

An Interview with Dr. Walter Gilliam by Children's Institute

Rafael Otto: [00:00:00] This is the Early Link Podcast. I'm Rafael Otto. Dr. Walter Gilliam joins us for discussion on preschool suspension, expulsion, and implicit bias. He is professor of child psychiatry and psychology at the Yale University Child Study Center and the director of the Edward Zigler Center in Child Development and Social Policy.

He co-authored the book, *A Vision for Universal Preschool Education* and his groundbreaking study from 2005 called "Pre-Kindergarteners Left Behind" examined expulsion rates and reasons for expulsion in state preschool programs across the country. His scholarly writing addresses early childhood care and education programs, school readiness, and developmental assessment of young children.

And he is frequently consulted by decision makers in the U S and other countries on issues related to early care and education. Walter, welcome to The Early Link Podcast.

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:00:50] Hi Rafael, it's great to be here.

Rafael Otto: [00:00:52] Excellent. Excellent. One of the first questions I wanted to ask you was how you first became interested in studying preschool suspension, expulsion. I know there's some background to that and I would love it if you could share a story or two.

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:01:05] Well, that's a great question. Um... there is a backstory to it. This was back in 2002. I was at Yale then as a faculty member and doing research but also supervising child psychiatrists and child psychologists and pediatricians who are learning how to work with young children. And so I was on the other side of one of those two-way mirrors - you know what I'm talking about... actions on the one side, and then I'm on the other side and I'm watching, and then I can give them feedback on how well they're working with the young child, and then sign up for billing purposes.

I couldn't help but notice that many of the children who are being referred to our clinic for an evaluation were being sent to us because they'd been kicked out of a preschool program or expelled from a childcare program or they were told that if they didn't come to a place like Yale and get an evaluation that they *will* be expelled from the program.

And I couldn't help but notice just how *many* children this was true for. And I didn't know if this was a Connecticut phenomenon or this was just something that was happening around the New Haven, Connecticut area. So I decided to take a look at the research on it and found absolutely nothing.

And it just so happened that at that same time I was planning a nationwide survey of preschool teachers, preschool teachers around the nation, all working in state-funded preschool programs and thought, "Well, let's just weave in some additional questions." So we threw some additional questions into the survey.

It was a survey that was taking place over the phone. It was about an hour long. We just had a few questions on the expulsion but the findings were just so staggering to so many people that it literally became the study

Rafael Otto: [00:02:38] And that became “Pre-Kindergartners Left Behind.” Right?

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:02:42] Yeah, absolutely. Well, at the time we had No Child Left Behind legislation, which was the hot topic. So it was a bit of a play on the title. In terms of the fact that we are leaving kids behind and we leave them behind before they even get there. For many people when they think of school they think of school as beginning in kindergarten but not anymore. We have preschool programs for children four years old or three and four years old and you know the concern here for us with phenomena like this of children being expelled from preschool programs, is this notion of the fact that for many of our kids they can experience a failure before they even get to what most people would consider school.

Rafael Otto: [00:03:16] Talk a little bit more about that study because you found some fairly significant things related to the expulsion rates for preschool as it exceeded the expulsion rate for kids in the K-12 system.

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:03:26] By a long shot.

Rafael Otto: [00:03:27] Right, what did those numbers look like?

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:03:29] Well when we got the rates back we found that 10% of the preschool teachers... Now bear in mind these are state funded preschool programs; this is not your typical childcare programs. These are your better resourced early care and education programs that are part of state systems, usually run out of state Departments of Education and are funded through state Departments of Education. So they have actually more resources to them than most of your regular childcare programs and in these programs, the teachers were telling us - 10% of them - that they had expelled at least one child in the past 12 months. Now, expelled meant permanent. Permanently, totally, kicked out of the program. 10% of the teachers said that they had done this and we knew how many children had been expelled and we knew how many children were in their classrooms, and so with some simple division we were able to figure out what the rate was. But then when we had the rate it was kind of hard to figure out how to communicate that. The rate was 6.7 expulsions per thousand children enrolled. So at 6.7 is that a lot, that a little or is that like baby bear and it's just right? You know like, what do you do with that? So we thought, “Well, you need to have something to compare it to.” So we thought K-12 expulsion rate would be the best thing to compare it to. But we couldn't find anything published on the K-12 expulsion rate except that the US Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights had conducted surveys on expulsion and suspension in K-12. But, they never analyzed the data. Instead, it existed as 16,000 databases. One for every school district in America on the US Department of Education's website. So we downloaded all 16,000 and wrote our own formulas to figure out what the rates were state by state and nationally. And then when we compared the rate we found that preschoolers, three and four year old children, were being expelled at a rate more than three times that of grades K through 12

combined in the United States. And when you look at it state by state, all but three states have an expulsion rate in preschool that outpaces the expulsion rate K-12. That's a lot of kids being expelled.

Rafael Otto: [00:05:24] You also found that boys were much more likely to be expelled than girls?

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:05:29] About four times as likely.

Rafael Otto: [00:05:31] Four-year-olds more likely to be expelled than three-year-olds and that African-American children more likely to be expelled and expelled more often than White, Latino, and Asian kids...

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:05:42] About twice as likely.

Rafael Otto: [00:05:44] Tell me how those findings came out and what else should we know about that study?

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:05:49] In the original study, we were curious about things like what kind of programs are the ones doing the most expulsion and then also what types of children were the most likely to be expelled. And like you said, we found that in mixed age groups where you have three or four year old children together, the older child is more likely to be expelled. We found that boys were expelled at about four times the rate of girls, and Black children were expelled about twice the rate of every other demographic of children.

And so when you think about it, there's really three expulsion risk factors. You have “big, the bigger children, “the boys,” and “the Black children” - big, black, and boy. And the more of those that existed within a single child, the greater the likelihood that that child might be expelled from the program. But that just tells us about which children were most at risk. And then there's other factors too that have to do with what types of programs were more likely to be the ones doing the expulsion. When we did the pilot study for this, we piloted it in childcare programs in Massachusetts and we found that one teacher reported expelling six children out of a class of 16 in the course of 12 months. It's almost half the class. It's amazing Isn't it?

Rafael Otto: [00:06:56] It's incredible.

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:06:57] The rate's much much much higher than what a lot of people would have thought and certainly even more so for our Black children and for our boys. We didn't know what to do and how to understand the finding about four-year-olds more likely than three-year-olds. Cause I could've made a guess either way on that. I could have guessed, well maybe the bigger child. I could have guessed, well maybe the younger child who might be more socially immature in the classroom. And so what we did was we pulled together a group of preschool teachers similar to the ones in the national study and we said: “In a national study this is what teachers like you said, why do you think they would say this?” And the teachers thought about it in this focus group and they came back and they said, “Well you know it's one thing If you have a child who's this big you know and they held

their hand about waist high... and they said it's another thing if you have a child who's this big and they held it a little bit higher."

And so we asked the logical follow-up question of why does height matter. Like how does height factor into who you're going to expel or not expel? And they said, "Well if the child is smaller than the child might be smaller than the other children, but if the child is bigger then the child might be bigger than some of the other kids in the classroom and then maybe someone will get hurt." And that was an important clue to us that it makes a lot of sense because the teacher is not just concerned about the singular child. The teacher has to be concerned about all the children in the classroom. But if you listen really closely to what the teacher's saying, what the teacher's saying is this: it's not the behavior of the child. You can have two children equally aggressive but the bigger child's going to be the one to be expelled. So it's not really the behavior of the child. It's what we make out of that behavior. It's what we assume might happen as a result of that behavior. And that's when it became clear to us that preschool expulsion isn't really a child outcome. Preschool expulsion is not a child behavior. It's an adult decision that may be based in part on the child's behavior, but there could be other factors, too, that could come into play having to do with how that teacher views that child.

Rafael Otto: [00:08:51] So that process leads you to think about looking more closely at how teachers are interacting with the kids in their classrooms and to look at this idea of implicit bias and what role that plays.

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:09:02] Yeah, and then even before we got to that we were looking at some of the more regulable factors having to do with programs. We found that teacher-child ratio predicts it; the more children per adult in the classroom, the greater the likelihood that a child is going to be expelled. We found that teacher job stress, teacher depression... and this is teachers reporting on their own job stress and depression. They're not reporting about children anymore. They're talking about themselves. Teacher job stress is a strong predictor of the likelihood of a child being expelled, even when all other factors regarding the child are held constant. Job stress matters and teacher depression. Teachers who screened positive for depression during the survey were expelling at twice the rate of teachers who screened negative for depression. But we also found that when teachers reported having access to somebody who could come into the classroom that could be called a mental health consultant, could be called a behavioral specialist- different places call these professionals different things - but if a teacher had access to somebody who could come into the classroom and work with the teacher regarding children's behaviors it was associated with about a half cut in the likelihood of a teacher expelling a child.

Rafael Otto: [00:10:11] So if they can get those professional supports that they need, there's a direct impact on the students that they're engaging with?

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:10:16] Absolutely. When we survey preschool teachers and we say "What would you like the most? What would be the most helpful to you?" They consistently say more supports regarding challenging behaviors, more information regarding what to do about a child's challenging behaviors. And it's one of the least likely things for us to ever provide them, even though they're consistently saying that's the biggest challenge for them.

We've found absolutely no relationship between teacher job training, teacher education, or teacher experience level and expulsion rates. Teachers with a high school diploma and nothing more expelled at about the same rate as teachers with a master's degree in early childhood education. And we didn't know what to make of that variable either until we started looking a little bit deeper and we found out that if a teacher has no more than a high school diploma - and some of our preschool teachers do have no training more than a high school diploma - if a teacher has no more than a high school diplomas or training, chances are pretty good that they have zero level of training on how to handle challenging behaviors in the classroom. And if a teacher has a master's degree in early childhood care and education, chances are also pretty good that they have zero training on how to handle challenging behaviors in the classroom. And if that's the case, why would you expect any impact.

Rafael Otto: [00:11:28] So the education isn't matching up to what teachers need to be effective.

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:11:31] Yeah, it's not even matching up to what teachers know and what teachers are crying out loud for.

Rafael Otto: [00:11:35] Could you talk a little bit more about your findings around implicit bias and the role that that played?

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:11:41] Sure! When we first found these findings and I was reporting them out it surprised quite a few people, except it didn't surprise preschool teachers because they knew it was happening and there were certainly some people it didn't surprise because they might've had a child who had been expelled from preschool program. But when I was giving these presentations, talking about what the rates were and who's more likely to be expelled, we get a lot of questions about, well, "Why?" Why is it that our boys are more likely than our girls? Why is it that our Black children are more likely than our white and brown children to be expelled. And my answer was usually something along the lines of, "Well that's a very good question and we need more research to be able to answer that." And eventually I just became completely and wholly unsatisfied with my own answer to that question and wanted to look a little bit deeper into it and to be able to see whether it's possible that things like implicit bias might factor into it. And like I said before, it was pretty clear to us since the early findings that it's not just the behavior of the child. It's what the teacher is thinking in the teacher's head that also matters. And if that's the case that gives room for the bias. And what we know about biases are this: we all have them. And just because you're a preschool teacher and just because you love babies, and that's what you've devoted your life to, doesn't make you non-human.

You know you may be doing work of a God, but you're still subject to the same kind of biases that all the rest of us have as mere mortals. And so then the question becomes you know what kind of biases might be coming into the way in which we look at children's behaviors. So we decided that we wanted to do a study on it.

Rafael Otto: [00:13:16] And what did you find?

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:13:18] Well, this was the first, as far as we can tell, the first study that's ever been done on implicit bias in preschool classrooms. We knew that we couldn't just go to preschool teachers and say that implicit biases are the unconscious biases that you have, that you don't know you have. "Do you have any?" You know we couldn't ask it like that you know. So we needed to have a somewhat sneaky way to be able to get at it. There's an old saying that the eyes don't lie. And so what we thought we would do is this: We had a video clip of, about six minutes long, of preschool children. They were all four-years-old, sitting at a round table playing with Play-Doh, in a preschool classroom. And we told the teachers that we wanted them to look at this video while we track their eye gaze. And we had an expensive fancy eye tracker that was attached to the screen that could tell us down to the pixel and down to the 1000th of a second exactly where the teachers were looking. And then we told the teachers: "This is a study to see how quickly you can find challenging behaviors or how quickly you can find something that could turn into a behavioral problem."

The trick to being able to stop behavior problems in a classroom is being able to see when something could turn bad quickly. And so we're interested in how quickly can you find signs that a misbehavior might get ready to be happening. And so we want you to watch this video. We're going to track your eye gaze. And every time you see something that could turn into a challenging behavior, hit this button on the side. That's what we told them. And then there were some parts that we didn't tell them. The parts that we didn't tell them was this, in these videos, no one is going to misbehave. Because they are all child actors that I've hired and set at a table and told to play with Play-Doh. We're really not interested in how quickly you can find misbehaviors because there aren't any to find. What I'm interested in is this: when I lead you to believe that someone is going to misbehave, who do you look at? Who do you look at first? Who do you look at the most? Who do you go back to, just because you must've missed something because you didn't see a challenging behavior? The children in the videos we had a Black boy, a Black girl, white boy, and a white girl. And so when we analyze the results in terms of where the teachers were looking, we found that teachers look significantly more at the Black children, especially the Black boy.

Rafael Otto: [00:15:31] What was the difference between the Black girl and the Black boy; what did that look like?

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:15:35] Much more towards the Black boy than the Black girl and then, the white children much less than both of those. Now at the end of the study, the screen goes blank. And then we show them a picture - the teachers - a picture of the four children that were in the video. Then we say, "Who do you think you looked at the most?" Now we don't need to ask them who they looked at the most. I know down to a thousandth of a second who they were looking at the most. What we were curious of here was not just what kind of biases might you have that would lead you to look for misbehaviors with one group of children versus another, but are you aware of it? And then the screen would go blank and then we would ask them to enter the letter of the child. We were tracking their eye gaze even when we were showing them the pictures of the four children. And so really what we were interested in was three questions: One is where do your biases take your eyes? Two, are you aware of it? And then when the screen goes blank are you willing to tell me? Because you can't really diffuse a bias bomb unless you know how it's wired. Implicit

bias is a bias you don't know you have, but I didn't know that they don't know this. Maybe they think they know this, maybe they think they know something different. What we found was that the teachers spent more time looking at the Black children especially the Black boy, but they thought they were looking more at boys Black and white, especially the Black boy. Either way, the Black boy ends up with the short end of the stick; but the underlying bias that we found was a race oriented bias, but the teachers think they have a gender oriented bias.

Rafael Otto: [00:17:07] Interesting. Has there been follow up to that study since those results came out?

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:17:11] Nothing specifically on using eye tracking in that kind of a way. Although, we're looking at some ways to be able to do some followup studies to try and tease out some additional things on this. It's worth noting, too, that the finding that I just described was true for across all the groups of teachers that we had in the study. It was true for our white teachers and it was true for our Black teachers, too, that our teachers of color also spend more time looking at Black children, especially Black boys, when they're led to believe that somebody is going to misbehave. And so the bias that we're talking about here is not a bias that seems to be specific to the race of the teacher. Regardless of the race of the teacher, there's a greater expectation that Black children are going to misbehave.

Rafael Otto: [00:17:50] And we can still say that, today, that Black four-year-old boys are at greatest risk of preschool expulsion

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:17:56] Yeah they were at greatest risk when we did that study that we released back in 2005, but then the US Department of Education did a study on it in 2014 and again in 2016 and found actually even greater disparities. We've found a two-fold increase for Black children in terms of likelihood to be expelled. The US Department of Education was reporting a 3.6 times greater likelihood for Black children. So yeah I think it clearly does still exist.

Rafael Otto: [00:18:21] And this is something that when we think about, I mean, it's difficult to imagine a young child being suspended or being expelled to be put in that situation. You're talking about trends that are happening in every state all over the country, is that right? How widespread is this issue?

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:18:37] Well in the original study that we did, like I said before, all but three states expelled children in preschool at a greater rate than they expelled children K-12. And in the states that didn't, it was a close call. So the rates are certainly much higher for preschoolers and it's true across pretty much all the states that we've studied. In the original study we were studying 40 States, and that's because 40 states had state funded pre-K programs. The other 10 states didn't have one. And so we weren't studying them in that. But there's no reason to believe that those other 10 states wouldn't behave the same as the other 40.

Rafael Otto: [00:19:11] Yeah, and are there some underlying factors that we know about human behavior that can help describe why this happens?

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:19:19] Sure, I mean there's been a few studies that have been done on bias and how biases are formed. Studying bias is an interesting thing. We've long known that people have biases and bias regarding race. It's been written about for a long time but it's not been actually seriously studied until like the past three to five years. But then the research that's been done in the past three to five years; the findings are pretty clear. There was a study that was done by a man named Russell Skiba at Indiana University where he had school records of children in elementary school. And in these school records, there was information about the age and the race and gender of the child and information about what the child did wrong. What was the behavioral infraction? What was the misbehavior? And then there was information about what happened as the result of this. Did the child go to the principal's office? Did the child get suspended? In school suspension, out of school suspension, expulsion... and what he did was he masked over all the data. You couldn't read it except for just the description of the behavior. What did the child do and then had teachers rate how severe is that, how bad is that? And then unmasked the rest of the variables and then ran the analysis and found that, even when you control for how severe the behavior problem is, so in other words, even when the behavior problem is the same level of severity, the Black child as opposed to the white child is more likely to be sent to the principal's office, more likely to be suspended, more likely to be expelled. And again, even when the behaviors are identical.

There was another study done by a man named Philip Goff. And he was using vignettes, these were stories, about a child who may or may not have done the bad deed. May or may not have broken the vase. May or may not have lost the ball. You read the story and you can't really tell, maybe the child did it, maybe the child didn't do it. And then you had to rate how guilty do you think the child is. Do you think he did it? Do you think she did it? And then unbeknownst to the adults who are in the study, they would pair different pictures of children to different stories. And the pictures, the children, were all between the ages of 10 and 17 years old and some of the times they'd put a white boy and sometimes they put a white girl or a Black boy or a Black girl with the story. And what they found was that, anytime they showed a story and they put a picture of a Black boy with it the guilty ratings went up. And in those cases, I mean what's important about this, is there's no extenuating circumstances because there's no backstory to these children because these are just made up stories.

Rafael Otto: [00:21:57] Made up stories on a piece of paper.

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:21:59] Absolutely. And so even when there's no extenuating circumstance that you could blame it on or anything else like that. Just seeing a picture of a Black child made people think that the child was more likely to have done it. More likely to have been *guilty*.

Rafael Otto: [00:22:15] Can you talk about the experience of expulsion from a child's point of view? What do we know about the impact on children, what that experience has, the impact, on a child who gets expelled and maybe gets expelled more than once?

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:22:28] I'm going to thank you for that question because it's easy to have these conversations about children and only look at it from the adults perspective and

then not try to even entertain the notion of what it might feel like from the child's perspective. I think it's important to remember that when we're talking about preschoolers, these are three and four year old babies. I mean they're really young. I know technically, a baby means about zero to 18 months or zero to two years. But, in my book, if you've only been talking for a year and you've only been able to go potty in the bathroom for about a year or two, you're a baby and these are really young kids.

Rafael Otto: [00:23:08] Young and vulnerable, and kids who need trusting relationships with the adults in their lives.

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:23:13] Absolutely. And they need to feel that those relationships are permanent, or at least as permanent as a three or a four year old can understand and not to feel that, "I can do something so bad that everybody that I know that I have a relationship with, all of these adults and all of my classmates, could just vanish." That's a scary thing for that child, but it's also a scary thing for the other children in the classroom: that the adults in this room aren't strong enough to protect me and to keep things safe in the classroom without making children vanish if we do the wrong thing. They're not going to understand what expulsion means. They just understand that they had a relationship with this friend and all of a sudden he's not there anymore. Or all of a sudden she's not there anymore. And from this child's perspective, what does that mean? And from the parent's perspective, too? You're telling me that my child isn't a good fit for school and he's not even made it to school yet? He's only three years old.

I think that's an awful lot for us to wrap our head around as adults. We know from a lot of research that early care and education programs, when they're done at a high level of quality, can have a significant, important, lasting meaningful impact in the lives of children. But early care and education is not a single-edged sword. It's a double-edged sword. If we do it well, we can have tremendous impact for the good, for lots of kids. But if we do it poorly we can hurt a lot of kids. And the last thing that we want early care and education to be is an opportunity for children to experience failure at an even younger age. To see the effects of bias at an even younger age. We need to make sure that these programs are programs that are designed to give kids opportunities, not to show them how fragile their opportunity is at an even younger age.

Rafael Otto: [00:25:07] In 2015, Oregon removed zero tolerance policies in schools focusing on children under the age of 12, but primarily still in the K-12 system. That legislation doesn't address preschool, in part because preschool programs remain largely disconnected from K-12. If you think about Oregon and what we could do as a state, what could happen at the policy level to address that?

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:25:30] We need to quit forgetting about preschool. We're putting money into it, right? We think that it's important enough to fund; we need to be thinking about it as an important policy issue, too. When I talk to decision-makers about early care and education, they largely call it school readiness programs. So conceptually, they are linking these preschool programs to school. They are about helping kids get ready for school. And if we just focus on what's happening in our K-12 system but we avoid thinking about what's happening in our preschool programs, then how effective can we possibly be at

having these programs be a school-readying force? We need to be very cognizant of what's going on in our early care and education programs. Cognizant of the fact, too, that when you're talking about these preschool teachers, that on average across the nation, we're talking about teachers who work more hours in many cases than a kindergarten teacher, but they work it for less than half the pay. And in many cases, they're serving children who are mostly at risk. Because in many states, Oregon included, preschool programs are targeted towards highly financially at risk children. And the teachers are financially at risk, too. Because that's where we're putting those teachers. Because we pay them so poorly. And then the teachers have levels of job stress and depression and all sorts of things, and it can impact their job.

One of the things that I've learned studying early care and education for the past 20-25 years is this: how we treat our preschool teachers is how we treat our babies. How we regard our preschool teachers is how we regard our babies. And if we don't think much about our preschool teachers, it means we're not thinking much about our babies

Rafael Otto: [00:27:14] Some other states are making movement in this area. They're figuring out how to pay their teachers better. They're better connecting preschool to K-5 or K-12. Are there some examples you can point to?

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:27:24] North Carolina for a long time has focused on trying to increase pay equity, but also trying to create loan forgiveness programs so that when people take out a student loan and they become a preschool teacher that they can get a loan forgiveness for that. It's a challenging thing to try to work out the pay equity element because for a lot of decision-makers they feel it's a bit of a catch-22. Why should I pay these teachers the same as a kindergarten teacher when in many cases they might not have the same level of credentials? But at the same time if you pay them less than half of the kindergarten teacher you're not going to get a teacher with the same level of credential. That becomes a bit of a sticky wicket in terms of like, how do you increase the qualifications of the teachers?

Headstart, for a long time, was trying to creep up the educational level requirement of teachers. But they weren't creeping up the pay along with it. And the problem that that creates is a hiring problem for the directors. Eventually, you get to the point to where the directors now must hire somebody with an upper level credential like a bachelor's degree or something like that but they must pay them at half the rate that they would get if they were in K-12. So in other words, the position we're putting the hirers in - the directors in - is one of them having to hire whoever has got the right degree and is willing to work for that level. Which could also mean whoever has the right degree that no one else will hire. That becomes a big part of the challenge, too. I think what we need to do is we need to realize that K-12 is fairly well subsidized by the government; preschool is not. Even higher education is subsidized by the government. These are public schools, they get public money to help support them. In many cases, unless it's a program specifically for low income children, there's no public subsidy going into this, or the public subsidy is at such a low rate per child that they can't afford to pay the teachers a decent level of pay.

But the problem is even greater than that. What we do is, when we combine them with what we were talking about before, about providing teachers with supports, what we're doing is: we're paying teachers terribly and then we don't even give them supports. We need to decide we're going to do at least one of those two things. If we're going to pay you that bad, then we're going to give you the supports that you need.

Rafael Otto: [00:29:44] Thank you for coming into the CI offices today. It's been a pleasure talking with you and I'm glad we could do it in person here in Portland.

Dr. Walter Gilliam: [00:29:50] Well, thank you so much, Rafael and thank you for what you do. You're doing an incredibly important thing by describing what it's like to be in a preschool classroom and by being a communication person for this field. We can't get this field where we need it to be if people can't understand what's happening. And you're the mouthpiece for an entire field and you're the mouthpiece for a whole hope for our babies so thank you for what you do.

Rafael Otto: [00:30:15] Much appreciated. Thank you.

Rafael's Daughter: This show is brought to you by Children's Institute,

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Rafael's Daughter: Thanks for listening!