach Voters An Important Lesson." Tax Policy Center. <https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/taxvox/how-warrens-promises-may-exceed-her-ability-pay-and-teach-voters-important-lesson>

²¹ Zandi, Mark et. al. 02-2019. "Universal Child Care and Early Learning Act: Helping Families and the Economy." Moody's Analytics. <https://www.economy.com/mark-zandi/documents/2019-02-18-Child-Care-Act.pdf>

²² Hammond, Samuel. 02-28-2019. "The False Promise of Universal Child Care." Institute for Family Studies. <https://ifstudies.org/blog/the-false-promise-of-universal-child-care>

²³ NBER. "Canada's Universal Childcare Hurt Children and Families." <https://www.nber.org/digest/jun06/canadas-universal-childcare-hurt-children-and-families>

²⁴ Baker, Michael. "Non-Cognitive Deficits and Young Adult Outcomes: The Long-Run Impacts of a Universal Child Care Program." NBER, <https://www.nber.org/papers/w21571>

²⁵ Baker, Michael et. al. 04-2008. "Universal Childcare, Maternal Labor Supply and Family Well-Being." <http://economics.mit.edu/files/3103>

²⁶ Baker, Michael et. al. 2019. "The Long-Run Impacts of a Universal Child Care Program." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 2019, 11(3):1-26
<https://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1257/pol.20170603>

As a result of empirics which show that government provided child care may be harmful to children, the negative can argue that family-based and informal child care (such as hiring babysitters) is better for child development.

3. There are cheaper alternatives to universal child care.

Instead of passing a social program that is *universal* and accessible to everyone regardless of income, the government may be able to reduce costs by passing social programs which are conditional instead of universal, meaning they may have an income cutoff and only be accessible to certain people.

There are alternatives²⁷ such as a Federal Child Care and Education Savings Account (CESA) proposed by Grover J. Whitehurst.²⁸ This program would use existing federal funds to increase access to child care for low-income households specifically. These funds would be provided to families in the form of a subsidy which they could use to pay childcare providers.

Another potential alternative is to pay parents to stay at home with their children.²⁹ This would allow a stay at home parent to take care of their children without worrying about the financial burden of paying for child care. Upon receiving this payment, a parent can either choose to stay at home to take care of their children or they can use the money to pay for a private child care program. Paying parents to stay home would also be a recognition of the importance of caregiving work. Labor done by parents in the home often goes unrecognized even though this work is extremely valuable and important. This alternative may be more cost effective than a universal child care policy because it doesn't require the government to spend money to organize and run child care facilities and pay staff. However, it does remedy the current problems of expensive child care by giving stay at home parents more financial freedom or allowing them to pay for formal child care if they choose not to stay home.

²⁷ Salam, Riehan. 02-26-2019. "The Trouble With Elizabeth Warren's Child Care Plan." The Atlantic. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/02/elizabeth-warrens-misguided-call-for-federal-childcare/583615/>

²⁸ Whitehurst, Grover J. "Russ." 3-9-2017. "Why the federal government should subsidize childcare and how to pay for it," Brookings. <https://www.brookings.edu/research/why-the-federal-government-should-subsidize-childcare-and-how-to-pay-for-it/>

²⁹ Marcoux, Heather. 02-10-2020. "Why America needs to consider paying stay-at-home parents." Motherly. <https://www.mother.ly/news/how-to-solve-the-childcare-crisis-in-america>

Conclusion

The debates on universal child care will tend to boil down to the aff arguing for a progressive policy providing social and economic benefits versus the neg arguing about practicality, implementation problems, and more “feasible” alternatives. Considering the straightforward policy nature of this topic, many of the arguments on both sides will be logical and easy to understand. What will distinguish debaters is their ability to back up these arguments with well researched studies and implementation plans. Logic alone may not be enough on this topic to sway a judge to your side considering the economics and implementation concerns that are often tied to such progressive policies. Debaters who will do well on this topic will be those who spend as much time researching empirical evidence as they do generating arguments themselves.

Framing the Resolution

by Rachael Harris³⁰ (harrisrach19@gmail.com)

Introduction

The debates on this topic are going to break down in a few key ways, and it truly depends on how you are evaluating this topic. In Lincoln-Douglas debate, we often get asked to evaluate policy-based, value-based, or fact-based resolutions. This topic lies at the center of all three. While the topic is not explicitly asking for a specific policy to be implemented, evaluating the topic in this way opens the door to discussing feasibility and solvency impacts. Be wary of this, as the door could be open far enough that your opponent begins asking for a plan text (that you may or may not have). However, under the lens of a value-based resolution, the affirmative side-steps feasibility and solvency while gaining access to dismantling “the ideal family standard” in the United States. The affirmative also escapes any real-world examples presented by the negative, though the negative’s potential arguments of autonomy and liberty become a lot stronger and more compelling.

I would like to dedicate a segment of this to exploring what I mean by a value-based evaluation and a policy-based evaluation. Debates are a lot stronger when they have a narrative, or a cohesive advocacy. What I mean by this is keeping consistent in your case and rebuttals. This is a strategy that aims to win the round by selling the judge a cohesive story, rather than just winning on the flow. Simply put, you can make different arguments in round, but they should all be coming from the same place and should not contradict each other. You should have two goals when aiming for this style of debate: you should try to present a consistent advocacy that is sound and logical, and you should ensure that your advocacy contains the best possible explanation for everything in the round. By the end of the round, the judge should be able to easily sum up why they should vote for you in a sentence or two. Therefore, in terms of types of “evaluations” of the round, I am referencing the narrative that you might present. While there may be some cases when it would be advantageous to be less explicit about what your narrative is, you should always know what your narrative is and keep it in mind as you research, write your cases, and come up with responses in prep time.

³⁰ In 2019, Rachael placed seventh in LD at the Pennsylvania state tournament after placing in the top five at every local tournament that season. She also qualified for the NCFL national tournament in LD and the NSDA national tournament in World Schools Debate. Rachael has been coaching LD privately and remotely for about a year. Currently, she is the assistant debate coach at Olentangy High School near Columbus, Ohio. She joined the CDC LD staff in 2020.

The value-based evaluation comes from a more theoretical perspective and aims at the values (wow, big shocker there) that would be important to the resolution and its potential implementation. This is more of what Lincoln-Douglas (maybe in its more traditional state) is about. It asks the questions “where is the moral obligation?”, “whom is the moral obligation to or from?”, “what is the most ideal ethical scenario in the resolution?”, and many more. This style is more open to a creative framework and more focused on a general principle. On the contrary, the policy-based evaluation prioritizes solvency, feasibility, and implementation. These are great ideas to consider, especially because they are more realistic. This can be more difficult because it does not have as much emotional appeal as its counterpart and sometimes the numbers are hard to find. I think the two form a simulation of an ongoing clash in society and in policymaking.

With that, let’s get into discussing some potential³¹ frameworks.³²

Value-Based Frameworks

I. Affirmative

- a. **Utilitarianism.**³³ A decent argument could be made that Universal Child Care is going to overall benefit the U.S. in such a way that it would maximize societal welfare. This could be done through dismantling the gender norms, increasing the number of women in the workforce, and increasing fertility as some societal impacts. The argument could be made that Universal Child Care will strengthen

³¹ **Disclaimer:** these are things to consider and things to develop into your own frameworks. The following will not stand as frameworks on their own (but they might make for some good internal links after a bit of rewording). Also, this list is not exhaustive. There are many more frameworks out there. I just went with very typical frameworks that I felt would be commonly used.

³² This is proceeding with the assumption that you have a general idea of each of these frameworks. However, in the footnotes, I have included extra resources to explain them!

³³ References for util:

Kahn Academy (Part 1): <https://www.khanacademy.org/partner-content/wi-phi/wiphi-value-theory/wiphi-ethics/v/utilitarianism-part-1>

Kahn Academy (Part 2): <https://www.khanacademy.org/partner-content/wi-phi/wiphi-value-theory/wiphi-ethics/v/utilitarianism-part-2>

Kahn Academy (Part 3): <https://www.khanacademy.org/partner-content/wi-phi/wiphi-value-theory/wiphi-ethics/v/utilitarianism-part-3>

Crash Course Philosophy: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-a739VjqdSI>

SEP: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/utilitarianism-history/>

Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/utilitarianism-philosophy>

Ethics Unwrapped: <https://ethicsunwrapped.utexas.edu/glossary/utilitarianism>

the economy. These two arguments together make a strong basis for maximizing societal welfare and broader, util. There could also be an argument made that in a democracy, policy decisions entail tradeoffs that are to the benefit of society. So, while the detriment might be an economic setback, not only will it be made up for by more women entering the workforce, but the tradeoff is valuing women fairly in society.

- b. **Mitigating Structural Oppression.**³⁴ There is a decent amount of evidence favoring the fact that the U.S. has opposed Universal Child Care for so long because it would simply undermine its “ideal family norms” in which the mother’s sole responsibility is to care for her children. Therefore, the argument could be made that the U.S. has a sexist view of society due to its deep rooted gender norms and that it gets perpetuated by refusing to implement policies such as these. There also could be arguments made about how systematically, children of color suffer most from child poverty and that Universal Child Care would help solve this.
- c. **Rawlsian Ethics (Veil of Ignorance).**³⁵ This framework at its root is benefiting the least advantaged. I would argue that this could relate to mitigating structural oppression; however, that framework is rights-based and outcome-oriented. (That is, all people have a right not to be oppressed, and people have an obligation to eliminate or minimize that oppression.) On the other hand, I would argue that Rawls’s Veil of Ignorance side steps burdens that come from an oppression

³⁴ References for SV:

Lecture Video (Part 1): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8rKAGpIE4x4> (Start at 3:02)

Lecture Video (Part 2): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I6tW0iGw1Lg>

A short article (PDF): [http://www.opensourceleadership.com/documents/DO Definitions.pdf](http://www.opensourceleadership.com/documents/DO%20Definitions.pdf)

A longer article (web page): <https://thingofthings.wordpress.com/2015/03/15/structural-oppression-is-a-valid-concept/>

(More good definitions):

https://slutwalk.fandom.com/wiki/Concepts_of_Structural_Oppression:_A_General_Overview

<https://www.context.org/iclib/ic04/gilman1/>

References for Communitarianism:

Article: <https://icps.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs1736/f/downloads/Communitarianism.Etzioni.pdf>

SEP: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/communitarianism/>

<https://www.politicalsciencenotes.com/democracy/democracy-definition-and-explanation/831/>

³⁵ References for VoI:

Expository Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pJCuDqnlZSY>

Second Expository Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GVuKhbi0JO4>

Thought Experiment: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P3gWGtf_w_s

Ethics Unwrapped: <https://ethicsunwrapped.utexas.edu/glossary/veil-of-ignorance>

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/original-position/>

framework. The Veil of Ignorance just focuses on the fact that there are groups which are undeniably disadvantaged, and when placed under the hypothetical veil, we would make decisions that would benefit the least advantaged, as we would not know our own place in society. Therefore, you could argue that there are many disadvantaged groups when it comes to people who have trouble accessing decent child care: there are those who are oppressed (as outlined above), there are those who are homeless, those who do not have access to a car to drive to a daycare, and many other groups. The Veil of Ignorance considers all of these groups. These arguments could be similar to what you might run under mitigating structural oppression, though it does sidestep the requirement of needing to actually mitigate oppression. Another important aspect to consider of the Veil is that Rawls proposes a society with a significant safety net, or a government that supports its citizens. Under this conception is the question, “should the government be responsible for childcare, or should it be up to each individual parent?” The Veil answers this question, through the idea of benefitting the least advantaged.

II. Negative

- a. **Consequentialism.**³⁶ This philosophy is pretty broad in terms of frameworks and what it can access. I think the simplest way of exploring this framework (in regard to arguments you could run) is exploring what could possibly go wrong after implementing this policy (i.e., economic collapse, recession, etc.).
- b. **Minimal Government Intervention (Nozick).**³⁷ The negative definitely has access to minimal government intervention arguments. Essentially, this approach favors a free market and by extension, it is argued that our society is better served. You could follow this up with contentions surrounding autonomy (or free choice of the parents), that Universal Child Care would cut teachers’ salaries, or that

³⁶ References for Consequentialism:

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/consequentialism/>

Ethics Unwrapped: <https://ethicsunwrapped.utexas.edu/glossary/consequentialism>

Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/consequentialism>

³⁷ References for Nozick:

IEP: <https://iep.utm.edu/noz-poli/>

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/nozick-political/>

Libertarianism: <https://www.libertarianism.org/topics/minimal-state>

Journal of Civil & Legal Sciences: <https://www.omicsonline.org/open-access/robert-nozick8217s-entitlement-theory-of-justice-libertarian-rights-and-the-minimal-state-a-critical-evaluation-2169-0170-1000234-97787.html>

Universal Child Care might provide low-quality child care while driving out privately owned businesses.

Policy-Based Frameworks

I. Affirmative

- a. **Utilitarianism.** I feel that this is intuitive with any policy-based framework. From my understanding, implementing Universal Child Care would benefit the greatest number of people. I also believe that you could get more specific and run maximizing societal welfare here. With this, you could run the argument that because we are benefiting the greatest amount of people, society as a whole is better off.

II. Negative

- a. **Pragmatism.**³⁸ I feel that this is also pretty intuitive with any policy-based framework. This approach assesses the success of an action as well as if the action is feasible to implement. I feel that the strongest argument with this framework is how much Universal Child Care would cost contrasted with how little people will actually benefit from it. Another strong argument would be that the bills have not passed previously.

In general, I think that both types of evaluation have their place, and I think it would be interesting to watch a value-based case go up against a policy-based case. I would like to recommend not vehemently sticking with one and completely avoiding the other throughout the two-month cycle. Instead, explore and experiment with both, or write multiple cases for each side! (Just remember not to run both evaluations in the same round!) Personally, I would go for the value-based arguments because I like the narrative they can present and I like to leave solvency debates to Policy and Public Forum, but that's just my opinion. Feel free to reach out to me with any questions!

³⁸ References for Pragmatism:

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/pragmatism/>

Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/pragmatism-philosophy>

Philosophy Basics: https://www.philosophybasics.com/branch_pragmatism.html

The Cynical Historian: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fqPAnFfPJuk>

Carneades: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u0EOF56roHI>

KEY

We cut the cards how we would consider reading them in round. We suggest that you re-cut them yourself, especially because it forces you to read more of the card and to know the context.

1. Cards

- a. **Bold, underlined, and yellow highlighted** – parts of the card that we would definitely read (i.e., supporting evidence to the claim or tagline)
- b. Underlined – parts of the card that we would read if there is enough time and to provide additional context
- c. **Text bold, underlined, green highlighted, and boxed in** – the bare minimum we would read in order to convey the argument quickly
- d. [Rachael here:] or [Hannah here:] – a note from us to you or our commentary on a card.

DEFINITIONS

Rachael Harris

I believe that definitions are very important to framing the debate. Oftentimes, the definition of a key word or phrase could change the way that evidence is evaluated. Depending on the judge, I recommend being conscious of how you define key words. For example, with a less experienced judge, I would define most of the terms intuitively (i.e., definitions that the common person might know or agree to). However, with a more experienced judge, I know that I could probably be a bit more specific (note: not abusive) with my definitions.

Looking back, I eventually realized that judges were not particularly fond of definition debates. As a result, I would define the one term that I knew other debaters would use to skew or narrow the round. I usually used an intuitive definition for this term or phrase, as it was usually easier to convince the judge of.

As a judge, I will say that any longer than a minute spent on the definition debate is a bit too long. As mentioned previously, the definitions can frame the debate. For example, the March-April topic of 2018 (Resolved: The United States ought to implement a Universal Basic Income). Defining and characterizing a UBI in case was preferable to spending most of my 1AR explaining it.

In regard to this resolution, I believe that “guarantee” and “child care” are two important definitions that would frame the debate and I do believe that they work in tandem with each other. From my understanding, there may be a common consensus of what a federal jobs guarantee is, but *you* taking the time in your case to outline what your conception of it is gets the debate started sooner, rather than spending the second half of the round debating your implementation. Implementation should not be the focus of the whole round, in my opinion, though it can be an important facet.

Similarly, it is going to depend if you define “Universal Child Care” as one term and align it with the definition proposed in the 2018 or 2019 bills or if you define it as “Universal” “Child Care”. This second way is a bit looser and allows you to control a bit more of what your policy implementation will look like.

One thing that I do want to be clear with is that I strongly recommend that your evidence follows the same definitions that you provide. For example, your evidence showing support of Universal Child Care or examples of places that have had Universal Child Care should be consistent with the definition that you provide in your case.

Ought

The use of the word “ought” in the resolution suggests a moral obligation.

Merriam Webster

Webster, N. (1949). Ought. In Webster's New Handy Dictionary: A Merriam-Webster: Based upon Webster's New International Dictionary. New York: American Book.

<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ought>

“**Moral obligation** or duty”

“Used to say or suggest what **should** be done”

The use of the word “ought” in the resolution suggests what could be done.

Oxford Dictionary

Fowler, H. W. (1949). Ought. In The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English Oxford Dictionary. Oxford: Clarendon.

<https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/ought>

“Used to indicate that something is **probable**”

[Rachael here:] I really only suggest using this definition with a pragmatism (or feasibility) framework.

Guarantee

To guarantee Universal Child Care is to secure it for society.

Merriam Webster

Webster, N. (1949). Guarantee. In Webster's New Handy Dictionary: A Merriam-Webster: Based upon Webster's New International Dictionary. New York: American Book.

<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/guarantee>

1. An assurance for the fulfillment of a condition: such as
 - a) An agreement by which one person undertakes to secure another in the possession or enjoyment of something
 - b) An assurance of the quality or of the length of use to be expected from a product offered for sale often with a promise of reimbursement
2. **To engage for the existence, permanence, or nature of: undertake to do or to secure**
3. To give security to

A guarantee is a promise that something will be done or will happen.

Cambridge Dictionary

Landau, S. I. (2000). Guarantee. In Cambridge Dictionary of American English. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press.

<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/guarantee>

1. **A promise that something will be done or will happen,** especially a written promise by a company to repair or change a product that develops a fault within a particular period of time
2. Something valuable that you give to someone temporarily while you do what you promised to do for them, and that they will keep if you fail to do it
3. To promise that something will happen or exist

A guarantee is to make certain that something will happen or exist.

MacMillan Dictionary

Turner, J. (2017). Guarantee. In MacMillan Dictionary. Place of publication not identified: Routledge.

https://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/guarantee_1

To make it certain that something will happen or exist

The government provides help for small businesses, but it cannot guarantee their success.

To be guaranteed by/under something: Freedom of speech is guaranteed by our constitution.

The right to a fair trial is guaranteed under Article Six of the convention.

To guarantee Universal Child Care is to promise that the government will provide it for citizens.

Collins English Dictionary

HarperCollins. (2019). Guarantee. In Collins English dictionary. Glasgow.

<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/us/dictionary/english/guarantee>

If you guarantee something, you promise that it will definitely happen, or that you will do or provide it for someone.

Most states guarantee the right to free and adequate education.

Universal

To make something universal is to make it equally available to all members of society.

Merriam Webster

Webster, N. (1949). Universal. In Webster's New Handy Dictionary: A Merriam-Webster: Based upon Webster's New International Dictionary. New York: American Book.

<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/universal>

including or covering all or a whole collectively or distributively without limit or exception

especially: **available equitably to all members of a society**

To make something universal is to ensure everyone's involvement.

Cambridge Dictionary

Landau, S. I. (2000). Universal. In Cambridge Dictionary of American English. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press.

<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/universal>

Existing everywhere or involving everyone.

Child Care

Childcare is a service while parents are working.

Merriam Webster

Webster, N. (1949). Childcare. In Webster's New Handy Dictionary: A Merriam-Webster: Based upon Webster's New International Dictionary. New York: American Book.

<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/child%20care>

The care of children especially as a service while parents are working

[Rachael here:] I suggest using "Universal Child Care" as a sole term for this resolution. I'm not sure that "Universal" plus any definition of child care really gets at the policy implementation.

Child care is the action or skill of looking after children.

Oxford Dictionary

Fowler, H. W. (1949). Child care. In The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English Oxford Dictionary. Oxford: Clarendon.

https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/child_care

The action or skill of looking after children.

The care of children by a day-care center, babysitter, or other provider while parents are working.

Child care can include more formal services as provided by an organized care center.

Legal Dictionary

The Free Dictionary (2008) [Internet]. Child care. West's Encyclopedia of American Law, edition 2, The Gale Group.

<https://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Child+Care>

The supervision and nurturing of a child, including casual and informal services provided by a parent and more formal services provided by an organized child care center.

Universal Child Care

Universal Child Care is a public service similar to that of public school systems.

Swartz 2019

Swartz, Brian. Brian Swartz, CEO and Co-Founder of NeighborSchools. March 6, 2019. "What is Universal Child Care?". NeighborSchools.

<https://www.neighborschools.com/blog/what-is-universal-child-care/>

In America, local governments provide schooling for children, beginning in Kindergarten. For a long time, our society's viewed the education of children as an obvious necessity. Still, new research suggests that children would benefit from beginning structured learning at a much earlier age. Access to high-quality child care promotes strong relationships. It also supports vocabulary, early literacy skills, and healthy behaviors. Some politicians and local leaders have presented low-cost and no-cost child care plans for all children, beginning at an early age. Plans vary, but the general idea is to make child care a public service. It's much the same as our current public school systems.

GENERAL EVIDENCE

Latham Act (1940)

Universal Child Care was briefly implemented in the U.S. during WWII.

Pendleton 2019

Pendleton, Maya. Maya Pendleton, MPP Staff Writer, *Brief Policy Perspectives*. May 6, 2019. “A Closer Look at Universal Child Care.” Policy Perspectives.

<https://policy-perspectives.org/2019/05/06/a-closer-look-at-universal-child-care/>

As an idea, universal child care is not new. In fact, the United States briefly implemented universal child care as a part of the 1940 Defense Housing and Community Facilities and Services Act (or the Latham Act). Under this law, all families were eligible for child care for up to six days a week at a cost of \$9 – \$10 per day in today’s dollars.

The Latham **Act responded to a specific need during World War II, but the Act’s intention – providing low-cost child care so that working parents could ensure that their children were safe during the work day – still resonates today.** Modern parents and children could stand to benefit from a child care system that meets the needs of all families.

[Rachael Here:] I think this context could be especially useful, especially the part of the card that says that it “responded to a specific need during WWII.” You could argue a few things; you could argue that COVID-19 is a specific need (or a case in which we should implement UCC) or that 40 hour work weeks by both parents/guardians/caregivers is extremely demanding, not to mention the other duties (i.e., laundry, housekeeping, and obviously, child care) and that essentially no family can get by unless they have a housekeeper or a babysitter. You could also strengthen this with some arguments about gender roles as well.

Nixon previously vetoed Universal Child Care

Nixon vetoed it because it would deter from the family-centered approach.

Cohen 2013

Cohen, Nancy L. Nancy L. Cohen, author for the New Republic. April 24, 2013. “Why America Never Had Universal Child Care.” The New Republic.

<https://newrepublic.com/article/113009/child-care-america-was-very-close-universal-day-care>

In 1971, Congress passed the Comprehensive Child Development Act on a bipartisan vote. Co-sponsored by Minnesota Senator Walter Mondale and Indiana Representative John Brademas, the act established a network of nationally funded, locally administered, comprehensive child care centers, which were to provide quality education, nutrition, and medical services. Mondale viewed the measure as a first step toward universal childcare. Wanting “to avoid typing it as a poor person’s program,” Mondale later explained, the centers were to be open to all on a sliding scale basis. Congress authorized real money for the program—in today’s dollars, the equivalent of five times the 2012 federal budget for Head Start.

But President Richard Nixon vetoed it. Declaring the Comprehensive Child Development Act to be “a long leap into the dark,” Nixon ominously warned that it would “commit the vast moral authority of the National Government to the side of communal approaches to child rearing over against the family-centered approach.”

“Even for Nixon, it was surprising,” Mondale later wrote. Nixon had in fact requested two statements from his staff, one to sign and one to veto the act; the administration had helped to draft the bill; most of those in the administration who opposed it wanted Nixon to say only that it would be too costly to administer. Instead, Pat Buchanan, then a special assistant to Nixon, prevailed. Itching to escalate the nascent culture war, Buchanan inserted his fevered imaginings into Nixon’s official message.

Still, Buchanan didn’t—at least yet—get the reaction he hoped for. The consensus stood with women’s rights—in the nation and in the GOP itself. Four months after Nixon’s veto, a huge bipartisan majority in Congress passed the Equal Rights Amendment. Later that year, women delegates to the 1972 Republican convention won a strong child care plank in the party’s platform, albeit over Nixon’s objections.

Meanwhile, Mondale and Brademas regrouped. To fend off accusations they were “anti-family” communist sympathizers (New York Republican Senator James Buckley said the law would create pressure “to encourage women to put their families into institutions of communal living”), they scaled back their ambitions. Gone was the word “comprehensive” in the title and 90 percent of the funding. Their revised Child and Family Services Act passed the Senate in 1973, but died in the House.

The coup de grace was delivered by a grassroots movement of fundamentalists—many of them women—galvanized by an anonymous flyer that circulated widely in churches in the South and West. The flyer made false and unhinged claims—that it would be illegal for parents to make their children go to church or take out the trash, that children would have the right to sue their parents and organize labor unions.

Consider what that stirred up in one Bible Belt state. The flyer made its way to the Oklahoma chapter of Women Who Want to be Women, a recently formed anti-ERA fundamentalist women’s group. Fantasies about forced child care were already familiar to them from a popular anti-ERA pamphlet written by the national founder of the Four Ws. (The so-called Pink Sheet deemed the ERA “the most drastic measure in Senate history” and said it would, among many other horrors, force mothers to put their children “in a federal day care center.”) The Oklahoma Four W’s made killing national child care legislation their first political campaign, and they successfully lobbied the Oklahoma City PTA council to oppose the bill.

Most members of Congress, including those from Oklahoma, received thousands of letters against the Child and Family Services Act, many of them recycling the anti-child care flyer’s perfervid claims.

So, of course, even though a majority of the public still supported the measure, our brave Congressmen caved.

AFFIRMATIVE

Gender Roles

Universal Child Care emancipates women from patriarchal gender responsibilities.

Dinner 2010

Deborah Dinner. Emory University Historian. August 2010. “The Universal Childcare Debate: Rights Mobilization, Social Policy, and the Dynamics of Feminist Activism, 1966–1974.” *Law and History Review*, vol. 28, no. 3, 2010, pp. 577–628.

www.jstor.org/stable/25701144.

By making childcare a right rather than a class-specific social-service program, universal childcare might have both improved the quality of publicly funded childcare and challenged normative gender roles. Feminist mobilization for universal childcare involved an effort to make childrearing, historically privatized within the nuclear family, a public responsibility. Even assuming conditions in which market-based childcare is characterized by quality, accessibility, and affordability, market-based provisioning remains consistent with the social and political construction of childcare as a wholly private responsibility. Extending public-funded childcare to the middle-class as well as low-income families would have posed a more profound challenge to conventional gender roles by symbolically as well as pragmatically making childcare a societal responsibility. The universal childcare debate raises new questions about how we use the family, market, or state to meet caregiving needs. Despite the paradoxes of rights argumentation and the historical circumstances that contributed to the ultimate defeat of universal childcare legislation, we would do well, today, to remember the feminist vision for a right to universal childcare.

Universal Child Care emancipates women from patriarchal economic barriers.

Dinner 2010

Deborah Dinner. Emory University Historian. August 2010. “The Universal Childcare Debate: Rights Mobilization, Social Policy, and the Dynamics of Feminist Activism, 1966–1974.” *Law and History Review*, vol. 28, no. 3, 2010, pp. 577–628.

www.jstor.org/stable/25701144.

Prior to the florescence of the feminist movement in the late 1960s, advocates argued for childcare on the basis of children's welfare and women's needs as working mothers,

rather than women's rights. **Since the emergence of the modern welfare state during the Progressive Era, social welfare policy had vacillated between supporting women as mothers or as workers, yet it rarely saw them as both.** During World War II, the Lanham Act temporarily stilled this oscillation, investing federal money in the expansion of New Deal-era nursery schools. The act established an important legislative precedent, but as Michel argues, **the expansion of childcare provision during the Great Depression and war years rested on political support for children's interests rather than mothers' rights. The tenuous political roots that planted childcare in the welfare state apparatus meant that after the war, neomaterialist sentiment that favored childrearing in the home, conservative opposition to women's economic autonomy, and a discourse that linked family stability to democratic vitality all contributed to the elimination of federal funding.**

More working mothers stimulate the economy.

Schochet 2019

Leila Schochet. March 28, 2019. "The Child Care Crisis Is Keeping Women Out of the Workforce" The Center for American Progress.

<https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/early-childhood/reports/2019/03/28/467488/child-care-crisis-keeping-women-workforce/>

There is a growing awareness of the links among access to child care, parental employment, and overall economic growth. **Businesses rely on employees, and employees rely on child care.**³⁹ When problems with child care arise, parents must scramble to find alternative options—or miss work to care for their children. For millions of parents, that insecurity can mean working fewer hours, taking a pay cut, or leaving their jobs altogether.⁴⁰ **American businesses, meanwhile, lose an estimated \$12.7 billion annually because of their employees' child care challenges.**⁴¹ **Nationally, the**

³⁹ National Women's Law Center, "Businesses Have a Critical Role in Supporting Public Investments in Child Care" (Washington: 2017), available at <https://nwlc-ci49tixgw5lbab.stackpathdns.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Businesses-Have-A-Critical-Role-in-Supporting-Public-Investments-in-Child-Care.pdf>.

⁴⁰ Schochet and Malik, "2 Million Parents Forced to Make Career Sacrifices Due to Problems with Child Care."

⁴¹ Sandra Bishop-Josef and others, "Want to Grow the Economy? Fix the Child Care Crisis" (Washington: Council for Strong America, 2019), available at <https://strongnation.s3.amazonaws.com/documents/602/83bb2275-ce07-4d74-bcee-ff6178daf6bd.pdf?1547054862&inline;%20filename=%22Want%20to%20Grow%20the%20Economy%20Fix%20the%20Child%20Care%20Crisis.pdf%22>.

cost of lost earnings, productivity, and revenue due to the child care crisis totals an estimated \$57 billion each year. This report highlights the relationship between child care and maternal employment and underscores how improving child care access has the potential to boost employment and earnings for working mothers.

Based on new analysis of the 2016 Early Childhood Program Participation Survey (ECPP), it demonstrates how families are having difficulty finding child care under the current system and how lack of access to child care may be keeping mothers out of the workforce. The report then presents results from a national poll conducted by the Center for American Progress and GBA Strategies, which asked parents what career decisions they would make if child care were more readily available and affordable. Finally, the report outlines federal policy solutions that are crucial to supporting mothers in the workforce. **New ECPP findings demonstrate that a mother's employment is closely tied to her family's ability to find child care**, while the CAP poll finds that with access to more reliable and affordable child care, mothers say they would take steps to increase their earnings and advance their careers.

More working mothers stimulate the economy (in Norway).

McGrew 2018

Will McGrew. Research Assistant at Yale Law School. AUGUST 13, 2018. "Universal childcare's benefits might cover much of its costs" Washington Center for Equitable Growth.

<https://equitablegrowth.org/universal-childcares-benefits-might-cover-much-of-its-costs/>

Several decades of research in economics and psychology show that childcare boasts substantial positive effects on human capital development and labor market outcomes—for both parents and kids. A critical question for policymakers, then, is how these benefits affect the net fiscal impact of a publicly financed, comprehensive childcare system that ensures access for all families in the United States.

A new study on Norway's universal childcare program sheds light on at least one way in which such a program's benefits might cover part of its costs. With the goal of making quality, affordable childcare available to all children, a bipartisan reform enacted by the Norwegian Parliament in 2002 dramatically increased state subsidies for childcare enrollment, lowered parental fees, and upped public investment in the construction of new childcare facilities.

Exploiting differences between municipalities in the rate of childcare expansion in the aftermath of this reform, authors Martin Eckhoff Andresen, research economist at Statistics Norway, and Tarjei Havnes, associate professor of economics at the University of Oslo, estimate the effects of childcare use on labor supply, earnings, and tax payments for parents of 2-year-old children.

Disaggregating the effects of the expansion in childcare availability on mothers by relationship status, Andresen and Havnes find large and statistically significant labor-supply responses for all mothers. Specifically, three co-habiting or married mothers entered the labor force—largely into full-time employment—for every 10 2-year-old kids enrolled in childcare. The results for single mothers were somewhat weaker: One single mother entered part-time employment for every five toddlers enrolled in childcare.

These effects translated into higher annual earnings for mothers. On average, co-habiting and married mothers saw their wages increase by \$6,000, and single mothers saw their wages increase by \$2,400. In contrast to the strong impact on maternal labor supply and earnings, the expansion of childcare had little empirical effect on fathers. This nonresult probably reflects persistent social norms that assign mothers a disproportionate responsibility for child rearing, particularly when children are toddlers.

Andresen and Havnes use their labor supply and earnings estimates to calculate the fiscal impact of Norway’s universal childcare program. Specifically, the authors find that at least 13 percent of the cost of expanding childcare for co-habiting mothers is offset by increased tax revenue generated through the additional employment of mothers in the 2 years following the program’s expansion. Additionally, the authors argue that the actual responses and budgetary savings may in fact be larger than their estimates, as initial take-up of public formal childcare may be incomplete.

Republicans perpetuate sexism in the U.S.

Holland 2018

Holland, Joshua. Joshua Holland, contributor to The Nation and host of Politics and Reality Radio. October 12, 2018, “Trump Has Made Republicans More Comfortable Expressing their Sexism Out Loud.” The Nation.

<https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/trump-has-made-republicans-more-comfortable-expressing-their-sexism-out-loud/>

With Donald Trump leading the GOP, it’s perhaps unsurprising that the debate over gender equality has become inexorably intertwined with partisanship. **Tufts University political scientist Brian Schaffner presented a paper to the American Political Science Association at the end of August that suggests that these dynamics appear to have made Republicans more comfortable with expressions of what researchers call “hostile sexism.”**

First, he conducted a straightforward experiment. He asked one group of respondents how they would react to an acquaintance who called a woman “a dog” and referred to his

wife as “a beautiful piece of ass.” Schaffner then asked them to rate their response on a scale ranging from “very comfortable” to “very uncomfortable.” He asked the other group the same question, but this time he attributed the boorish statements to Donald Trump. (Trump has said both of these things.)

The results, when respondents were sorted by political party, were significant. Sixty-three percent of Republicans (and Republican-leaning independents) said those statements would make them very or somewhat uncomfortable if they came from an acquaintance, but only 39 percent said the same when they were attributed to Donald Trump.

Democrats and Dem-leaning independents were more likely to feel queasy about those statements when they were attributed to Trump than if they were attributed to an acquaintance, but the effect wasn't statistically significant. Schaffner says that's probably because they were more likely than Republicans to be uncomfortable with these kinds of statements regardless of who supposedly uttered them. (Long before Donald Trump came on the scene, the GOP had its share of rank misogynists like Todd Akin, the 2012 Missouri Senate candidate who blew up his campaign by claiming that women were unlikely to get pregnant as a result of a “legitimate rape.”)

Schaffner then set out to determine whether Trump's victory had validated the sexist sentiments he expressed during the campaign. He had conducted a series of surveys with the same groups of respondents just before the election, in March of 2017, and then finally this past July. The survey used a panel of questions that's common in such research. Designed to measure how much resentment people express toward women fighting for equality, it asks respondents whether they agree with statements like, “Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for ‘equality,’” “Women seek to gain power by getting control over men,” and “When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.”

The surveys found that Republicans were significantly more likely to agree with these statements after Trump's victory than they were prior to the election. Democrats were slightly less so, but again the shift on their side was small. Interestingly, there was a gap in these perceptions between Democratic men and women, but, Schaffner says, **“Republican women score almost as high on this hostile-sexism measure as Republican men do.”** Does that mean that partisanship trumps Republican women's own lived experiences? “It's not to say that gender or lived experiences aren't important,” says Schaffner, **“but a lot of that's already baked into what party they identify with in the first place. The women who are still in the Republican Party at this point are perfectly fine with these kinds of sentiments.”**

Schaffner says this is consistent with what researchers call the “justification-suppression model of prejudice.” In a nutshell, we all harbor some prejudices, but we tend to suppress them, either because we don't want to see ourselves as being prejudiced, or because we don't want to appear that way to others. But we also may take cues that tell us it's all

right to lower our guard and say the quiet parts out loud in certain situations. It's why locker-room talk tends to be a lot more offensive than boardroom talk.

Closing the Wage Gap

Universal Child Care helps to close the wage gap.

Lyons 2020

J'Taime Lyons. MBA/MPP at the University of Michigan from Rocky Mount, North Carolina. April 10, 2020. "Narrowing the Gender Wage Gap with Universal Child Care." Michigan Journal of Public Affairs.

<http://mjpa.umich.edu/2020/04/10/narrowing-the-gender-wage-gap-with-universal-child-care/>

After World War II, the steady increase of women's labor force participation signaled a revolution. Yet that progress stalled in the 1990s, and so has momentum that narrowed **the gender wage gap**. This **is largely because child care has become too expensive, causing women to reduce their working hours or change their jobs altogether. Over the last 30 years, child care costs have increased by 70 percent, which is inconsistent with median wage growth. Mothers, more often than fathers,** have to choose between a career and parenthood; many leave the labor force. Some mothers may intentionally switch **to more flexible, but often lower-paying jobs.**

This is not an issue just for women, but **for the U.S. economy. Salary reductions for women cost the U.S. \$57 billion dollars annually.** The majority of this loss could be **prevented** if the U.S. had universal child care like most developed nations. Universal child care is child care that's subsidized and regulated by the government. It increases access to affordable, quality child care for all parents who choose it. **Countries with universal child care options, such as Norway, Canada, and Sweden, also have high rates of women's labor force participation**—and higher rates for mothers compared to the U.S. In these countries, the reduced costs of child care provided by the universal option has attracted more new mothers to the workforce and increased their attachment to it. **If the U.S. similarly increased mothers' attachment to the workforce, our economy would grow by \$1.6 trillion.** All other industrialized nations offer child care support as one way to reduce barriers for women in the workforce. Mothers' employment is dependent upon the costs of child care, and when the opportunity costs of work are lower, they are able to pursue work opportunities similarly to childless or male colleagues. But the high opportunity costs of work have led to women being blocked out of many aspects of the labor force. Demand for child care is high, especially affordable child care, as 15 million children who are not yet school-aged have both or primary parents in the workforce. Not surprisingly, upper management positions tend to be male-segregated. Men are moving up the income ladder, even as they become fathers, while mothers are moving down. In a phenomenon known as "**statistical discrimination,**" employers see women as risky investments for costly training due to the fact that some women leave their jobs to raise their children. In addition, time out of the workplace due to child care demands depreciates the value of the skills women earned in school or from

previous positions. They reenter the labor market at a lower entry point than when they left. A system of universal child care would lead to more on-the-job training and increase women's access to higher-wage positions and jobs. **Another factor that unfairly hurts women's chances in the workforce is high-paying workplaces rewarding overwork and long hours.** Both parents may be high earners, but **society generally expects that the mother will need to be on-call for child care rather than the father, making it harder for women to meet the overwork requirement.** That's why overwork has led to an unequal departure of women from higher paying jobs as well as disproportionate rewards to workers who are able to work long hours.

Glynn 2013

Sarah Jane Glynn. Senior Policy Analyst at the Center for American Progress. May 8, 2013. "The Importance of Preschool and Child Care for Working Mothers" Center for American Progress.

<https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/education-k-12/reports/2013/05/08/62519/the-importance-of-preschool-and-child-care-for-working-mothers/>

"Women are more likely than men to cut back their work hours or leave work entirely **to care for their children.** Unfortunately, **this puts them at an economic disadvantage in the long run.** Leaving the workforce, even for less than a year, can have long-term negative consequences for women's careers and lifetime earnings.

The fact that women are more likely to take time out of the workforce to provide **unpaid care for their children is part of the reason why there is a persistent gender wage gap in this country—10.5 percent of the differences in** men's and women's **earnings can be attributed to labor-force experience.** When women work less, **they pay less into Social Security** over a shorter period of time, **which is one of the reasons why retired women are more likely to live in poverty than retired men.**

Access to child care is essential to a woman's ability to participate in the workforce, and a lack of access to child care affects the work-family balance of both women and men. Women need to have the ability to make the choices that are best for them and their families in both the short and long term, and greater national investments in child care and **preschool programs could help remove some of the constraints that may push mothers toward decisions that have negative economic consequences for them and their families down the road.** It would make quality care more affordable for American families and support mothers' employment."

Economic Benefits

Additionally: The economic benefit of universal childcare will grow.

McGrew 2018

Will McGrew. Research Assistant at Yale Law School. AUGUST 13, 2018. "Universal childcare's benefits might cover much of its costs" Washington Center for Equitable Growth.

<https://equitablegrowth.org/universal-childcares-benefits-might-cover-much-of-its-costs/>

In conjunction with other recent empirical studies, Andresen and Havnes's findings provide suggestive evidence that the fiscal impact of universal childcare may grow stronger over time. Their data show that **the increase in mothers' attachment to the labor market persists and remains significant for at least 4 years following the parliamentary expansion. According to contemporary research into the gender wage gap, this increase in long-run labor force participation should allow mothers' wages to avoid the wage penalties associated with prolonged absences from the labor force and instead increase gradually over time. The authors argue that as a result of these labor market changes, expanding access to childcare in Norway produced an enduring increase in the nation's tax base.**

Universal Child Care benefits the economy long term by alleviating child poverty, which totals into billions.

Holzer 2008

Harry J. Holzer. March 4, 2008. "The Economic Costs of Childhood Poverty in the United States." Journal of Children and Poverty

<https://doi.org/10.1080/10796120701871280>

(This is the abstract:) "This paper attempts to estimate the aggregate annual costs of child poverty to the US economy. **It begins with a review of rigorous research studies that estimate the statistical association between children growing up in poverty and their earnings, propensity to commit crime, and quality of health later in life. We also review estimates of the costs that crime and poor health impose on the economy. Then we aggregate all of these average costs per poor child across the total number of children growing up in poverty in the United States to obtain our estimate of the aggregate costs of the conditions associated with childhood poverty to the US economy. Our results suggest that these costs total about \$500 billion per**

year, or the equivalent of nearly 4% of gross domestic product (GDP). More specifically, we estimate that childhood poverty each year: (1) reduces productivity and economic output by an amount equal to 1.3% of GDP, (2) raises the costs of crime by 1.3% of GDP, and (3) raises health expenditures and reduces the value of health by 1.2% of GDP.”

Universal Child Care effectively alleviates poverty in other countries.

Canadian Unicef Committee 2020

Canadian Unicef Committee. June 17, 2020. “Universal child benefits critical in reducing poverty, new ODI and UNICEF report finds”

<https://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/universal-child-benefits-critical-in-reducing-poverty-new-odi-and-unicef-report-finds-899133844.html>

Universal child benefits, such as unconditional cash payments or tax transfers, are critical in the fight against child poverty, according to a new report from UNICEF and the Overseas Development Institute. The report found that in 15 high-income countries, delivering universal child benefits alone led to a 5-percentage point reduction in child poverty, on average.

Universal child benefits are also proven to improve children's overall well-being, health, education, food security, productivity and ability to contribute to their societies and economies when they reach adulthood. **"The Canada Child Benefit (CCB) is a substantial increase in child-focused income benefits, which has lifted more children out of poverty today. However, Canada's investment is average when compared to other rich countries," said David Morley, UNICEF Canada President & CEO.** "More children may slide deeper into poverty in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. The Government of Canada can re-imagine childhood by increasing the CCB for children in the critical first year of life, when poverty can have the most severe impacts, promised in the last federal election. Every child has the right to grow up free from poverty."

Universal Child Care bridges the class gap among children. Educational gains are comparable among the rich and poor.

DICKENS 2006

WILLIAM T. DICKENS. April 2006. "THE EFFECTS OF INVESTING IN EARLY EDUCATION ON ECONOMIC GROWTH" The Brookings Institute

<https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/200604dickenssawhill.pdf>

The possibility of differential program effects on children from households with different levels of SES, we turn to evidence from Oklahoma's universal preschool program, which has recently been subjected to quasiexperimental evaluation by Gormley, Gayer, Phillips, and Dawson (2005). Gormley et al. exploit the strict age-eligibility cutoff in the Oklahoma program to examine children of approximately the same age who just made the cutoff and have finished a year of preschool (the treatment group) and those children who just missed the cutoff (the control group). Of course, no long-term analysis can be conducted with this research design, as every member of the control group is now slated to start the preschool program. **Still, Gormley et al. find strong (and nearly comparable) gains across all income classes (as proxied by children's eligibility for free lunches). These results indicate that children from both low and high income families may receive roughly comparable educational gains from participation in high-quality preschool programs.** Similar findings have recently been reported by Steven Barnett and his colleagues at the National Institute for Early Education Research in their evaluation of preschool programs in Michigan, New Jersey, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and West Virginia (Barnett, Lamy, and Jung, 2005). In light of this evidence, we assume that the effect of the preschool initiative on educational attainment is the same for children of all SES. Since we are already discounting the effects for children in private preschool who are primarily upper income we did not believe that it was necessary to reduce the effects further. Not everyone would agree that private programs are higher quality than public programs, but we assume they attract a relatively affluent population for whom preschool may not be as valuable as it is for their less advantaged peers. This has been a common assumption in the literature to date, but see the discussion of the Oklahoma program. ⁹ The conclusion that the effect of preschool on educational attainment is roughly equivalent across SES groups does not necessarily bear on the issue of effect attenuation in other areas.

Universal Child Care Helps Black Families

Universal Child Care is Black feminism. It fights the notion that Black families need more subsidized help than white families by framing childcare as a right rather than a social service.

Dinner 2010

Deborah Dinner. Emory University Historian. August 2010. "The Universal Childcare Debate: Rights Mobilization, Social Policy, and the Dynamics of Feminist Activism, 1966–1974." *Law and History Review*, vol. 28, no. 3, 2010, pp. 577–628.

www.jstor.org/stable/25701144.

Feminist rights claims politicized the issue of childcare in ways that challenged the legal and social boundaries between family, market, and state. Rights consciousness enabled feminist activists to imagine alternative social and political realities as well as the place of childcare in those social transformations. **The universal character of the rights claim encouraged working-class and middle-class, African American and white, radical and liberal feminists to identify shared policy interests and to form coalitions on both the local and national levels.** Rights consciousness thus fostered the political imagination as well as the social mobilization of feminist childcare activists. **Feminists used a language of rights to articulate the role that universal childcare would play in struggles for women's liberation, black freedom, and a just economy.** The feminist demand for universal childcare as a right, rather than as a class-based entitlement for low-income families, challenged gender norms for middle-class white families. **In arguing for childcare as a right rather than a social service, African American feminists disputed cultural constructions of black families as deviant and black children as developmentally deficient.** Welfare rights activists protested government policies that used childcare as a tool to impose stringent work requirements as a condition of public assistance. Different activists emphasized childcare's potential to facilitate middle-class women's entry into the workforce, liberate women from the oppression of the patriarchal family, enable welfare recipients' economic autonomy, free children from constraints of social convention, and empower minority communities.

Child poverty harms Black children at higher rates--the current welfare system is failing the American Black family.

Ellis 2019

Krista Ellis. JD from American University. December 17, 2019. "Race and Poverty Bias in the Child Welfare System: Strategies for Child Welfare Practitioners" American Bar Association

https://www.americanbar.org/groups/public_interest/child_law/resources/child_law_practiceonline/january---december-2019/race-and-poverty-bias-in-the-child-welfare-system---strategies-f/

National studies by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reported "minority children, and in particular African American children, are more likely to be in foster care placement than receive in-home services, even when they have the same problems and characteristics as white children." According to January 2017 reports from the state of Washington, "African American children were 2.2 times and Native American children were 2.9 times more likely to be placed in out-of-home care compared to white children" These statistics and similar reports from around the country indicate race and poverty-related disparities and disproportionality in the child welfare system. Race and socioeconomic status often impact decisions in every stage of the child welfare system from reporting, to foster care placements, to termination of parental rights decisions.

[Hannah Here:] I would follow this argument with an analysis on how the U.S. has systemically dismantled the American Black family, and how it violates Black rights, fosters illegitimacy, or otherwise based on your framework.

COVID-19 And Universal Child Care

Covid-19's effect on women with children in the workforce.

Koons 2020

Cynthia Koons. December 10, 2020. "The U.S. Child-Care Crisis Is Torturing Parents and the Economy." Bloomberg Businessweek

<https://www.bloomberg.com/businessweek>

Government statistics confirm that from February to November [2020], 2.2 million women left the labor force, compared with 1.8 million men. The gender divergence was especially visible in September, when more than half of U.S. children started the school year remotely. That month, 865,000 women disappeared from the workforce.

Of course, **men haven't been immune to the Covid-19 recession, but they're not hurting nearly as badly. A survey this summer by Lean In and McKinsey & Co. found almost a quarter of women with children under the age of 10 were considering taking a leave of absence from their jobs, or quitting altogether—nearly twice the proportion of fathers with kids in the same age cohort.**

The pandemic has shined a harsh light on what has been a long-festering problem.

The world's largest economy notoriously lags other industrialized countries in investing in child care and early education: **The U.S. spends less than 1% of gross domestic product,** putting it ahead of only Turkey and Ireland among the member nations of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. "Almost all developed countries have things like subsidized child care, paid family leave, universal health care," says Sandra Black, an economist at Columbia University. "The economics make sense." **The lack of family-focused policies isn't just inconvenient for working parents, it's become increasingly clear it's holding women—and by extension the country—back.** According to a report from S&P Global Inc., **the U.S. could add \$1.6 trillion to GDP if women entered and stayed in the workforce at a rate similar to Norway's, which has government-subsidized day care.**

One estimate found that **if American mothers continued to cut back on work at the same rate as during the first wave of Covid in April, the accumulated loss in wages would amount to \$64.5 billion annually.** This reality may finally be sinking in for policymakers. "We're in the mainstream discussion of economics," says Khara Jabola-Carolus, executive director of the Hawaii State Commission on the Status of Women. "We were fully excluded before."

Covid-19 has been harming children. We need a new childcare policy.

Chiu 2020

Allyson Chiu. Oct. 22, 2020 “Covid-19 and child care: What the latest research says” The Washington Post.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/2020/10/22/child-care-science-covid/>

In September, the CDC published a small study of contact-tracing data collected from three child-care centers in Salt Lake City from April to July and found that a dozen children probably contracted the novel coronavirus at the facilities and went on to infect their family members. Transmission was also linked to two children who had confirmed asymptomatic cases. Outbreaks at two of the centers were traced to staff members who were exposed to the coronavirus through their family members, but the source of the outbreak at the third facility was not identified, the researchers wrote. According to the report, all the programs had **varying safety measures in place at the time.**

Better daycare precautions needed for Covid-19.

Edwards 2020

Erika Edwards. Sept. 11, 2020. “Kids at daycare spread COVID-19 to parents and teachers, CDC says” NBC News

<https://www.nbcnews.com/health/health-news/kids-day-care-spread-covid-19-parents-teachers-cdc-says-n1239887>

Very young children can catch COVID-19 and spread the virus to adults, even if they never show symptoms, according to a study published Friday by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. The findings have implications as day care centers and schools reopen across the country — and as a growing number of children are being diagnosed with the coronavirus. The new report details COVID-19 outbreaks at three child care facilities in Utah from April to July. Twelve children became infected from someone else at daycare, but most had mild to no symptoms. Through detailed contact tracing, investigators were able to determine that those children then spread the virus to at least 1 in 4 people they were in close contact with outside of

the child care facility. Those contacts usually included mothers and siblings. In one case, an 8-month-old baby appears to have spread COVID-19 acquired at day care to both parents. In one case, a parent had to be hospitalized. Two of the three asymptomatic children who had confirmed COVID-19 diagnoses spread the virus to others. Transmission also likely occurred from children to their teachers. Before the outbreaks, the facilities had implemented some mitigation strategies, such as daily checks for temperatures and other symptoms. Some staff members were asked to wear masks.

Covid-19 is making child care even more necessary.

Covert 2020

Bryce Covert. April 17, 2020. "We Can't Save the Economy Without Universal Child Care." The Nation.

<https://www.thenation.com/article/economy/child-care-economy-coronavirus/>

The labor force participation rate for women in the US has fallen behind that of other developed countries, thanks, in part, to our lack of investment in early care. In 2016 alone, nearly 2 million parents with children age 5 or younger quit their jobs, turned down offers, or significantly changed their work arrangements because they had problems getting child care. The burden falls hardest on women, who are still expected to be the primary caregivers. Mothers who can't find child care are significantly less likely to be employed than those who can.

Tens of millions of parents of older children whose schools have closed have now joined their ranks. Their options are bleak. **Since older people are at higher risk of complications from Covid-19, grandparents can't help. If child care centers are open, they're likely to be serving only essential workers. Many parents are trying to continue to work and care for their children at the same time—an arrangement that has health experts predicting a spike in pediatric injuries,** given that there's only so much attention **a person has to split between work and child care.** It's unclear how long our political and business leaders can keep pretending that everything is normal and that parents can work as they did before without anyone else to watch their kids.

Education Benefits

High income children benefit from full-day pre-K while low income children can't afford it.

Atteberry 2018

Allison Atteberry. July 2018. "The Effects of Full-day Pre-kindergarten: Experimental Evidence of Impacts on Children's School Readiness" The University of Virginia EdPolicyWorks

https://curry.virginia.edu/sites/default/files/uploads/epw/64_Effects_Full_Day_Prekindergarten.pdf

The results indicate that the offer of full-day pre-k positively impacted young children's school readiness skills. In particular, children offered full-day pre-k scored a quarter of a standard deviation higher on the PPVT, a widely-used measure of receptive vocabulary, than peers offered half-day pre-k. These impacts are sizable. To put them in perspective, we compare them to rigorous findings from studies examining the overall impact of ECE interventions, rather than the specific impact of program intensity. Experimental evidence on the impacts of Head Start indicated that three-year-olds randomly assigned to a Head Start slot scored 0.13 standard deviations higher than those in the control group on the PPVT (Puma, Bell, Cook, Heid, & Lopez, 2005).

Taken together, the effects documented in the current paper, which were systematically positive, and in most cases also statistically significant, provide the most rigorous evidence to date on the impacts of an extended pre-kindergarten day for young children's school readiness skills. These findings are important, especially in light of recent calls for more rigorous evidence on the impacts of specific aspects of ECE in fostering children's learning gains (Weiland, 2018).

Higher levels of education for all children can close achievement gaps.

Atteberry 2018

Allison Atteberry. July 2018. "The Effects of Full-day Pre-kindergarten: Experimental Evidence of Impacts on Children's School Readiness" The University of Virginia EdPolicyWorks

https://curry.virginia.edu/sites/default/files/uploads/epw/64_Effects_Full_Day_Prekindergarten.pdf

High quality early childhood education (ECE) programs can have a profound effect on children's development while simultaneously yielding substantial social returns (Blau & Currie, 2006; Heckman, 2006; Shonkoff & Phillips, 2000; Weiland & Yoshikawa, 2013; Wong, Cook, Barnett, & Jung, 2008). **Further, the benefits of ECE are most pronounced for low-income children (Weiland & Yoshikawa, 2013), Hispanic children (Gormley, 2008), and Black children (Bassok, 2010), suggesting that investments in ECE may be powerful tools for tackling early childhood achievement gaps and inequality. For these reasons, public investment in ECE has grown rapidly in the United States over the past two decades (Barnett et al., 2017)**

High-quality universal early education may increase adult educational attainment and employment.

Rokosa 2011

Jennifer Rokosa. October 20, 2011. "Fighting the War on Poverty with Early Childhood Education." Center for American Progress.

<https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/poverty/news/2011/10/20/10547/fighting-the-war-on-poverty-with-early-childhood-education/>

High-quality preschool programs are proven to raise academic performance and give children the skills and tools to be successful and contribute to society. **The results of early childhood education programs speak for themselves. Adults who participate in ECE programs show lower crime rates, and both participants and their parents enjoy higher median income rates than their counterparts who were not afforded the same opportunity. ECE participants are also significantly more likely to graduate from high school and are 2.5 times more likely to continue on to higher education.** Building up early childhood education programs is also one of the smartest investments we can make. Various studies determine that on average, society sees a return of \$7 for every \$1 invested in early childhood education programs.

In one longitudinal study of at-risk children, participants in a high-quality preschool program—the High Scope Perry Preschool in Ypsilanti, Michigan—were more successful in academics than the control group by age 19, and they also developed stronger social skills and looked forward to greater economic prospects. By age 27, participants boasted lower arrest rates, higher income levels, and greater rates of high school completion. **The benefits only grew as the participants aged, and they compounded by age 40.**

Immediate costs with long term benefits don't make early education a bad investment.

Dickens 2006

William T. Dickens. April 2006. "The Effects of Investing In Early Education On Economic Growth" The Brookings Institute

<https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/200604dickenssawhill.pdf>

Additional net benefits could be had by increasing the amount of education people get if we are under-investing in education for some fraction of our population now. This is more likely to be the case to the extent that spillover (or external) effects of education are important and to the extent that individuals fail, for various reasons (lack of finances, short-sightedness), to make investments that payoff over the longer run. Indeed, James Heckman has suggested that at current levels of support, the United States substantially under-invests in early childhood education (Heckman and Masterov, 2004). Further, we must emphasize that any net benefits from these growth effects are all in addition to the well-documented net social benefits of early education programs (Belfield, Nores, and Barnett, 2005). **Because most of these benefits are long term while the costs of mounting the programs are immediate, the political system tends to be biased against making such investments. But any business that operated in this way would likely fail to succeed. A similarly dim prospect may be in store for a country that fails to take advantage of such solid investment opportunities.**

Past observational studies on the effects of universal early childhood education have depicted it as having mixed effectiveness.

(This is because those studies don't account for the quality of education being distributed. When the study is controlled and each child is given the same, "high quality" education, effects are equitable and beneficial.)

Cornelissen 2018

Thomas Cornelissen. University of New York. November 5, 2018. "Who Benefits from Universal Child Care? Estimating Marginal Returns to Early Child Care Attendance" Journal of Political Economy.

<https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdf/10.1086/699979>

Preschool and early childhood programs are generally considered effective means of influencing child development (see, e.g., Currie and Almond 2011; Ruhm and Waldfogel 2012) both because many skills are best learned when young (e.g., Shonkoff and Phillips 2000) and because the longer payoff period makes such learning more productive (Becker 1964). There may also be important “dynamic complementarities” of early learning with acquisition of human capital at later stages (Cunha and Heckman 2007; Heckman 2007; Aizer and Cunha 2012). In recognition of these benefits, most European countries, including the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and all Nordic nations, offer publicly provided universal child care (or preschool) programs aimed at promoting children’s social and cognitive development. In the United States, which offers no nationwide universal preschool program, an important goal of the previous Obama administration’s Zero to Five Plan is to create similar initiatives.

Yet despite enormous policy interest, evidence of the effectiveness of child care (or preschool) programs is scarce and far from unified. For example, proponents of child care programs often cite targeted programs such as Head Start or the Perry Preschool Project, which have generated large long-term gains for participants. Evidence on the effectiveness of universal child care programs targeted at all children, on the other hand, is mixed, with effects ranging from negative to positive. One important reason why targeted child care programs yield larger returns than large-scale universal programs may be treatment effect heterogeneity; that is, the former target **children from disadvantaged backgrounds** who may benefit more from attending child care programs than the average child, for instance, because they **experience lower-quality care in the untreated state (i.e., a worse home environment) but a similar environment in the treated state (because child care programs are of similar quality).**

Societal Impacts

Universal Child Care lowers crime (and lowers teen pregnancy).

Dickens 2006

William T. Dickens. April 2006. "The Effects of Investing In Early Education On Economic Growth" The Brookings Institute

<https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/200604dickenssawhill.pdf>

Notably, rates of crime and teenage pregnancy are far less prevalent among high SES children. In these areas, we expect the positive effects of preschool to be smaller for high SES children. I expect that a significant segment of those children who enroll in the universal program could fairly be characterized as at-risk. Indeed, nearly 20 percent of children under age six live in families below the poverty line (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, and Mills, 2004).

Good childcare is unaffordable.

Whitehurst 2017

Grover J. Whitehurst. March 9, 2017. "Why the Federal Government Should Subsidize Healthcare and How to Pay for it." Brookings Institute.

<https://www.brookings.edu/research/why-the-federal-government-should-subsidize-childcare-and-how-to-pay-for-it/>

Center-based childcare is very expensive, both in absolute terms and relative to family income. One estimate pegs the average weekly cost of full-time (40 hours per week) daycare at \$196 per child, or about \$10,000 per year.[2] Other estimates are higher.[3] Costs vary substantially by geographical locale, age of the child, and form of childcare. For example, full-time center-based care for one infant or toddler ranges from about \$5,000 a year in Mississippi to over \$22,000 a year in Washington, D.C.[4] Costs for infants and toddlers are thousands of dollars higher per year than costs for preschoolers. These costs are very high relative to family income.[5] **Accredited, center-based childcare for a dual-earner family with two young children and with earnings at 150 percent of the average full-time worker's wage would cost that family, on average, 29 percent of their take-home pay. A poor single parent earning 50 percent of the national average wage would have to spend 52 percent of her income for the same services. The U.S. ranks dead last among developed nations on this measure of**

affordability, as illustrated in the subsequent figure for a single parent earning half the average wage.

The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services concludes that *affordable* childcare should not exceed 7 percent of family income. There is only one state in the nation, Louisiana, in which the cost of center-based infant care for one child meets that definition for a married couple with the median income for the state.[7] In other words, childcare of the type and in the settings that experts favor for child development is simply unaffordable for a majority of working families, and a stretch for many others. Parents are acutely sensitive to the costs and stresses of obtaining childcare. A recent national poll found that 61 percent of parents who report that their financial situation is not strong say that the costs of childcare pose for them a financial problem, with about third of those parents indicating that the financial burden is “very serious.”[8] And these results are in the context of parents who have frequently already cheated out on childcare expenses by using unlicensed providers working out of their homes in the neighborhood. Were these parents forced to spend the national average of \$10,000 a year for licensed, regulated center-based care virtually all would experience “very serious” financial burdens.

Universal Child Care has been done before.

Thier 2020

Daphna Thier. 12-27-2020. “The US Government Can Provide Universal Childcare — It’s Done So in the Past” Jacobin.

<https://jacobinmag.com/2020/12/universal-childcare-lanham-act-us-government>

Government funding of childcare is almost as popular in the United States as Tina Turner. A bipartisan majority of Americans believe that every child (and every parent), regardless of income, deserves high-quality preschool education. A whole swath of liberals have argued that the economy would benefit from greater numbers of mothers in the workforce, and by improving the employability of millions of children in the future. They’re right. The proof? **It’s already been done. In 1942,** the US government passed **the Lanham Act.** The law **was designed to assist communities with water, housing, schools, and other local needs connected to industry expansion during the World War II war effort. One of those provisions was a universal childcare plan** for any community that proved they had absent fathers and working mothers — the only instance in American history of a federally administered program that served children regardless of family income. **The centers were required to meet very high standards. The teachers were well-trained and provided fully funded university-level education.** They were well-compensated. **The number of children per teacher was limited to ten,**

a number that is lower than the limit in many states today. **Centers were clean. They had a clinic with a nurse and doctor for daily checkups before children entered the space. They offered meals. Center staff bought a mother's grocery list while she worked to pick up at the end of the day. Center cafeteria workers prepared dinner for mothers to take home at night. The cost: around \$3–4 a week (\$50–60 in today's money), or half the actual cost per child. The rest was covered by the government, which overall spent \$1 billion on the program.** At its peak, the Lanham Act provided for over 635 communities in every state but New Mexico, **caring for over half a million children.** And while some centers in this pre–Civil Rights Movement era inexcusably provided for white families only, some were desegregated, and an additional 269 centers accommodated black families only. In contrast to most other well-paid sectors at the time, women of color were hired as well. **The program was discontinued in 1946 after only three years.**

Universal Child Care works in other developed countries.

Chalaby 2017

Odette Chalaby. October 27, 2017 “To tackle the "motherhood penalty", look to Scandinavia” Apolitical.

https://apolitical.co/en/solution_article/tackle-motherhood-penalty-look-scandinavia#:~:text=Scandinavian%20countries%20were%20the%20first,back%20into%20the%20last%20century.&text=Swedish%20parents%20pay%20on%20average,the%20rest%20of%20the%20bill.

A recent poll revealed that more than three-quarters of US mothers passed up work opportunities, switched jobs or quit to look after their children. Recent figures also show that their average future wages fall by 4% per child born - 10% in the case of the highest earning, most skilled women. **Nationally, full-time childcare costs a staggering 85% of the median cost of rent. And little is improving;** due to federal budget cuts, **fewer children in the US now have access to subsidised child care than in 2001. Scandinavian countries were the first in the world to offer families state subsidised childcare** - not at the last election, but far back into the last century.

Over 50% of Americans support Universal Child Care.

Morning Consult & Politico 2019

Morning Consult + Politico. February 22-24, 2019. Project: 190245. N Size: 1994 Registered Voters. Margin of Error: $\pm 2\%$. Topline Report February 22-24, 2019

<https://www.politico.com/f/?id=00000169-2b4f-d6dd-ad79-3fef4cf70002>

Would you support or oppose paying for a universal child care program with a wealth tax of 2 percent for families with more than \$50 million in assets and an additional surcharge of 1 percent on those with more than \$1 billion in assets?

Strongly support 635 (32%)

Somewhat support 486 (24%)

Somewhat oppose 236 (12%)

Strongly oppose 267 (13%)

Don't know / No opinion 370 (19%)

Universal Child Care in Germany is linked to increased fertility.

Bauernschuster et. al. 2014

Bauernschuster, Stefan; Hener, Timo; Rainer, Helmut. Stefan Bauernschuster, Professor of Economics at University of Passau. Timo Hener, Associate Professor at Aarhus University and CESifo Research Network Affiliate. Helmut Rainer, Professor of Economics at the University of Munich. April 2014. "Children of a (Policy) revolution: The Introduction of Universal Child Care and its Effect on Fertility." CESIFO Working Paper No. 4776. Category 4: :about Markets.

https://econpapers.repec.org/article/blajeurec/v_3a14_3ay_3a2016_3ai_3a4_3ap_3a975-1005.htm

What role does affordable and widely available public child care play for fertility? We exploit a major German reform generating large temporal and spatial variation in child care coverage for children under the age of three. **Our precise and robust estimates on birth register data reveal that increases in public child care have significant positive effects on fertility.** The fertility effects are more pronounced at the intensive than at the extensive margin, and are not driven by tempo effects or selective migration. Our findings inform policy makers concerned about suboptimally low fertility by suggesting that universal early child care holds the promise of being an effective means of increasing birth rates.

NEGATIVE

Economic Drawbacks

Universal Child Care will cost \$700 billion over 10 years.

Mathur 2019

Mathur, Aparna. Aparna Mathur, researcher for the economic program team at American Enterprise Institute. February 22, 2019. “Universal Child Care is the wrong approach.” The National Review.

<https://www.aei.org/articles/universal-child-care-is-the-wrong-approach/>

And **finally, this carries a \$700 billion price tag over ten years, on top of numerous other Democratic priorities including free college, guaranteed jobs, and the Green New Deal. One is left wondering where the prioritization of spending will end up.**

Warren’s plan’s estimated cost is \$1.7 billion over 10 years.

Kliff 2019

Kliff, Sarah. Sarah Kliff, Senior Correspondent for Vox. February 22, 2019. “Elizabeth Warren’s Universal child Care Plan, Explained.” Vox.

<https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/2/22/18234606/warren-child-care-universal-2020>

An analysis of the Warren plan from the financial services company Moody’s estimates that the program would cost \$1.7 billion over the course of a decade, with 12 million children receiving care under the new program.

Warren proposes paying for those costs with her plan to tax fortunes worth more than \$50 million, which you can read more about here.

Quebec’s total cost for their childcare is \$1.52 billion.

Herrera 2019

Herrera, Allison. Allison Herrera, correspondent for Across Women’s Lives and multimedia reporter in Minneapolis. February 5, 2019. “What We Can Learn From Candia’s Universal Child Care Model.” The World.

<https://www.pri.org/stories/2019-02-05/what-we-can-learn-canada-s-universal-child-care-model#:~:text=He's%20a%20Canadian%20economist%20at,to%20Qu%C3%A9bec%20province%3A%20%241.52%20billion.>

He's a Canadian economist at the University of Québec at Montreal who applauds the universal, low-fee child care program. Since its creation two decades ago, the program has become a model for the rest of the world.

Families there pay about \$6 per day. **The total cost to Québec province: \$1.52 billion.** Fortin says it's a lot of money, but it's offset by something else. More working women.

[Rachael here:] I think the full context of this card can be useful, especially if you run this argument in tandem with evidence that the U.S. typically hinders women from working to maintain their perfect family model. I think you could also make some argument that this would be a significant amount of our GDP and we often have a hard time pushing policies that give Americans free money.

Universal Child Care would take revenue away from individual states' economies.

Early Learning Policy Group, LLC 2019

Early Learning Policy Group. 2019. "The Economic Impact of Child Care Within States."

<https://www.earlylearningpolicygroup.com/childcare-economic-impact.html>

The Committee for Economic Development (CED) released a report, "Child Care in State Economies: 2019 Update" on January 31, 2019. **There are 674,332 child care programs (centers and home-based sole proprietors) throughout the United States with revenue of \$47.2 billion, employing 1.5 million workers. The spillover impact of these programs (purchases of goods and services) generates an additional \$52.1 billion in local economies. With regard to employment, beyond direct jobs within the industry, an additional 507,089 jobs are supported within communities leading to an overall jobs impact of 2 million workers.** Find the report, executive summary and state by state fact sheets and talking points on CED's "Child Care Impact" web page. Individual state infographics are posted as well.

Universal Child Care Does Not Solve

Five reasons why Universal Child Care is the wrong approach.

Mathur 2019

Mathur, Aparna. Aparna Mathur, researcher for the economic program team at American Enterprise Institute. February 22, 2019. "Universal Child Care is the wrong approach." The National Review.

<https://www.aei.org/articles/universal-child-care-is-the-wrong-approach/>

But **universal child care is the wrong approach.**

First, just because something is expensive does not mean the government should subsidize it for everyone. **Support should be targeted to families for whom the cost prohibits working or directly results in compromised quality of care. The more income-targeted the approach, the fewer unintended consequences that result and the less support to families that can pay for child care on their own.**

Second, and ironically, **government efforts to address affordability would likely increase the costs of child care even further**. As the economist Jeffrey Dorfman writes, **"when government provides payments for anything, the cost of that good or service always rises."** **This is because costs become distorted when providers have no incentive to increase productivity and compete for business. And increased costs do not always mean higher-quality care.** Parents are less likely to hold providers accountable for quality when they pay little for it.

Third, it is important to remember that we are not starting from scratch when it comes to helping families with child-care expenses. The proposal layers on top of the existing system of tax credits and block grants to states. In the existing system, **families with children can potentially receive support for childcare from the** earned-income tax credit (**EITC**), the child tax credit (**CTC**), **and the child-and-dependent-care tax credit.** Of these, the EITC is the best targeted at the lowest-income households, while the CTC is only partly refundable (meaning it goes to people without federal income-tax liability) and the dependent-care credit is not refundable at all, making both less accessible for those most in need. **In addition, states can help eligible children with child-care subsidies through the Child Care Development Block Grant (CCDBG).** However, only about 12 to 15 percent of federally eligible children are in fact served. **Rather than a universal child-care program, a useful starting point could be expansion of this existing system.**

Fourth, the proposal does not sufficiently address child-care quality. No evidence suggests that the government can sufficiently ensure quality child care under a universal system. A similar Canadian experiment showed that universal child care in Quebec resulted in children being "worse off in a variety of behavioral and health

dimensions, ranging from aggression to motor-social skills to illness” than children without access to universal care.

Heavily regulating child care likely results in some high-quality providers, but it risks driving other providers out of the market because the added costs make the business unprofitable. States have already learned this lesson through declines in home-based providers as part of the CCDBG subsidy program (increased requirements were added to the program in 2014).

And **finally, this carries a \$700 billion price tag over ten years, on top of numerous other Democratic priorities including free college, guaranteed jobs, and the Green New Deal. One is left wondering where the prioritization of spending will end up.**

We believe that there’s no shortage of ways to target child-care assistance to those who need it most without the unintended consequences of a universal system. Reasonable investments could make the dependent-care and child tax credits fully refundable for low- and middle-income families. The dependent-care credit could be indexed to inflation in child-care costs, and it could be provided monthly or quarterly to allow working parents the ability to secure child care. The EITC could be expanded to help families better meet child-care costs as well.

Teachers will most likely be paid less.

Martin 2017

Levine, Martin. Martin Levine, principal at Levine Partners LLP and former CEO of JCC Chicago. May 22, 2017. “the Universal Pre-K Dilemma: Must We Choose Between Teacher and Student?” Nonprofit Quarterly.

<https://nonprofitquarterly.org/universal-pre-k-dilemma-must-choose-teacher-student/>

Pre-k teachers in New York, where full-day pre-k is provided to children as young as three years old, were often paid much less than teachers with equal education and experience who worked in the public elementary school system. This made the program more affordable for the state, but it was teachers who paid the price. While this issue may be resolved somewhat with enough funding, this is a good example of where policy can fall flat.

Universal Child Care will not solve for child poverty. Instead, it will generate it.

Martin 2017

Levine, Martin. Martin Levine, principal at Levine Partners LLP and former CEO of JCC Chicago. May 22, 2017. “the Universal Pre-K Dilemma: Must We Choose Between Teacher and Student?” Nonprofit Quarterly.

<https://nonprofitquarterly.org/universal-pre-k-dilemma-must-choose-teacher-student/>

Early Childhood Teachers work a 12-month school year for these salaries, as compared to the 10-month school year for their elementary school—based colleagues.

New York’s approach mirrors the national situation: Keeping early childhood educators’ salaries low does make funding easier. It leaves teachers, policymakers, and the public with an ethical dilemma that pits the welfare of teachers against the needs of the children they are trained to teach—one noted in earlier NPQ coverage: “**A major goal of early childhood services has been to relieve poverty among children, yet many of these same efforts continue to generate poverty in the predominantly female, ethnically and racially diverse ECE work force.**”

Too many teachers are leaving the field in order to support their own households, resulting in a shortage of qualified, experienced early childhood personnel. “The result,” Nocenti writes, “has been a severe shortage of certified teachers...and the teachers who remain—who are mostly women of color—are left wondering why the city is treating them like second-class citizens by refusing to approve salaries on par with those of their public school counterparts.” Turnover rates are also high, creating an unstable educational environment in classrooms where educational quality requires stability.

Universal Child Care will decrease quality and availability of other forms of child care.

Schilder et. al 2011

Schilder, Diane; Kimura, Stephanie; Elliott, Kim; Currenton, Stephanie. Diane Schilder, senior fellow at the Urban Institute. Stephanie Kimura, Executive Director of Development at UCLA Library. Kim Elliott, non-resident fellow with the Center for global Development. Stephanie Currenton, PhD., tenured associate professor in the Boston University Wheelock College of Education & Human Development. January 2011, Issue 21. “Perspectives on the Impact of Pre-K Expansion.” National Institute for Early Education Research Preschool Policy Brief.

<https://nieer.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/22.pdf>

Universal pre-k could lead to a decrease in quality and availability of other forms of child care. Strict limits on the number of infants and toddlers a single provider can care for put in-home providers in a tough spot. Without older children to fill their programs, these providers may struggle to keep their doors open. Furthermore, the most-qualified teachers may be tempted to leave childcare centers in favor of universal pre-k programs.

Universal Child Care in Quebec saw increased rates of criminality.

Hammond 2019

Hammond, Samuel. Samuel Hammond. February 28, 2019. "The False Premise of Universal Child Care." Institute for Family Studies.

<https://ifstudies.org/blog/the-false-promise-of-universal-child-care>

Consider the Perry Preschool program, a randomized controlled trial in 1970s Michigan that compared the life trajectories of 58 preschool-enrolled children to a control group of 65 children. Based on the improved life outcomes of children who attended preschool, researchers have estimated large "internal rates of return" on the initial childhood investment, ranging from 8% to 21 percent. Studies like these are the source for the often-heard claim that \$1 spent on child care produces \$8 for society, thereby paying for itself. But is this true?

What advocates neglect to mention is how much of an outlier the Perry Preschool program study and similar studies, like the Chicago Longitudinal Study, are compared to studies of comprehensive state- and nation-wide programs. In the Perry study, as much as two-thirds of the estimated benefits derive from lower rates of incarceration by age 40, thus capturing the unusually high cost of the U.S. criminal justice system. The mechanism appears to be the extraction of disadvantaged kids from high-crime neighborhoods and unstable households into comparatively benign social settings. In contrast, the Abecedarian Project in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, another '70s-era randomized study of disadvantaged children under five, found no effect from preschool on reduced criminality. Nonetheless, advocates routinely extrapolate inflated rates of return to universal child care when there's no reason to think they generalize to the country as a whole. Indeed, a comprehensive study of Head Start, the federally funded and nationwide preschool program for poor children, found no significant effects on criminality.

But what about other effects, like on child cognitive and noncognitive skills? **After the Canadian province of Quebec introduced universal day care in 2000, subsequent research found large, detrimental effects on child noncognitive development, including increased rates of criminality. A third of the children who entered the program came from family-based and informal care arrangements.** In order to achieve universal scale, many of the kids who had their care arrangements displaced became victims of a “lowest-common denominator” effect.

Studies in the U.S. find positive effects from Head Start on long-run outcomes like educational attainment. However, the same line of research has reached the seemingly contradictory conclusion that the impact of early childhood education on test-scores is subject to rapid fade-out, disappearing after a year or two. Rather than “teaching young brains how to learn,” preschool appears beneficial for purely social reasons. In particular, Head Start frees up low-income parents from child care duties, allowing them to enter the workforce and pass on the associated benefits to their child later in life. While this lends support to the case for child benefits targeted to low-income households, it’s disastrous for the broader Heckman-inspired narrative. Indeed, it suggests the Heckman Curve should be flipped. **Rather than supporting the human capital development of kids, at best, universal child care supports the human capital development of parents.**

Universal Child Care in Quebec also saw increased separation anxiety.

Baker et. al. 2019

Baker, Michael; Gruber, Jonathan; Milligan, Kevin. Baker: Department of Economics, University of Toronto; Gruber: Department of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Milligan: Vancouver School of Economics, University of British Columbia. Kate Ho was coeditor for this article. 2019. “The Long-Run Impacts of a Universal Child Care Program.” *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 2019, 11(3): 1-26. [pages 12-13 & 15]

<https://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1257/pol.20170603>

We begin by graphing in Figure 1 the unconditional standardized means of our contemporaneous dependent variables for Quebec and for the rest of Canada by cycle of the NLSCY. We standardize the score-based dependent variables to have mean zero and unit standard deviation. For each outcome, we indicate the onset of the policy with a vertical line at cycle 3 in 1998–1999. For the first five outcomes, the solid line for the rest of Canada is almost flat, indicating little trend. This stability in the untreated provinces is an important part of the case for our identification strategy. Also, **with perhaps the exception of separation anxiety, the scores in cycles 1 and 2 in Quebec are visually parallel to the scores in the rest of Canada.** The

more notable exception is the PPVT score, which shows an upward trend starting in cycle 4 for the rest of Canada. Furthermore, for Quebec, there is a large, anomalous downward spike in PPVT scores in cycle 3, which almost completely dissipates in cycle 4. Post-policy, being in care increases sharply starting in cycle 3 and continuing through cycle 9. The behavioral scores also each show a distinct relative increase after cycle 3, with varying patterns in later cycles. The time trends for the PPVT in Quebec are less clear.

Adding the additional waves of data leads to a statistically significant estimate for hyperactivity and maintains the inference for anxiety and aggression. Also, the estimates are generally stable in magnitude across the two samples, except for aggression, which is just under 50 percent larger.

The results in Table 1 demonstrate that the main conclusions of Baker, Gruber, and Milligan (2008) for young children of two-parent families extend to the full sample of young children from all family types, and persist as the program has matured. **The Quebec program led to a substantial increase in the use of child care and increases in children's levels of anxiety and aggression.** We do not pursue analysis of heterogeneity for these contemporaneous outcomes, but Kottelenberg and Lehrer (2017) provides evidence of a positive boost to child development for children from disadvantaged, single-parent families, with more negative outcomes from two-parent families. In addition, Kottelenberg and Lehrer (2018) finds significant differences between boys and girls.

Quebec's Universal Child Care Policy resulted in a significant decline in child, parent, and family outcomes. Several studies prove.

Kottelenberg and Lehrer 2013

Kottelenberg, Michael J.; Lehrer, Steven F. Michael Kottelenberg, Department of Economics at Queens University. Steven Lehrer, Department of Economics at Queens University. 2013. "New Evidence on the Impacts of Access to Attending Universal Child Care in Canada." Canadian Public Policy 2013 39:2, 263-286.

<https://www.utpjournals.press/doi/full/10.3138/CP.39.2.263>

Overall, our results are in line with BGM's findings that the introduction of the Quebec Family Policy led to a significant decline in child, parent, and family outcomes. The initial estimates in BGM are robust to inclusion of additional years of data and concerns regarding multiple testing. Estimates of the causal impact of child-care attendance are also negative, with the notable exception of the motor-social development score. On average, attending subsidized child-care leads to a significant increase in this score. Further, our results suggest that the negative impacts reported in BGM are driven

by children in families who decided to attend child-care in response to the implementation of the policy. This heterogeneity in program impacts suggests an important avenue for further research.

The US Resists Universal Child Care

The U.S. leave Universal Child Care as an elusive good due to internalized misogyny.

Ranck 2020

Runnels Ranck, Edna. Dr. Edna Runnels Rack, editor of Our Proud Heritage, earned her doctorate from Columbia University in 1998 with a dissertation on the History of New Jersey's early care and education efforts. She also published a number of book chapters and many journal articles. December 2020. "Editor's Note." National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC).

<https://www.naeyc.org/resources/pubs/yc/dec2020/change-early-education>

One clue can be found in the growing numbers of women entering the American workforce over time. Indeed, Sonya Michel asked the key question:

[W]hy, despite a long history of mothers entering the workforce accompanied by the long history of public concern over the welfare of children, **does universal child care, organized and supported by the federal government, remain an elusive good in the United States?** (1999, 1)

Scholars have pointed to one potential answer: **maternalism**, which Michel (1999, 311 n16) **defined as “a politics that claims a position of authority for women in their ‘natural’ roles as wives and mothers and seeks to protect the health and welfare of women and children”** (Skocpol 1992; Beatty 1995; Stoltzfus 2003). Indeed, Emilie Stoltzfus **draws a connection between maternalism and social citizenship, noting: White males were in positions of power and control, allowing them to own property, to vote, to serve on juries, and to enter the military; he was able to earn wages in the market economy for productive labor. White females, however, could do none of these activities, but were relegated with their “moral and altruistic services” to the domestic economy of the home, where they kept house and reared children.** They earned no wages for unproductive work, though they earned public acknowledgement for rearing the next generation. Even the right to vote in 1920 was reinterpreted to refer to the rearing of children as good citizens through the unique “female” values of nurturance and caring. (2003, 4–5)

As a political and belief system, maternalism permeates our history and influences our present. Beliefs and values create our attitudes that, in turn, govern behaviors and actions—and inspire laws. Sharon Lynn Kagan does not speak of maternalism, but her basic themes capture the meaning as she describes the early stages of early childhood education in the United States

from the earliest times, public attitudes toward early care and education were primarily framed by the hegemony of the home and the privacy/primacy of the family, and public values did not accord with out-of-home nonmaternal care; the financing of early care and education necessarily remained rooted primarily in the private sector (1991).

Earlier Kagan had observed, “**Any major effort that fundamentally alters the conceptual orientation of children’s service delivery (e.g., from targeted to universal, private to public, categorical to entitlement, federal to state) will become embroiled in value-related controversy . . . More significant, the greater degree to which new children’s services seek to alter these extant orientations, the more complex the challenge**” (1989, 71). This is exactly where we are in early childhood education today.

Americans aren’t in agreement that mothers should work at all.

Miller 2019

Miller, Claire Cain. Claire Cain Miller, correspondent for The times where she writes about gender, families, and the future of work for The Upshot, a Times site for analysis of policy and economics. She was part of a team that won a Pulitzer Prize in 2018 for public service for reporting on workplace sexual harassment issues. August 15, 2019. “Why the U.S. Has Long Resisted Universal Child Care.” The New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/15/upshot/why-americans-resist-child-care.html>

The debate persists because in the United States, **the resistance to public child care has never been mainly about economics. It has been rooted in a moral argument — that the proper place for mothers (at least certain ones) is at home with their children.**

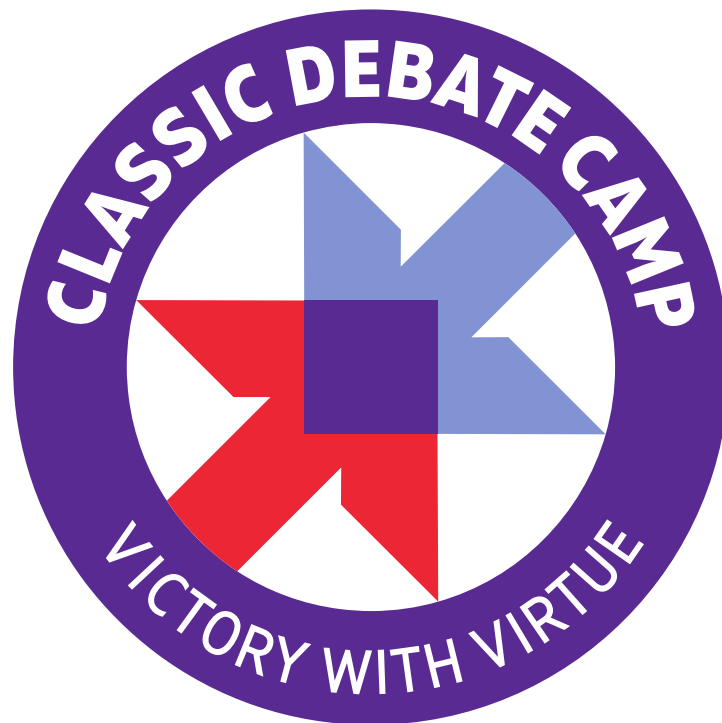
“In the United States, child care is still at the political level viewed symbolically and not economically,” said Leah Ruppanner, a sociologist at the University of Melbourne. “All of the discussions are around the sanctity of motherhood, preserving the traditional family. Women and families are living very different lives from that.”

But in the United States, people have long had conflicted feelings about whether society and government should make it easier for mothers to work outside the home, and these are complicated by attitudes about race and poverty.

In the 19th century, people thought it was fitting for women to use child care and to work for pay only if their husbands were unable to support them because of death, disability, divorce or drunkenness, said Sonya Michel, professor emerita of history at the University of Maryland. A network of day nurseries started, mostly financed by philanthropy. By the

turn of the century, though, they'd been replaced by so-called widows' or mothers' pensions. The idea was that if a woman didn't have a husband to support her, it was still best that she stay home.

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