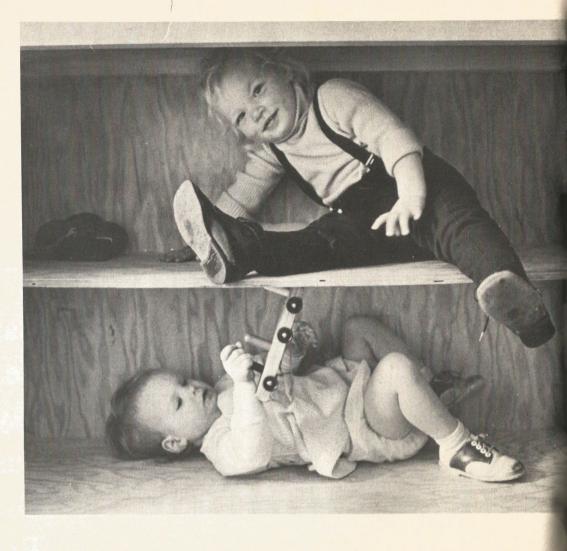


The Day Care Book

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I. The Case for Universal Day Care

... Barb Cameron and Lesley Towers

Introduction

The need for large scale group care for children has recently caught the interest of many people. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women brought to light the many hazardous and otherwise poor care arrangements that children are submitted to because of a lack of decent day care facilities:

If a mother has to work due to economic necessity, she has to have day care for her children. If day care centres are not available, these children are entrusted to relatives or strangers, and for some the arrangements are completely inadequate and even harmful.(1)

In the last year alone, there have been numerous forums and meetings about the right to obtain day care, and people are beginning to organize around this issue. So aroused is public opinion on day care that few politicians will be able to avoid stating their position on it.

Since World War II there has been a growing realization that group child care is beneficial to children. This realization comes largely as a result of women's increasing participation in the work force, a trend which promises to continue. The old myths and misconceptions about women will be greatly altered by their work experience.

This article is meant to provide information about many aspects of day care in Canada; for example, what is universal public day care, who should pay for it, and how do we get it? We hope that it will help to elucidate some of the ideas and problems surrounding the issue. It should be used to encourage thought, discussion and action.

What is a Day Care Centre?

A day care centre is a place where children are cared for by trained staff in a group situation. Day care is not a baby sitting arrangement, but a situation in which the mental, physical and emotional development of children is encouraged. A day care centre offers a full day programme, while a nursery school offers half day care?

In Ontario, day care centres are

supervised by the Day Nurseries Branch of the Ontario Department of Family and Social Services, and come under the Ontario Day Nurseries Act. This Act regulates such things as staff and health requirements, the amount of indoor and outdoor play area required per child, the type of equipment and furnishings needed.

There are three types of day care centres:

- (1) Private or Commercial. These day care centres are operated by private individuals for profit. Together with private, non-profit day care, they make up 85 per cent of day care in Ontario.
- (2) Private, non-profit. Private day care centres are operated by non-profit agencies; for example, churches, United Appeal, parents' groups.
- (3) Municipal. Municipal day care centres are operated by the welfare or social services departments of municipal governments, and make up 15 per cent of day care in Ontario, and only 2 per cent in Canada as a whole.(2) With the construction of 64 day nurseries under Project Day Care, the proportion of public centres in Ontario may rise to 30 per cent.

More will be said about Project Day Care later.

Day care centres at this time are available only to the wealthy parents who can pay the costs of this care and to some of those people who can "prove" that they are needy, and so receive subsidy. They are inaccessible to the average working parent, or to the mother wanting to look for work.

Who Needs Day Care?

WORKING MOTHERS DO

A great number of studies carried out in the past few years have documented the desperate need for day care in Canada. The facts speak for themselves:

—In 1970, 58 per cent of all employed women were married. The figure is higher for Ontario.(3)

—In 1966, 82 per cent of the 125,000 one-parent families in Ontario were headed by women.

—In Ontario during 1970, there were 135,000 children under six whose mothers worked; at the same time, there were less than 10,000 places in

full day care, private and municipal.(4)

find Mothers who cannot adequate day care services must spend many hours searching for suitable care arrangements with private sitters and, of course, pay for this from their own usually inadequate wages. In 1971 the government allowed mothers to deduct their child care expenses from their taxable income. However, the women who care for these children in their homes must now declare this income. The government will gain extra tax revenue in this venture from those who are least likely to be able to afford it.

Often, baby sitting arrangements are made with mothers who have their own children. Despite their good intentions, their own domestic responsibilities and lack of training leave them little time or energy to devote to the children's development. Usually the women care for these children to make extra money they could not otherwise earn. In other cases, young women, untrained for other jobs, work as full time baby sitters. Still other parents must

arrange alternate work shifts so that they can care for their own children. This results in the parents seldom seeing each other and having little time for relaxation and social activities.

MOTHERS AT HOME DO

Official estimates of the need for day care usually look at the needs of mothers already in the work force and ignore the needs of women at home. Since World War II we have seen the rapid rise of half day nursery schools initiated by mothers who recognized day care as an important educational experience for their children, and who felt the need for time away from the children. Nursery schools, however, are expensive; and so the educational experience for the children and the freedom for the mothers are not accessible to most families.

Another important group of mothers at home are those who would enter the labour force, continue their education, or take job retraining, if good day care were widely available. Right now, the expense and poor quality of child care arrangements give many women little choice but to

remain at home until their children reach school age. The fact that more and more women are re-entering the work force once their children are school age suggests a growing interest in working on the part of women. Until we have good quality day care centres available to all women who want them, we cannot speak of women's free choice between home and work.

SINGLE PARENTS DO

For single parents the need for day care is obviously even more acute. A single parent, unless very well off, or living on welfare, must find day care arrangements. All the problems parents have are compounded in the situation of the single parent.

The present day care facilities are completely inadequate in fulfilling the needs of these parents. To an extent the government does subsidize single parents, but should they earn more than a basic wage, they must carry the cost of day care fees themselves. The cost of day care can take up a third of such a parent's salary. In most cases, the mother is

the parent and almost invariably receives less salary than the average man.

The parent on welfare is virtually at the mercy of the government. On welfare, the parent cannot afford to have anyone else care for the child, producing an unhealthy situation for both child and parent. Only through elaborate red tape and reference letters can such a parent obtain permission to send his or her child to day care. Parents just off welfare and at work run the risk of receiving minimum wages; if they should happen to earn more, they lose their government assistance.

The government must recognize the needs of parents subsisting on more than a minimum wage. Day care is no longer a privilege; it is a necessity.

CHILDREN DO

In recent years, attitudes toward group child care have changed dramatically. Not so long ago the common belief was that "institutional" care and separation from the mother of young children did irreparable damage. This attitude

was based on studies of children done in such institutions as orphanages. More recent evidence shows that the damage done to these children resulted from lack of human affection and even of cruel treatment.

Psychologists and other experts now agree that group care of children with staff in a supervised and loving environment contributes to the child's mental, emotional and physical development. Children benefit positively from a stimulating environment and stable, loving relationships. At the day care centre they form friendships and have access to play and educational materials which they would never have at home. In organizing their own nursery schools and co-operatives. parents have recognized that day care centres can provide rich experiences with other children and adults not usually available in the confines of the family.

There is a growing body of evidence disproving the view that children under two need a "mother figure." However, the Department of Social and Family Services does not seem to have recognized any change in attitudes toward under-two care. Almost no government infant care is available in Ontario. Recently, one "experimental" public centre for 12—16 babies opened in East Toronto. When government officials at public forums have been challenged on the lack of infant care offered, they all too often have replied that women ought to be at home with their children, not going out to work for "luxuries" while avoiding their responsibilities.

Many parents and social workers are no longer asking if group child care is good for children; this has been proven in theory and in practice. They are saying that if day care is good for some children, then it is good for all children—not just the needy and the wealthy.

Universal Day Care

The term universal day care means day care facilities for everyone, regardless of income or economic status, who wants to make use of them. In other words, universal day care would be accessible to working and non-working parents regardless of income. It would,

therefore, require a large network of low-cost or no-fee day care centres. The government would necessarily play a large role.

Government Role

Before World War II day care centres were supported by charity and provided for some needy families where the mother had to work. Public support of day care began during the war when the demand for female labour was great. Under the War Time Day Nurseries Act, the federal and provincial governments split the operating and capital costs of centres. each paying 50 per cent. The surface of the need was only scratched, but under this programme a number of nurseries were quickly built in the industrial centres of Ontario, Besides these, many make-shift centres, with largely volunteer staffs, were set up to meet the crisis.

Government, however, was reluctant to assume a continuing responsibility for day care. Immediately after the war, three-quarters of the nurseries were closed down, despite mounting opposition by

parents' groups. To ensure that day care did not grow, the federal government withdrew its financial support, and called upon the municipalities to pay 50 per cent of the operating costs of day care and all of the capital costs (i.e. for construction and renovation). This placed the burden on the level of government with the least revenue and effectively hindered the movement of parents trying to keep the wartime nurseries open. Between 1946 and 1960 the number of public day care centres in Toronto stayed static at 15.

During this same period the number of women in the work force, particularly married women, increased dramatically. Private operators saw the need and the chance to make profits and set up day care centres.

Pressure from professional groups and parents eventually forced the government to take more responsibility. In 1966 the federal government again became involved in day care, this time under the Canada Assistance Plan. Under this Welfare Act the federal government

paid 50 per cent of the operating costs of day care for low income families, the province paid 30 per cent and the municipality 20 per cent. In 1966, too, the province agreed to share the cost of renovating old buildings, although not to build new ones, for day care centres. In 1971 the province of Ontario finally undertook to pay 80 per cent of the capital costs of day care centres (land costs, construction of buildings, furnishings), leaving the municipality 20 per cent. One million dollars was put aside for this purpose, a very small amount indeed.

Parents in Ontario realized a small windfall during the 1971 provincial election in the form of a day care construction programme called Project Day Care. During his campaign Premier Davis designated \$10 million for the total capital costs of all child care centres which could be constructed by May 31, 1972. According to Project Day Care, 64 full day nurseries will be constructed in Ontario under this temporary programme. This will increase the capacity of public nurseries in the province from approximately 2,200 to 5,000. Several months before the

election, however, legislation was passed authorizing "Family Day Care," a social welfare subsidized programme, as a viable alternative.(5) This, we fear, is the real position of the provincial government toward "solving" the day care needs of Ontario parents.

Pressure by day care associations and parents' groups has improved government involvement over the past few years. (However, the main problem still remains: the municipality, the level of government with the least revenue, must still initiate day care centres. Project Day Care estimates that the cost of building a 45-place nursery is \$155,400, 20 per cent of which is still \$31,080. If Metropolitan Toronto wished to build centres for only another 5,000 of its pre-school children, it would have to pay three and one half million dollars toward the total. This figure excludes the operating costs which would continue year after year. Twenty per cent is much less than the 100 per cent of pre-1971, but it is still a large amount municipal budget. anv Municipalities do not have either the resources or the mandate to initiate mass day care. A federal long-term planning body and a national child care department is needed to back up such a large-scale project. The recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women that other provinces adopt the Ontario formulation and legislation does not solve the problem of the municipal role. If parents and children in Canada are to receive the day care they need, the federal and provincial governments must assume complete responsibility for the capital and operating costs of day care.

Welfare Approach

Day care is now under the welfare departments at the federal (Canada Assistance Plan, Department of Health and Welfare), provincial (Day Nurseries Branch of the Social and Family Services) and municipal (Welfare Department of the City of Toronto) levels. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women was clear in its opposition to the welfare approach to day care:

We believe the Canada Assistance Plan to be inappropriate because it is limited to welfare measures. We conter that a day care centi programme must be conceived on much broader lines. It must be designed for all families who need it and wish to use it. Nothing short of this kind of programme can give Canadian women the help they need in the vital task of caring for their children. (6)

Despite this opposition, however, the Canadian government is likely to try and keep day care within the confines of the Canada Assistance Plan. As long as day care remains legislatively and administratively within welfare, government is committed to day care only for some low-income families and not for all Canadian parents and children. Getting the federal and provincial governments to commit themselves to day care for all parents and children who need it will require a hard fight.

Department of Education

It has been suggested that day care be administered through the Department of Education and be considered an extension of the public school system. There are both pros and cons to this argument. Since public schools are usually located in the neighbourhood, parents could avoid the confusion of taking young children on crowded transit to and from their place of care each day. All the children, pre-school and school age, would be at the same place, close to home. Secondly, day care in the school would establish it as an accepted and universal right, like primary education, not as a charitable gift to needy families, or as a high-cost privilege to wealthy ones.

The problems with the Department of Education are largely financial. Education is administered provincially and has been financed mainly by municipal property taxes. Only in 1971 did the provincial government increase its share of educational costs to 50 per cent; in Metro Toronto, the provincial gov-

ernment contributes still less. The provincial government's long-term goal is to cover two-thirds of these costs. This cost-sharing arrangement between the provincial and municipal governments has been a serious burden for homeowners, as the necessary expenditures for education in our society continually rise. The additional tax levy for day care on homeowners would be impossible for them to bear. Also, this arrangement would leave day care as the responsibility of the province and municipalities, as it is now for the most part.

National Day Care Act

The Royal Commission on the Status of Women recommended that the federal government, in agreement with the provinces, adopt a National Day Care Act to provide the framework for financing and initiating a national day care programme. Of course, because of the bi-national character of Canada, Quebec should develop its own system for mass day care. In doing this, it could simply receive a transfer of tax

points from Ottawa. The Commission also recommended that each province set up a board responsible for the establishment and supervision of day care centres and that National Health and Welfare establish a unit for consultation on child care services.

These recommendations correctly place the responsibility for initiating day care at the provincial rather than the municipal level, call for an important federal government role in financing a day care programme, as well as a National Day Care Act. The federal role could be strengthened even further with a Day Care or Child Care Department. The winning of a National Day Care Act will be an important step in the fight for day care.

What About Cost?

John Humphrey, in his minority report to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, estimated that if all pre-school Canadian children used day care facilities, the operating costs alone would be two and one half billion dollars per year. A rough

estimate of those operating costs of universal day care for Toronto might be \$200 million annually.

Remember, these figures exclude capital costs. The expense involved in the initial building and renovation of enough centres for all Canadian children would be very large indeed.

Is Universal Day Care Possible?

Universal day care is an expensive proposition. The two and one half billion dollars mentioned above exceeds the 1971 defense budget of \$1.8 billion. Therefore, such a decision would require radical changes of priority in government spending.

The idea, however, that mass day care is an impossible financial burden—that Canada could not afford it—is ridiculous. A number of industrial countries in Europe, few as rich in potential as Canada, are setting out to build day care on a large scale. It is unthinkable that a country with the vast resources and industrial potential of Canada could not provide for its children's care.

How Should Day Care Be Financed?

PARENTS FEES?

One common suggestion is that the operating costs of day care be transferred directly to the parents, either through a flat rate per child, or on a sliding scale of fees based on the parents' income. Both these schemes require public funds (income tax revenue) to cover the capital costs.

The Royal Commission on the Status of Women suggests a sliding scale of fees combined with increased child care allowances. Under this plan, public funds would be required for the increased allowances, for the capital costs and for subsidies to low-income parents. Besides the stigma attached to subsidized families, two important disadvantages to this plan are (1) the increased burden to the tax payer and (2) the enormous bureaucratic costs required to constantly re-evaluate parents' changing incomes.

A more general criticism can be made of the proposal of financing day care through parents' fees. A social service, be it highways, education, or day care should not be viewed only as the responsibility of its users. It is impractical and outdated to consider the care and education of the future generation of Canadians as the private responsibility of their parents. It is unreasonable to assume that working parents, whose median combined income is \$7,032 (7) can afford the fees required to support a good day care programme.

INCOME TAXES?

The money for social welfare services in Canada comes primarily from taxes on the income of working people. Many Canadians feel that their income after taxes is barely adequate and in many cases inadequate for survival. They resist further taxes recognizing that corporate income in Canada is taxed much less heavily than personal income, and that taxes on the income of working people often go to subsidize the operations of large American corporations in Canada. Governments could all too easily use the threat of increased personal income taxes to discourage us from 12 demanding universal day care. In-

creased government support of day care will only be possible with substantial changes in the Canadian tax laws. We must not permit the financial costs for day care to be placed on the already over-burdened tax payer.

ORGANIZATIONS?

It has been suggested that trade unions provide day care facilities for their members, financed by union dues. Although there is at least one such centre in Canada, this proposal has the same disadvantages as "parents' fees" and "increased income taxes." Here also, the money would be drawn from the pockets of the wage earner. Leaving day care to be initiated and financed by organizations allows the government to abdicate its own responsibility for initiating this much-needed service. Of course, those unions who do seek to win day care from their employers during their negotiations should have our full support.

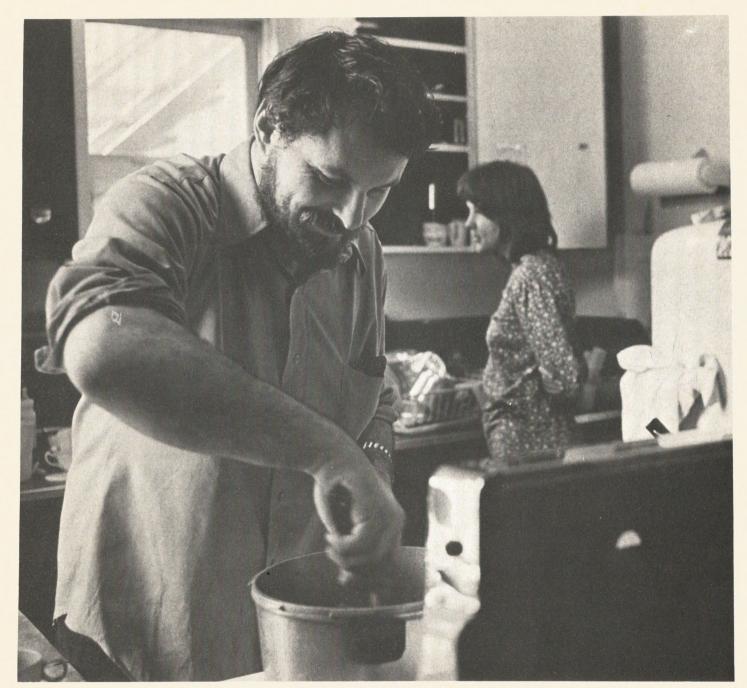
CORPORATION TAXES?

As a social service to all Canadians, day care should be financed out of the collective wealth

of our society. Unfortunately, most of that wealth is at present under the control of a few large American corporations and not available to meet the needs of the Canadian people. The Canadian federal government has done virtually nothing to return even a fraction of this wealth to the people. Until last year Canada was the only western country with no capital gains tax. Even this tax falls far short of what most other countries have instituted.

The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, in their submission to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, makes the following argument for corporate financing of day care:

The federal government should raise funds by means of a capital gains tax to provide revenues to the provincial governments to cover the costs of constructing and operating the centres and training the staff....WE necessarv SUGGEST INDUSTRY FINANCING SINCE IT IS INDUSTRY THAT RECEIVES THE BENEFIT OF WOMEN WORKING. (emphasis added)



Taxes on corporate profits and the removal of tax exemptions and subsidies to American owned branch plants could provide the revenue for the government's share of day care financing.

Corporations, as we know, are not passive in the defense of their enormous "piece of the pie." One of their common tactics is to pass on their increased costs to the consumer in higher prices. These attempts would have to be resisted by stringent federal government legislation.

Alternatives, Supplements

PROFIT-MAKING DAY CARE

Municipal and provincial governments are making great use of private profit-making day care centres. Instead of building public day care facilities in the quantities in which they are needed, the municipal government "purchases services" for low-income families in privately-run centres. Non-subsidized parents pay from \$60 to \$90 a month per child for care. Under this system only the wealthy or a few of those who can "prove" that they are needy can take

advantage of such programmes. The majority of working parents are left out.

Some people are suggesting that a solution to the day care crisis would be the expansion of private day care through low-interest loans or increased government subsidies. In the short run such a "solution" would save the government putting out money for capital expenditures. However, in the long run, it is the parents and other tax payers who will be paying for these business enterprises. In the United States. government subsidies to profitmaking day care encouraged large corporations to develop chains of franchised day care on the model of Mac's Milk or Chicken Delight. There is already at least one chain in Canada based in Winnipeg.

· Private nurseries, like private schools, will continue to exist no matter what public day care is established. Some wealthy parents will no doubt wish their children to have a special private education. Such nurseries, however, should not be supported by tax through government subsidy.

Leaving day care in the hands of private enterprise would be the same thing as allowing business to run the school system. Why should young children be the source of profit for private enterprise?

FAMILY DAY CARE

Many social workers government officials are suggesting that family day care is the solution to the lack of day care for children under two. Family day care is similar to private baby sitting, where one woman looks after her own children and the children of other families in her own home. The difference is that family day care will be supervised by a social welfare agency and will be eligible for government subsidy to low-income parents. Bill 110, passed in 1971, provides for provincial support of family day care and although the regulations are not drawn up yet, welfare officials understand that they will be similar to those of private nurseries, in which 80 per cent of the costs will be subsidized in a purchasing of services arrangement. Canadian Mothercraft, a Torontobased infant training programme, already has a Manpower course functioning to train home care workers.

The two advantages of Family Day Care are said to be (1) the low cost, and (2) a mother "substitute" instead of group care for children under two. In examining these claims we can make use of a Vancouver study done during the summer of 1971 of the already existing British Columbia system of family day care. Family day care is cheaper for the government than the care of children in day care centres, especially since infant care is more costly in personnel and services than other pre-school care. However, the main reason for the low cost is the exploitation of the women who care for the children in their own homes. In the words of the Vancouver study:

It is clear that in paying subsidy rates of \$2.75 per day per child for this baby sitting care as opposed to \$3.50 per day for group care, B.C.'s government believes it is getting a bargain...the true cost of day care is actually a minimum of

\$4.60 a day ... all bargains involve extra costs for someone somewhere. Clearly these hidden costs which permit the provincial government's bargain in family day care are borne by family day care workers themselves. (8)

The wage paid to the family day care workers in Vancouver is \$1.02 an hour during an average working day of ten hours. Out of this low wage must come the extra costs of the child's food, equipment, extra laundering, power, house depreciation and repair. Once these costs are taken into consideration, the average wage of the family day care workers was about half the minimum wage!

Another argument used by advocates of family day care is that children under two or three are better off with a "mother substitute" than in a group care situation. Based on observations and interviews in family day care homes, the Vancouver group concluded that there was no evidence that children get more individual attention in a family day care setting, where a woman is concerned with maintaining

her own home and caring for her own family, than in a day care centre. They found that with very few exceptions, the care being given children was mere baby sitting involving little stimulation. They conclude that "small groups of babies can certainly be as well cared for in a a section of a centre designed for their own age groups as they can be in a home—while a centre has resources which can enrich the babies' environment in ways which the family day care mother cannot."

The argument about mothersubstitutes is merely another way of the government saying that mothers have no real business being in the work force if they have husbands to support them. This argument, as well as being an inaccurate assumption, is also anti-woman. The government is, however, very serious about family day care as the main alternative to mass public care. In spite of the recent expenditure of \$10 million in Ontario for public centres, these will accommodate only 2,900 more children; the family day care bill passed represents a real threat to the achievement of universal day care.



CO-OPERATIVE CARE CENTRES

A co-op is a service, organized and run by a group of parents with a common need and often shared philosophy of child care. Day care co-ops can be "participating," where parents work as volunteers or "non-participating" where parents are involved only in administration.

Groups of parents who have initiated co-ops in Ontario have run up against a number of problems. The standards of the Day Nurseries Branch were drawn up in the days before parent co-ops existed, to safeguard the public against unscrupulous private operators. Co-op participants agree that minimum health and safety regulations are necessary, but feel that as parents, they should be able to choose their own staff regardless of their formal qualifications. At the moment, the Day Nurseries Branch seems to be adhering rigidly to its own regulations and hindering the development of some co-ops.

Another problem community groups face in setting up parent coops is the lack of funds. Co-ops are now subject to the same treatment as

commercial operators and receive no capital grants at all and are only eligible for operating costs in the form of government subsidies after the centre is licensed. Many groups cannot raise the money necessary to meet the licensing standard and the result has been the failure in the past few years of a number of badly needed centres.

Besides promoting parent control, co-ops have filled an important gap between expensive private day care and unavailable public day care. We do not, however, feel that parent co-operatives can be the basis of a government financed system of day care in our present society. The strength and weakness of parent coops is that they place the burden of organizing facilities on the parents. In a growing number of families, both parents work an eight-hour day, often at very tiring jobs and simply do not have the time to participate actively in the day care centre. One result of demanding that day care centres be parent co-operatives would be that the people most in need of day care services—working parents—would be the last to obtain them.

We do feel that parents who have the time and resources to become involved in co-operative day care should not be penalized by inflexible government regulations. Many of the problems could be solved by government legislation which would distinguish parent co-operatives from commercial day care and allow parents the right to choose their own staff. In addition, we feel that cooperatives (parent, community or work place) should be eligible for capital grants to initiate day care centres and operating grants on the same basis as public day care.

WORK PLACE DAY CARE

Some trade unionists feel that their locals, too, should be eligible for capital grants and operating costs in the same way as municipal centres. They could then negotiate for the remainder of the capital expenses with the employers. These efforts may go a long way toward solving the day care problem of those women who are organized into trade unions. Others argue that industries which employ large numbers of women

should be required to set up day care centres in their work places.

While agreeing that industry benefits most from the employment of women and should pay much of the costs of day care, there are also disadvantages to locating day care in the typical work place. Unionists fighting for this will need to be well aware of these dangers. The biggest danger is that work place day care could be used to meet the needs of the employer rather than the women workers. It could be used to attract women to low-paying jobs and could hinder them from transferring to better paid work.

During times of strikes or other labour-management crises, the employers could shut down work place day care and interfere with the fight for better working conditions. And, very likely, businesses providing these "services" would receive government subsidies or tax deductions. Two practical drawbacks in work place day care would be the necessity of taking children to work on crowded transit and the unsuitable surroundings of many work places for child care.

Some workers may decide they prefer work place to neighbourhood care; if, for example, there are suitable parks and facilities present. Their unions might then fight for day care as part of the contract. These efforts should definitely be supported.

We feel however that the majority of parents would prefer day care located in their community. A study undertaken in a west end factory during the summer of 1971 showed that the vast majority of these working women would prefer neighbourhood child care. If labour unions provided backing for a popular campaign for day care, the result could be day care for everyone and not just for those workers fortunate enough to have a union.

Times

Most existing day care centres are open from 7:30 a.m. until 6:00 p.m., completely by-passing the needs of many women who begin work before 7:00 a.m. and many others who do shift work. According to a 1967 study carried out by the 18 Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 26 per

cent of working mothers work during the evening shift. To serve all women, day care centres should be open from 6:00 a.m. until 12:30 every day of the week. For those parents who work night shifts, one or more centres in every area of the city should be open 24 hours a day.

Day Care Workers

Most day care workers (or nursery school teachers, as they are formally called) now take a 2-year training programme following grade 12 at one or another of the many community colleges. Ryerson has a 3year course following grade 13 which it is now trying to lengthen to a 4-year degree course.

Mothercraft has had the only infant care training, but this 1-year course is considered insufficient for the municipality nurseries. Now, one of the George Brown courses trains its students to care for children from the age of six months to five years.

Traditionally, the pay in the day care field has been very low. While it is better now than previously, a person with two years post-secondary education still earns as little as \$4,700 a year in nurseries. To increase qualifications and subsequently pay, the care worker writes examinations. If a day care worker leaves the job, and later returns, she loses her seniority and must begin again at the bottom of the pay scale. One reason for the low remuneration for day care personnel is that it is primarily a woman's field. The few men who do enter it apparently obtain administrative jobs. Jobs which relate to the "mother role" are assumed to be "natural" for women and therefore sufficiently rewarding in themselves.

The exclusion of men from child rearing and early childhood education is just one of the long-established stereotypes of men's and women's roles in society. Children learn early that for a man to become involved in child rearing is undignified and "unmanly." In spite of the almost religious adulation heaped on women throughout history for raising children, children really occupy a low priority in our society. Were this not so, child care jobs would not be so low paying, discouraging many talented people from entering this field; and women would not be channeled into them with such insistence while being discouraged from entering many other fields.

It is in the interests of parents and children that universal day care should exist and that the quality of that care be high. Parents share many interests with day care workers and should support their demands for better training programmes, decent pay and jobs upon graduation.

Conclusion

Some of the problems and alternatives of how to achieve mass day care and why it is needed have been presented in the body of this article. We have tried throughout to indicate which choices we think are better than others. At this point, it is perhaps useful to reiterate what, in our view, the crucial problems are and how they possibly could be attacked.

First, Canada needs a long-term plan for building mass day care, with strong federal legislation. A National Day Care Act administered by a Child Care Department committed to building universal day care would probably serve this purpose. We must be on guard against attempts by the federal government to side-step the issue through expanded home care, etc., which would serve to provide stop-gap measures through cheap labour costs.

Second, the costs for day care must not be shouldered by working people. The federal government should seek revenue from those large corporate interests who, on the one hand, have made relatively small repayment to the Canadian people for their gains and, on the other hand, benefit considerably from the employment of women.

Third, there must be an extensive network of both infant care and of after-school programmes for youngsters of school age. Also, we feel that day care should be located in the community, except where employees wish work place care for their children. The centres should be open at times necessary to meet the needs of all women, such as those who do shift work.

Finally, we should support the demands of child care workers for

decent pay, job security and meaningful training programmes.

LESLEY TOWERS has worked for the Ontario Anti-Poverty Organization and the Praxis Day Care Project and is active in the women's movement.

BARB CAMERON is presently teaching in the Women's Course at the University of Toronto and working on a master's degree in Political Science. She was previously a member of the Praxis Day Care Project.





II.

Working Together for Alternatives

Introduction

Should day care centres be run by the government, by local peoples' groups, by business and industry or by unions? Where should they be situated—near people's homes or near their work? The argument for universal day care charges the government with the responsibility of initiating and financing child care centres, in much the same way as it now does schools. But those concerned with the changing conditions and life styles in our society will be moved to ask themselves: what is the best environment for the child? What is the best kind of day care?

Experiments such as Northwest Communicare and Campus Cooperative Day Care Centres are providing alternate models for child care, ones in which parents and staff have equal voice in determining their centre's structure and philosophy.

The parent-control model of the Campus Co-operative Centre. because of its flexible and unbureaucratic approach to group child care, is contributing a great deal to innovation in the field of day care. Myra Novogrodsky explains how a centre in which parents actively participate is the best environment for the emotional and physical development of the child. The parentinvolvement nature of Northwest Communicare, operated by and for working parents, dispells some of the myths that full-time workers cannot respond to the demands of a parent co-operative.

Industrial day care is a solution to the problem increasingly talked about by the union movement. This form of day care would mean establishing a centre for children in or around the work place, be it factory, office or educational institution. Such a centre can be set up by a union or jointly by union and management. As Grace Hartman points out, a few employers have felt the need to build day care centres at their work site, but by far the majority of factories and industries still turn a blind eye toward the hundreds of working parents who stream to work every day.

The problem of day care is far too complex to propose one simple answer. Work place, co-operative and parent-controlled day care all have draw-backs. They are supplements and tangible alternatives to a universal day care programme. It is only through ongoing discussion and efforts to promote day care that we will make it the learning and fulfilling experience for children and parents for which it has the potential.

Don't Leave It to the Experts

The Campus Co-operative Day Care Centre

...Myra Novogrodsky

It was three years ago when I was a student at the College of Education, University of Toronto, that I first developed a profound suspicion of "experts." I spent a year hearing that rebellious students were "deviant," that teachers should strive to be more "professional" and that it was extremely dangerous for teachers to become too "friendly" with their students. But when that very, very long year was finished, I knew almost nothing about teaching.

That same year I began to do volunteer work at the parent-controlled Sussex Day Care Centre. Although I'd had little experience with infants I was immediately welcomed as a worker and invited to attend meetings of parents, co-ordinators and volunteers to discuss policy and philosophy. There were no experts at Sussex. We learned by trial and error and within a few months we were running a darned good day care centre. By the end of the year as my own belly swelled with child I knew a lot about infants.

Meanwhile, back in the public schools, despite an ever-increasing

number of experts, school drop-out rates continued to soar, inner-city children were still reading 3—4 years behind grade level and hundreds of lonely, alienated teachers left their "profession." In the outside world, women were still conditioned to believe that their place was in the home; and parents were still made to feel guilt (however private and repressed), about choosing to leave their infants in day care centres.

My own son first visited Sussex when he was three weeks and was a regular at three months. These past years have convinced me that parent-controlled day care is a viable and healthy option which should be supported and encouraged.

A parent-controlled co-operative is a community in which paid staff, parents, and volunteers work together to provide the best possible environment for the children. It can be a community where people fight and laugh and learn together—where people have a real sense of doing something worthwhile together.

A parent-controlled co-operative can provide continuous education for

all its members. Parents can regularly discuss language development, sex stereotyping, competition and co-operation among children, comparative child-rearing, nutrition, health, art, music, toys and games for children. Together, they can gain increased understanding of their children, themselves and the society in which they live.

The argument that parents are apathetic and do not care about the quality of care their children receive is fallacious. What is true is that many parents are intimidated by the existing institutions and are ignorant of alternatives. Most parents have a deep and lively interest in their children's lives and will strive to be well-informed and serious if they have real power to influence decisions.

The essential characteristic of a parent-controlled co-operative is that key decisions are made by parents, volunteers and staff. At Sussex, when it is necessary, the people consult with members of an Advisory Board, including a doctor, a social worker and a psychologist. But these advisors

do not set policy. They are knowledgeable people whose opinions are appreciated and considered, but they do not make final decisions. This is substantially different from day care centres where parents are allowed to assist within the centres, but important decisions about staffing, programme, admission procedures and fee schedules are made by one administrator or a board which is not directly accountable to the larger community.

Parents in co-operative day care centres do make mistakes. Certainly. But while experts often experiment with children, justify poor decisions and delay important decisions in long, bureaucratic processes, parents have an interest in correcting mistakes quickly.

The movement for parentcontrolled co-operative day care is part of a greater general movement for increased control of our lives and our institutions. In day care centres, as in schools and communities, ordinary angry citizens are slowly rising to demand the democratization of institutions too long controlled by an elite corps of inflated experts who have no accountability to any community. Only by fighting to control our institutions will we begin to regain some control over our lives.

MYRA NOVOGRODSKY holds a B.A. and B. Ed., teaching occasionally for the Toronto Board of Education. She presently holds the position of editor of the Community Schools Magazine.



Nobody Will If We Don't

Northwest Communicare Day Care Centre

...Susan Bickell

It is the undeniable right of every parent registered in Northwest Communicare to share in control of what happens there at every level—be it the day to day care of their child or policy decisions on the Board level. I feel that all parents should take an active part in that control, if at all possible. It is easier to exert control over things if you know exactly what's going on there; and the best way to do that is to become involved. (1)

The Northwest Communicare Day Care Centre is a unique centre, for Hamilton, and for most other cities in Canada. It is a co-operative community organized centre, with an emphasis on parental involvement not found in most Canadian day care centres.

The parents whose children are in this centre have an interesting tale to tell. They have undergone major changes in administrative policy while developing their own philosophy of childhood education. Members of the Victoria Park and Northwest

Community Organization were responsible for initiating the centre, when in November of 1969 they conducted a survey of their community's need for day care.

Armed with their results, they began to organize a day care centre. Meeting after meeting ensued, with city officials, with Nursery School Association representatives. The minister of Zion United Church who was a member of the community group, offered space in his church for the centre. Their first steps were successful!

But soon the parents discovered their involvement wasn't finished. While the space at the church was ideal, major renovations were necessary to build recreational areas and to bring the washroom and kitchen facilities up to government standards, standards orignally set for commercial centres. For these capital investments, fund raising had to be undertaken. The residents of the Victoria Park area didn't give up. The group obtained a grant of \$3,500 from the Hamilton City Council, \$4,500 from the Junior League of Hamilton

and \$1,000 from the Evangelism and Social Service Board of the United Church. With a pledge of \$9,500 Northwest Communicare planned its opening for September 1970. (After opening, the centre received operating grants from both the United Steel and United Electrical Workers unions.)

At the beginning, the Communicare centre adhered to quite a traditional structure. Licensed by the Day Nurseries Branch, it hired a director and two certified teachers. A board of twelve members was elected, with special consultants (in medicine, law, etc.) invited to advise and generally assist in the decision making of the board.

While community involvement had been vital to the establishment of the centre, it was not integrated into the traditional structure. During the first year of operation, only the director was allowed to speak at board meetings. By the end of the year, the centre's enrollment had increased to capacity and a major change in operating policy was adopted. The idea of a hierarchy was rejected and

the responsibility for running the centre shifted from the director to the board and staff. At the same time, the composition of the board changed so that it was larger (15 members) and mainly parents (11 of the 15). All staff were considered equally responsible for the running of the centre and were allowed to participate on the board as long as their combined vote did not exceed one third of the total.

This new administrative policy evolved alongside a new less rigid philosophy of childhood education. The children's ages range from two to ten years and the role of the staff is to provide a loose structure of activities, sometimes simultaneous, within which the children make choices. In this relaxed atmosphere, each child has maximum freedom to grow and express him- or herself:

The structure within the day to day Centre life is very unstructured. The children determine what they will participate in and how they will spend their day within the skeletal structure necessary for a government licensed centre.

The staff of Northwest Communicare was specifically picked because they agree with this concept of child care and guidance. (2)

The staff, who as mentioned previously participate equally in the day to day decisions of the centre with the board, include four full time teachers (two properly certified with the Day Nurseries Branch), two assistant and one part time teachers, a part time secretary, a cookhousekeeper and two caretakers.

Since the hierarchy has broken down, Communicare has reverted to its original goal of being a neighbourhood day care centre. Its present philosophy is that parents are important and should have the power to decide policy in regards to their children's day care. Until recently, for example, the centre offered a taxi service for children whose parents had no car. When some of the parents of "taxi children" ceased to visit the centre entirely, the taxi service was discontinued. Communicare felt that it was absolutely necessary for parents to retain contact with the

centre and its children. If work prevents parents from helping during the day, they are invited to serve as members on committees for fundraising, personnel and hiring, finances, infant care, fees and subsidies and parent participation:

If you cannot afford any time at all, you still have the right to control things, to criticize and to share in deciding how it will be changed whenever you wish to exercise that right...the Centre depends on parent involvement to make the "experiment" work.(3)

While Communicare is not entirely parent-controlled, it does provide the mechanism whereby parents can participate in all the activities of their children's centre and make it a viable co-operative venture.

SUSAN BICKELL is a parent actively involved in the work of a Toronto day care centre and acts as a co-ordinator of the Day Care Organizing Committee.

Child Care: A Right, Not a Privilege

...Grace Hartman

During a recent labour dispute, two slightly embarrassed male library workers joined their female coworkers on the picket lines carrying signs demanding better maternity leave provisions in their new contract. The maternity leave clause was improved, the dispute was settled, and the men went back to work leaving the women virtually holding the baby. Having won the right to take time off to have a child, these employees now joined over half a million other working mothers in Canada who need day care for their children.

The question of whether women belong in the home is now academic at best. Women themselves have answered by going to work in ever increasing numbers. Whether forced by economic considerations, or choosing to increase her personal fulfillment through employment, today's mother is working—and all too often she is working under conditions that are harmful or at least not beneficial to her children.

A 1967 study by the Canadian Council for Social Development showed that 97 per cent of the children of working mothers had no access to day care facilities. Things haven't improved in 1972. Of the one million children of working mothers, over half are under six. Only 12,000 of these 500,000 pre-schoolers are enrolled in day care centres across the country. Despite a constant barrage of commissions, recommendations and proposals, there is little sign that the situation is improving.

Of course, not all of these children are going without care. Some stay with their fathers or other relatives while many go to a neighbour's home. But a shocking 10 per cent—50,000 children—have no regular day care arrangements at all, and statistics cannot reveal the dismal quality of care that too many of the others receive.

Any mother who has looked for day care for her child is familiar with the problems. The day care centre is too far away to walk with a three year old. The child is too young. Most centres will not accept children under two and those that do have a waiting list. The woman who advertizes under "baby services" in the newspaper thinks that child care means turning on a television set and putting your

toddler in front of it. Perhaps the working mother is lucky enough to find an excellent centre nearby then discovers that it isn't open at the hours that coincide with her work shift. Always there is the enormous cost of day care. In a private centre this often runs as high as \$1,800 a year and mothers are lucky to find any care for less than \$25 a week. Since the median wage earned by the mothers who need day care is only \$60 a week, it is not surprising that many of them are forced to make less than adequate arrangements for their children.

Good solutions are possible to the complex problems of day care. Ironically one of the best and most comprehensive programmes for child care in North America, set up in a shipyard in 1944, is now no longer open. Forced by the pressures of the second world war and a lack of manpower, the the Kaiser Shipyards in Portland, Oregon began to use women to build their ships. However, a high rate of absenteeism and employee turnover among these women led Peter Kaiser to investigate. His philosophy of meeting the needs of

employees, whether at home or in the plant, resulted in the establishment of two day care centres at the gates to the shipyards. These centres were planned by the most qualified early childhood educators available. Open every day, 24 hours a day, the centre took children from eighteen month old infants to school children on holidays. They were cared for by a loving and dedicated staff. Facilities were available for children who were mildly ill but required rest and nursing care. Kitchens were set up to provide dinners for the working mother to take home with her at the end of her shift so she would not have the worry of preparing meals. Mending and shopping was done by the centre and counselling for all sorts of family problems was available. The war ended, the men came back to the shipyards and the mothers went home. No centre since then has provided, or attempted to provide, as comprehensive and successful a programme for working mothers and their families.

On-site day nurseries are one answer to the day care dilemma and many employers in the United States are finding this a profitable solution to the problems of high employee turnover. In the garment industry which employs large numbers of females, the turnover rate is often as high as 80 per cent. Yet a day care centre established at Skyland Textile Co. in North Carolina reduced the turnover rate to almost zero. Since the cost of training a new employee often ran as high as \$1,000 the company actually saved money by absorbing the loss of operating the centre. In addition, the rate of absenteeism decreased and productivity increased.

As yet, few Canadian employers feel the need to contribute to the solution of day care problems. The Selig Division of Simmins Ltd., in Elora, Ontario, operates a day care centre for twenty children, and Riverdale Hospital in Toronto, faced with a nursing shortage, has had a successful day nursery for a few years. But these employers are the exception. Far more typical is this response from an official of Maclean-Hunter Ltd: "We assume that if the woman wants to work, she has someone taking care of her children." Ironically, Maclean-Hunter Ltd. publishes Chatelaine magazine, one of the major proponents of more and better day care. Bell Canada, employing a large number of female



workers, say it is "watching" day care ventures of their American counterparts but suggests that the high cost of day care makes it a community responsibility. A spokesman for Electrohome Ltd. is more blunt: "We're not providing it until we can't get female labour without it."

Chances are good that the man from Electrohome will be able to get female labour without day care for quite some time to come. Sixty per cent of female workers are in clerical. sales or service occupations which are traditionally difficult to unionize. Without some union or association. these women are finding it difficult to get decent wages, let alone day care. Unfortunately, those women who are organized within unions don't fare much better. Few unions have been involved in providing day care. In the United States, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the International Ladies Garment Workers have pushed through legislation to establish joint management-labour trust funds for the provision of day care, and some child health care centres were

established under their auspices. In Victoria, B.C., a local of the Public Service Alliance has opened a day care centre for its employees. In its model agreement issued as a guide to negotiators, the Canadian Union of Public Employees includes a clause demanding employer-sponsored day care for its workers. But that clause is always last on the list of demands and the first to be dropped in collective bargaining.

A survey, conducted for the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, on the attitudes of union workers to women in industry revealed that the question of providing day care services to female workers was never considered by union executives or workers. In fact, an overwhelming majority of workers surveyed chose to have married women with young children remain in the home. Even those workers whose wives were employed would have preferred to have them stay home. Although many unions have large female memberships, few women get to positions of leadership. Thus a predominantly male executive which is either indifferent or hostile to working

mothers, is quick to drop day care provisions in favour of what if feels are more important "bread and butter" issues.

The failure of working mothers to achieve a good day care system can to some degree be blamed on themselves. They have not requested, or have requested too gently, that their needs be met by the employers, the unions and the communities that benefit from their work. Too many mothers still feel guilty leaving their child in a situation that may be "bad" for the child. Early studies of institutionalized children showed disastrous results from maternal deprivation and although these studies were of children starved from infancy of any consistent love and affection, the stigma persists. More recent studies show that, far from being harmful, good day care can produce a more independent and selfconfident child.

Compounding their failure to demand on-site nurseries for their employees, labour unions have yet to take up the challenge of operating their own day care centres or financially supporting those groups in the community who wish to start centres.

Many spokesmen of both labour and industry feel that it is the responsibility of government to make day care services available. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women recommended a programme of day care services to be established by the federal and provincial governments that would cost an estimated 500 million dollars. However, governments have not been helpful in Canada. Ontario, thought to have the most progressive day care legislation, will pay 80 per cent of the costs of centres but has been unsuccessful in convincing many municipalities to pick up the tab for the other 20 per cent. Federal legislation on day care has been abysmal. As a sop to working mothers, new legislation allows a deduction of up to \$500 per child under fourteen upon proof that payment was made for child care. The actual cost of day care often exceeds this \$500 maximum. In addition, this apparent relief has actually made more problems than it solved. Many children are cared for in private

homes by women who do not report payment as income. If the mother insists upon a receipt for tax purposes, she may be forced to look elsewhere for day care. A more sensible deduction plan was proposed recently by the Toronto Star. Any mother would be allowed a \$300 deduction per child in much the same way as a charitable deduction of \$100 is allowed without presentation of a receipt. Any amount then spent over \$300 would be deducted upon proof of payment, up to a certain sliding percentage of income. This could reflect more accurately the real amount women pay for day care and still permit many of the private arrangements to continue.

Aside from token tax proposals, the federal government has not encouraged day care. In fact, anyone wishing to read the two studies on day care prepared for the Royal Commission on the Status of Women will find that these files have been closed by the government until 1981. But the crisis in day care will not disappear during the decade that these studies sit on the shelf.

As mothers begin to realize that

day care is not only necessary but good for their children, they are beginning to demand day care as a right. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women stated: "Equal opportunity for women means little in reality without supporting community services, including day care centres." Women must now demand from their employers, from their unions, and from their governments a comprehensive day care programme at reasonable cost. They must also demand that all facets of society recognize not only the necessity of day care but also its benefits. For good day care is more than just care. It means children learning their own worth and respecting the worth of others. It means children expanding their community from one mother, one house, one family to that of an extended "family" made up of many different places, children and adults. It is not something to be given to women as a privilege but rather to be demanded by them as a right.

GRACE HARTMAN is the National Secretary-Treasurer of the Canadian Union of Public Employees.







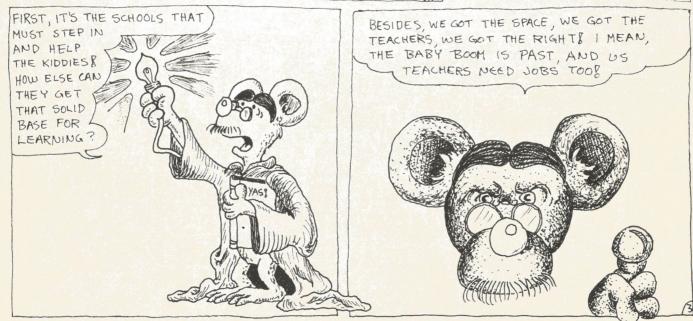






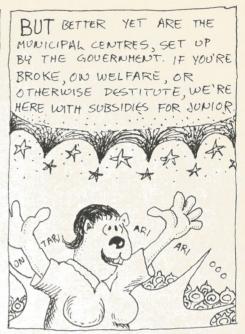






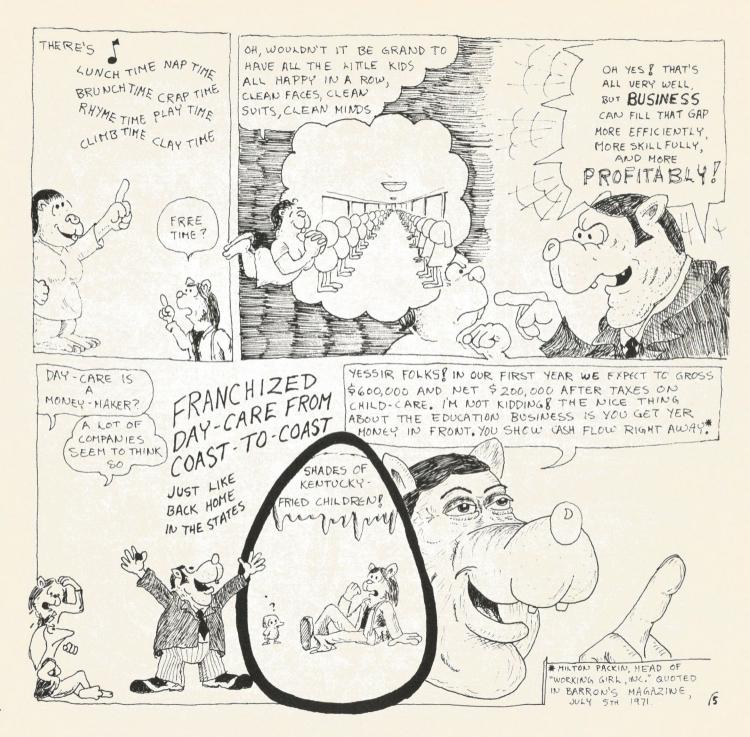












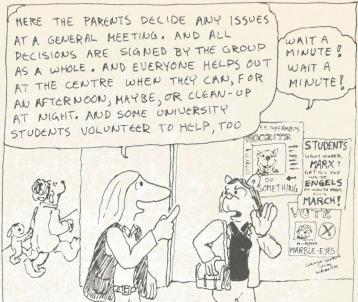


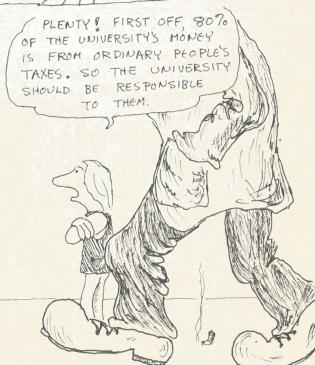










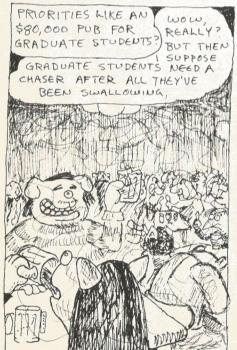






ARE YOU SUGGESTING
UNIVERSITY MONEY BE SPENT
ON DAY-CARE AND SUCH GUFF
WHEN THERE ARE SO MANY
OTHER, MORE URGENT, PRIORITIES?







YEAR WITH THAT MONEY YOU COULD





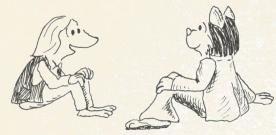


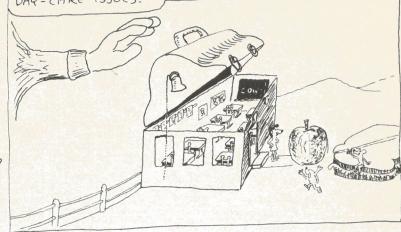




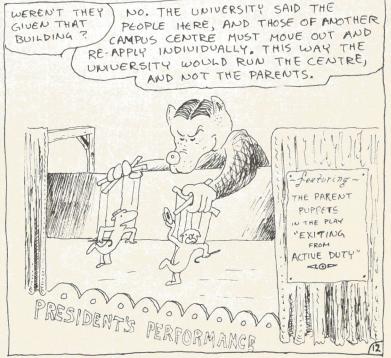
YOU THINK? A KID AGAIN. BUT I WAS WONDERING, IF THE PARENTS ARE WORKING ALL DAY, HOW CAN THEY RUN A DAY CARE CENTRE?

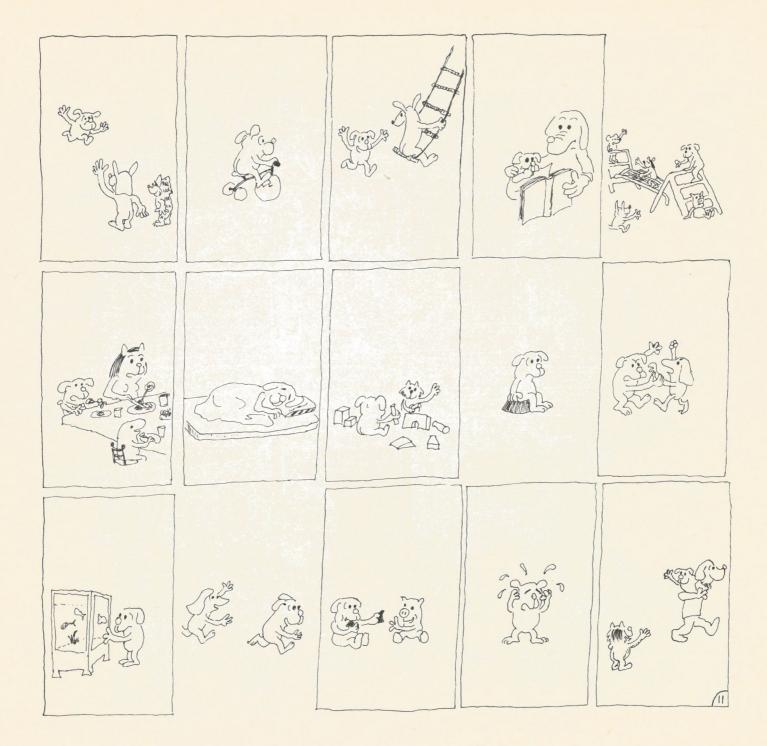












THE UNIVERSITY HOPED THIS PLAN WOULD QUIET THE PARENTS, APPEASE THE PRESS, AND END THE ISSUE WITH NO PUBLIC DEBATE. THE COMMITTEE TO RUN THE NEW CENTRE WOULD BE MEMBERS OF CAMPUS GROUPS, LIKE SAC, GSU,



SOUNDS LIKE
GOVERNMENT
BY ALPHABET
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SOUNDS LIKE
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SOUNDS LIKE
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SOUP

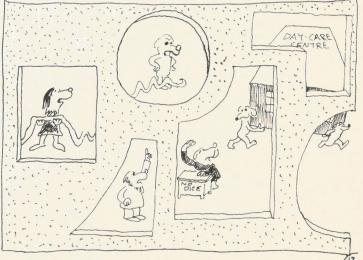
SOUNDS LIKE
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BUT NOT DEBATING ISSUES OPENLY. THE ONTARIO GOVERNMENT DOES THAT. THEY DON'T TAKE PROVINCIAL SURVEYS OR HOLD PUBLIC DEBATES ON DAY-CARE, THEY APPOINT A SPECIAL TASK ON DAY-CARE, THEY APPOINT WAYS OF DOING FORCE OF "EXPERTS" LUHO FIND WAYS OF DOING THE LITTLEST POSSIBLE FOR DAY-CARE WITH THE GREATEST NUMBER OF EXCUSES FOR DOING

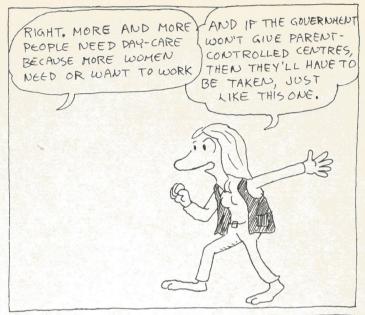
SO. THEY'RE "EXPERTS" ALL RIGHT. IN SAUING FACE FOR THE GOVERNMENT



GRANT THEM THE BUILDING METHODS FAILED. SO MAS LEFT. AND ONLY THIS BROUGHT RESULTS. OTHER GROUPS MAY HAVE TO DO THE SAME IF THERE IS TO BE DAY-CARE FOR ALL WHO NEED IT.















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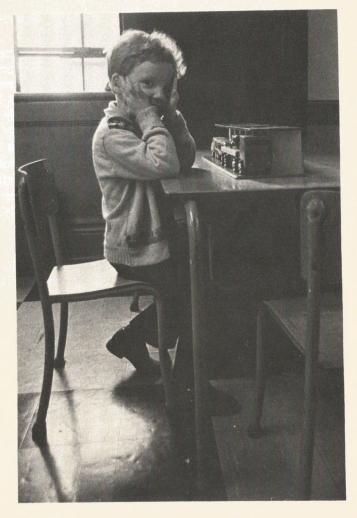
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- 2. E. Morrow, p.6.
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Illustrations

PHOTOGRAPHS:

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