

ANALYSING THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS IMPACTING
THE GROWTH OF LICENSED CHILD CARE IN SASKATCHEWAN

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By

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ABSTRACT

Internationally, Canada has fallen behind in the development and funding of early childhood education and care (ECEC) policies. Since the 1960's in Canada, there has been numerous heated political and social debates of whose responsibility it is to develop and provide licensed child care spaces. ECEC policies at the federal, provincial and territorial levels are incoherent, underfunded and ineffective. Access across Canada varies significantly and Saskatchewan has one of the lowest percentage of licensed child care spaces for children 0 to 5 years of age at 12.4 percent (Friendly, Grady, Macdonald, & Forer 2015;10). Using a Marxist Feminist orientation combined with Gosta Esping Andersen's Welfare Regime Theory, I examined what social, political and economic factors have shaped Saskatchewan's current licensed child care policy. To answer my research question I employed a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine Annual Reports from the Ministry of Education, Social Services and Finance from 1999 to 2015 as well as the Early Childhood Development Reports, *Saskatchewan Early Years Plan 2016-2020* and Hansards. Factors such as a growth in Saskatchewan's population for children 0-5 years of age, increase of mothers with young children, focus from the government to maintain funding on targeting services, neo-liberal policies and limited advocacy within the province have shaped the provinces current licensed child care policy.

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DEDICATION

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Within the last ten year, focus on early childhood education and care (ECEC) policies has once again grabbed the attention of Canadians from Vancouver to Halifax. I was first introduced to the topic of early childhood education and care (ECEC) policies in my undergraduate degree at the University of Saskatchewan. I was taking a social policy course and our term paper was a research paper on a social policy of our liking. During this time, the 2014 federal elections were occurring. The New Democrat Party (NDP) leader at the time, Thomas Mulcair announced a major platform for the 2014 federal election, \$15.00 dollars a day child care for Canadian families. I knew very little on ECEC policies and the debates that have occurred, as I started to read up on Canada's child care situation, I was shocked. I was surprised to find out that Saskatchewan is one of the lowest ranking province/territory for funding and development of ECEC polices in the country. Even after the course ended, I was still interested in this area. I decided to apply for my Master's at the University of Saskatchewan and research why and what factors explain Saskatchewan's current licensed child care situation.

Families across Canada are finding it increasingly difficult to secure affordable, accessible, and quality licensed child care services (MacDonald & Friendly 2014, 2015 & 2016, CTV Saskatoon 2017 & Press 2017b). Discussion surrounding the development and enhancement of childcare policy has significantly increased in Canada and industrial countries over the last twenty-five years (Woodhead 2006). Discussions surrounding child care and early childhood education and care (ECEC) policies have also been enhanced in relation to the United Nation's (UN) Conventions on the Rights of the Child (1989) and the Committee on the Rights of the Child (1990) (Woodhead 2006). Many policy makers have also recognized that equitable access to quality ECEC programs can contribute to improvements in a child's well-being while contributing broad educational and social supports for families (Woodhead 2006).

Internationally, however, Canada has fallen behind in the development, delivery and funding of early childhood education and care (ECEC) policies (Friendly 2005). The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) as well as United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has on several occasions ranked Canada, in the bottom five of industrial countries for spending, development, and delivery on ECEC programs (OCED 2001; Adamson 2008; Canadian Labour Congress 2013; MacDonald & Friendly 2014; OECD 2015).

Several OECD countries have created financial apparatuses to ensure widespread access to high quality and early learning programs (Friendly 2005). Unfortunately, across Canada, ECEC policies have been maintained it's labelled as a "patchwork of services" which are characterized as incoherent, ineffective, and underfunded (Friendly 2005).

Over the past six decades the topic of child care has been the focus of several long and heated debates and political struggles. These debates have been in relation to who provides and who pays for child care and how it is to be delivered (Jenson, Mahon & Phillips 2003; White 2004). These struggles continue to this day in Canada. Ideas about the quality and types of child care and early learning vary in relation to societal and individual values and, beliefs, as well as the cultural, political, and social setting (Friendly & Prentice 2009; Pasolli 2015). Arguments have been made both, in support of government funding for child care services and against governments providing services. Those who take the latter position often contend it is more important to provide tax breaks to allow for one parent to be able to afford to stay at home with the children (White 2004).

While many industrial countries, such as Sweden, Finland, Denmark, and Iceland, have a national childcare and integrative family policies in place, Canada has yet to have fully developed and implemented a comprehensive ECEC policy. A national care policy was first proposed by, The Royal Commission on the Status of Women (RCSW) which was created in 1967 under Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson (Dobrowolsky & Jenson 2004). The mandate of the RCSW was to investigate and report on the status of women across Canada and make specific recommendations to ensure women's equality in all aspects of society (Dobrowolsky & Jenson 2004). In 1970 the final report was released which made 197 recommendations. One of the recommendations stressed the access to child care, which the RCSW stated was a foundational principal for ensuring equality for women (Dobrowolsky & Jenson 2004). Since the development of the RSCW, there have been three national attempts to introduce a national child care policy in Canada. These attempts occurred in 1986, through the Task Force on Child Care (Katie Cooke Task Force), the 1987 Special Parliamentary Committee on Child Care, and the final attempt in 2004 under Prime Minister Paul Martin in conjunction with the Bilateral Agreements (Cool 2007).

Even though there have been numerous attempts at a national child care policy, the Government of Canada does not have a direct role in the design, development, and delivery for

early learning and child care policies. Under the Constitution Act of 1867, the primary responsibility for the provision of child care, along with health and education, falls to the provincial and territorial governments (Ministerial Advisory Committee 2007). Across Canada, there are significant differences between the types of services and quality that are available (Ministerial Advisory Committee 2007). Provincial and territorial governments are responsible for the development of legislation requirements, funding arrangements for the delivery of programs and services, procedure for fee subsidization, mechanisms to provide licensed child care facilities with some operating funding, regulating, and monitoring of child care and pre-pre-primary education (Ministerial Advisory Committee 2007).

Since the topic of a universal childcare policy first came onto the Canadian political scene in the 1970's, Canada has gone through substantial demographic and social shifts that have had direct implications on early childhood education and care policies (Doherty, Friendly & Beach 2003). These shifts included: a declining birth rate in the population, high labour force participation of mothers with young children, increase of lone-parent families with young children, increase of non-traditional work hours, significant rates of child poverty, a high birth rate in the Aboriginal communities and Aboriginal urban migration (Doherty, et al. 2003; Friendly & Prentice 2009). These social and demographic transformations have eroded the traditional model of the male breadwinner and a housewife (Jenson, et al. 2003). Rather, the new models of families means both parents, or a lone-parent household, are working, and child care policies across Canada has not caught up to these new models.

Although the Government of Canada does not have a direct role in the development and delivery of child care policies, the federal government has implemented various forms of tax benefits, credits, and funding programs throughout the years to assist Canadian families as well as provincial and territorial governments in creating affordable child care. One of the first child care funding programs dates back to World War Two, when the federal government created a *Dominion-Provincial Wartime Agreement (1942-1946)*, to assist in the wartime efforts (Scherer 2001;188). Since then, funding for child care has emerged in various forms which has included the Family allowance introduced in 1945, and the 1966 Canadian Assistance Plan (CAP) which was transformed first into the Canadian Health and Social transfer (CHST) (1995-2004) and then in 2004 separated into the Canadian Health Transfer (CHT) and Canadian Social Transfer (CST) to allow for more accountability and transparency (Government of Canada 2014). In recent

years, the federal government has directly funded child care through the Early Childhood Development Initiative (ECD) and the Multilateral Framework on Early Learning and Child Care. These initiatives provided direct funding to provincial and territorial governments to increase their ECEC programs and policies. While these initiatives assisted provincial and territorial governments in expanding their ECEC service, governments allocated their funding on different aspects of ECEC (Cool 2007), adding further to the patchwork of ECEC programs and policies across Canada.

While kindergarten and pre-kindergarten programs are publicly funded across Canada, child care, outside of Quebec is shaped by the market and is largely financed through parent fees (Friendly and Prentice 2009, CCPA 2015). While the majority of child care is financed through user fees, provincial and territorial governments provide some form of operating grants to child care facilities as well as provided subsidies for low income families (Friendly and Prentice 2009). Governments across Canada, excluding Quebec, provide funding to the demand side of child care, financing individuals in the forms of vouchers, tax breaks, and family allowances rather than the supply side, direct funding to child care facilities. Demand initiatives have included the child care expense deduction, the National Child Benefit (NCB), and the Universal Child Care Benefit (UCCB). The argument made for funding the demand side is that it provides choice to Canadian families on the type and quality of care they would like their child/children to receive. Although, what a parent would ideally like for care and what they can afford maybe two different choices.

In relation to the debates about national child care policy is the affordability of child care services across Canada. The cost of childcare services is typically associated with a level of quality; however, many Canadian families are unable to afford a high level of childcare (Friendly 2005). Cost, quality, and availability are subjected to a substantial degree of policy and control (Cleveland, Gunderson & Hyatt 1996 & McInturff & MacDonald 2015). Governments, at the federal and provincial/territorial levels have the ability to affect the cost of childcare through means of direct funding for childcare spaces, creation of maximum fee ceiling, which has been established in Manitoba, and fee subsidies to parents who qualify (Pasolli 2015). The affordability of childcare is a sign of how individual families and the government share the burden of formal childcare and reflects the accessibility of childcare for families, especially for low income families (Pasolli 2015).

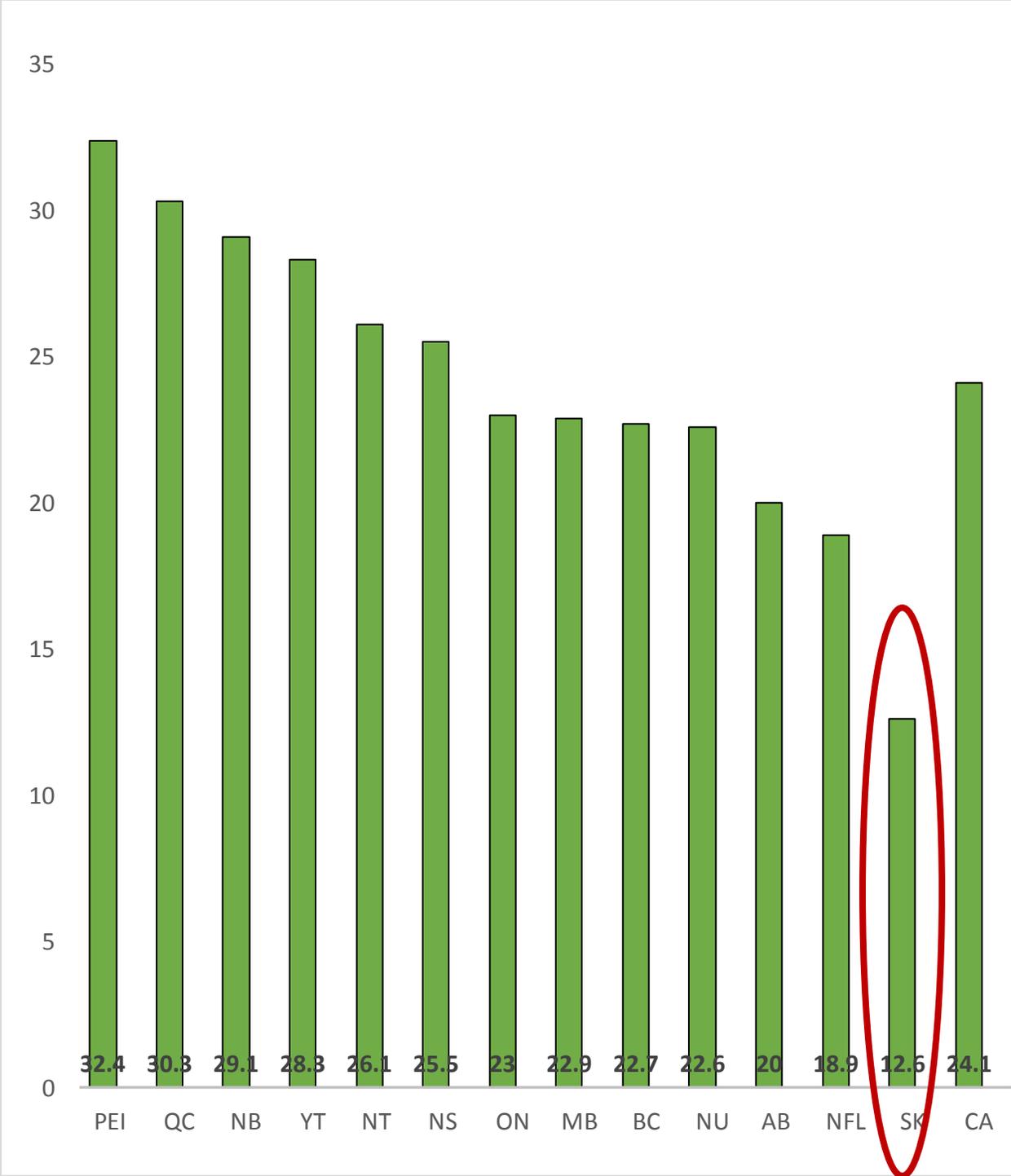
1.1 The Saskatchewan Case

The focus of my thesis is licensed group child care facilities in Saskatchewan which falls under the umbrella of early childhood education and care (ECEC) programs and services. ECEC is a term that describes a blended aspect of care and education that meets a wide range of objectives (Friendly & Prentice 2009). These objectives include care, learning, and social supports for children and their parents regardless of employment or socio-economic status (SES) (Friendly & Prentice 2009). These services are typically for children under the mandatory school age (five years and under) who participate in centre-based, licensed family centres, pre-kindergarten, and kindergarten programming (The Muttart Foundation 2012). There are numerous reasons as to why parents have their children ECEC programs. These include but are not limited to their ability to participate in the labour force, pursue a degree or continuing education, or fulfill other family care responsibilities such as elder care or as well as prepare children for school experience or social interactions (Ministerial Advisory Committee on the Government of Canada's Child Care Space Initiative 2007).

As previously mentioned provincial and territorial governments are responsible for the development, delivery, and funding of early childhood education and care (ECEC) policies. Licensed child care facilities are spaces that are monitored under provincial and territorial legislation. Across Canada, there are only enough licensed facilities to accommodate 24.5 percent of Canadian children age five years or less (Friendly, Grady, Macdonald, & Forer 2015: 10). Access varies across provinces and territories jurisdictions, demonstrated in figure 1-1 ranging between those with the highest levels of access to licensed centre with Prince Edward Island (32.5 percent) and Quebec (30.3 percent) to provinces with the lowest level of access with Newfoundland and Labrador (18.9 percent) and Saskatchewan (12.6 percent) (Friendly et al. 2015). Access to licensed child care, let alone affordable child care varies across the countries affecting families, women and children differently across Canada.

Figure 1-1: Percentage of child care spaces for children 0-5 years of age by province & territory for 2014

(Friendly et al 2015; 19)



1.2 Research Question & Objectives

While there are several programs and services under the early childhood education and care (ECEC) regarded as early learning and child care (ELCC) policies in Saskatchewan, the focus of this study is the development of licensed group child care facilities for children five years of age and under. Group child care facilities are defined by the Government of Saskatchewan as facilities that may provide care for up to 90 children from six weeks of age to twelve years old, these centres' may be non-profit or for profit in Saskatchewan (Friendly et al. 2015). I will be limiting my research to children zero to five years of age because of the increasing number of mothers with children below the age of five participating in the labour force and the limited number of licensed child care spaces. While there has been increases in licensed child care across Canada and in Saskatchewan in the 21st century, Saskatchewan relative to other provinces has not kept up with the demand for service. My research question is what social, political, and economic factors shaped the development of Saskatchewan's group licensed child care facilities over a sixteen year period, from 1999 to 2015? In the early 2000's, the Government of Canada created and funded three initiatives to enhance early learning and child care policies across Canada, which will be discussed further in chapter three. I decided to start my analysis on the development of Saskatchewan's licensed child care in 1999, prior to federal government initiatives. I wanted to examine how child care was being perceived and funded prior and the changes that were occurring in Saskatchewan licensed child care due to these initiatives. While I examine several dimensions, including social, political and economic structures, my analysis demonstrated that no single factor determines the development of licensed child care in Saskatchewan. Rather it is a combination of all three factors. The research also highlights the combined impact of both structural factors, such as changes in economic cycles, agency, including choices made by political actors and the presence or absence of lobbying for improvement in child care in programs in the province.

1.3 Framework of Thesis

The thesis is broken down in to five chapters which follow as literature review, history, theory and methodology, findings and conclusion and discussion chapters. Chapter two, the literature review provides past research on ECEC context at the international, national and

provincial level. Since the introduction of child care policies at national and provincial levels there have been a number of misconceptions about licensed child care, such as child care does more harm than good in the development of the child. While, child care in Canada has been the focus of a number of heated debates of whose responsibility it is to provide child care services, the research of best practice and what is occurring in Canada is growing larger. Canada, on a number of occasions has been ranked in the bottom five for ECEC spending and benchmarks (Doherty et al. 2003).

The literature review provides information on ECEC/ELCC research at the international, national and provincial level. Chapter three provides a summary focused more explicitly on the development of child care policies in Saskatchewan, including discussion of the introduction of the first child care policy in Saskatchewan, and an overview of changes that have occurred since then. The chapter also examines the influences from the federal child care initiatives in the early and mid-2000s. These initiatives include the Early Childhood Development (ECD), the Multilateral and the Bilateral Agreements.

Chapter four provides information on the theoretical frameworks and the methodology that has informed my research. To examine what social, political and economic factors have shaped Saskatchewan's current licensed child care I decided to use Gosta Esping-Andersen's welfare regime theoretical framework in combination with a Marxist feminist lens. These two theoretical perspectives provide a strong framework to understand the social structures and features that have shaped the development of child care policies. The methodology that I decided to use is a Critical Discourse Analyze (CDA). A CDA has been used in variety of studies to examine the ideological formations which policies are built on.

Chapter five presents the main findings of my research on the social, political and economy factors that have shaped Saskatchewan's current licensed child care policies. These include social factors such as the increase in women's participation in the labour force with young children, increases in the number of young children between the ages of zero and five in the province, and increased of costs of living (The Muttart Foundation 2012). Other factors that will be discussed include the impact of targeted versus universal funding, neo-liberal policies, top-down vs bottom up in the development of spaces, changes in the quality of child care, changes in terminology from child care to early learning and child care and the role of advocacy in the province.

The final section, chapter six will present a discussion and policy recommendations for licensed child care in Saskatchewan. Discussion will include how Gosta Esping-Andersen's welfare regime theory and a Marxist feminist theoretical works assist in understanding the factors which have shaped the current licensed child care policy. The final component, will include policy recommendations to better the current policy. Recommendations include but not limited to creating a strong policy framework with goals and objectives, changing the governance structure, for only one ministry to be fully responsible for the funding, development and subsidies of licensed child care, increasing the amount of funding directed towards licensed child care and developing a province wide waitlist for licensed child care.

Debates about who is responsible for the financing of licensed child care services started in the 1960s and continue today. Since the 1960's there has been four discussions about a national child care policy; however, no significant changes have occurred from these discussions. As noted, provincial and territorial governments are responsible for the funding and development of ECEC policies and each government has different funding mechanisms and policies creating the patchwork of ECEC services across Canada. In Canada there has been research on ECEC policies at the federal, provincial and territorial levels; however, there is limited research about Saskatchewan's ECEC policy. My research will start to fill in this gap.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Over the last two decades, attention to family and early childhood education and care policies has significantly increased, particularly in highly industrialized countries such as Canada. The term early childhood education and care (ECEC) or commonly referred to in Saskatchewan as early learning and child care (ELCC) is an umbrella term that encompasses several programs including child care (day care), nursery schools, pre-kindergarten, kindergarten, and parts of parenting courses (Friendly 2005). Ideally, these programs are integrative, supporting children as well as parental employment; however, in Canada though these services tend to be separate from one another philosophically, pedagogically, administratively, and financially (Friendly 2010). This literature review examines ECEC/ELCC research from an international, national, and provincial perspective.

2.2 ECEC Policy Context

Prior to being referred ECEC or ELCC by advocates, politicians, and academics, child care was referred to as just that, child care. In the late 1990s and early 2000's in North America, specifically Canada there was a shift in the language surrounding the childcare arena (White 2004). The change in terminology was welcomed by advocates and academics who hoped that terminology such early childhood education and care (ECEC) or Early Learning and Child Care (ELCC) rather than "child care" would create greater support in terms of government funding and public support (White 2004). With a shift in language, child care that was once perceived as an expense was now being reframed as a social investment (Prentice 2009).

The international ECEC arena has played an important role in shaping Canada's current ECEC policies (Doherty et al. 2003). For over fifteen years, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has examined the development of early childhood education and care (ECEC) policies in their partnering countries. ECEC policies were introduced to achieve a wide variety of societal goals which includes women's equality, lifelong learning, social integration, decrease of poverty and economic prosperity (Doherty et al. 2003). Discussion in Canada surrounding the role of child care has gone back and forth between supporting parental employment and children's lifelong learning and school readiness (Prentice 2009).

Similar debates surrounding the role of child care have occurred in most liberal welfare states which includes the United States of America, Australia, and United Kingdom (Prentice 2009). While countries with a social democratic welfare state such as Norway, Iceland, Sweden, and Finland have developed integrative ECEC programs that support both parental employment and children's development (Bergman 2004; Lister 2009).

In 2001, the OECD released *Starting Strong I: Early Childhood Education and Care*. *Starting Strong I* provided a comparative analysis of twelve countries (Netherlands, United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium, Ireland, Austria, Italy, France, Spain, Finland, Greece, and Portugal) regarding each countries ECEC policies. *Starting Strong I* highlighted the innovative approaches countries had in relation to ECEC policies as well as proposed alternative policy options that could be adapted to varied country contexts (OECD 2001). Since the release of *Starting Strong I*, the OECD has released three subsequent analyses -*Starting Strong II* (2006), *III* (2012) and *IV* (2015).

In 2006, Canada was initially examined in *Starting Strong II* and was ranked last out of fourteen countries in terms of funding, development, and delivery in relation to ECEC programs and services (Mahon 2009). The OECD recommended a minimum of one percent of a country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to be spent on children zero to five years of age (MacDonald & Friendly 2014). Although Macdonald and Friendly (2014) have illustrated that Canada spends approximately 0.2 percent and 0.34 percent GDP, half of the OECD average and a third of the recommended, minimum of one percent of the GDP for children zero and five years of age (MacDonald & Friendly 2014). Today, ECEC services in Canada remains underfinanced and underprovided compared to those in other OECD countries (OECD 2015).

One could argue that in Canada, unlike the clear majority of OECD nations, the federal, provincial, and territorial governments are still debating whether child care is beneficial and whether mothers should or should not work outside the home with young children (Penice & Pacini-Ketchabaw 2008). In these debates, childcare services throughout the provinces and territories have historically been regarded more as a private, rather than a public responsibility (Prentice 2009; The Muttart Foundation 2012). For decades, community groups and parents have carried the burden of developing, operating, and supporting childcare services with little to no resources to fulfill these roles (The Muttart Foundation 2012). In 2006, the OECD called on the provinces and territories to develop a comprehensive strategic plan for ECEC policies and

programs. These plans were to include clear goals and annual service targets for funding guidelines (The Muttart Foundation 2012). In addition, the provinces and territories were to examine the governance structures that would be giving one ministry full responsibility for ECEC, place education and care under one pillar, expand access to services and programs – without compromise with quality, provide better support and training to early childhood educators and assistants (ECE's/ECA's) and invest in ECEC research (Atkinson Centre 2014). No provincial or territorial government has yet to fulfill all the OECD's recommendations (The Muttart Foundation 2012).

2.3 Quality Early Childhood Education & Care

A current underlying theme within the Canadian as well as international research is the importance of quality early childhood education and care for children (Helburn & Howes 1996; Prentice 2009; Friendly 2005; Beaujot, Du & Ravanera 2013; MacDonald & Friendly 2014, 2015, 2016). It is important to recognize that philosophies about quality ECEC vary in relation to individual and societal values, as well as general concepts of the child, childhood, the purpose of the programs and the role of the family and society, (Friendly, Doherty & Beach 2006). While the definition of quality is dependent on several variables Friendly et al. in *Quality by Design* (2006) indicate eight factors that influence the type of ECEC quality available. These factors include a teaching staff with a post-secondary quality ECE training, salaries for staff at the high end of the continuum, a healthy ratio of staff to children, non-profit auspice, higher centre revenue, free or subsidized spaces, the director's level of ECE education and a positive learning environment for the children. Quality childcare has been closely linked with children's social, cognitive and language developments; children in high quality early childhood programs are more likely to be emotionally secure, self-confident, stronger abilities in language use, and advance in cognitive development (Helburn & Howes 1996, Brownell, Roos & Fransoo 2006, Prentice 2009). Children who are in low quality childcare are more likely to develop poor long-term developmental outcomes, poor school skills and heightened aggression (Helburn & Howes 1996; Beaujot, Du & Ravanera 2013).

Previous research and studies on early childhood education and care (ECEC) in Canada have primarily focused on ECEC policies at the federal level (Cleveland & Krashinsky 2001; Cleveland et al. 2008; White, 2001; Mahon and Phillips 2002; Jenson et al. 2003; Friendly and

Prentice 2009; Mckeen 2009 & McGrane 2013), or comparison between Canadian federal government childcare policies and other countries (Mahon 1999; White 2012, OECD 2006; Turgeon 2010; MacDonald and Friendly 2014; McGrane 2014). Measurable characteristics which are commonly referred to throughout ECEC research and literature include government spending, availability of spaces, ratio of children to staff members and the remuneration of staff (Pasolli 2015). In addition, similar themes emphasized within the literature which includes: inadequate funding, poorly remunerated staff, and the lack of licensed childcare spaces across Canada (Beach & Bertrand 2000; ChildCare 2020 2014; Ministerial Advisory Committee on the Government of Canada's Child Care Space Initiative 2007; The Muttart Foundation 2012; Ferns & Friendly 2014). Many of these studies, like the OECD recommendations calling for a comprehensive childcare policy which has clear objectives and funding arrangements for Canada.

The Childcare Resource and Research Unit (CRRU) based out of the University of Toronto has been the cornerstone for early childhood education and care (ECEC) and family policy research in Canada. Since 1992, the CRRU, is one of the few organizations left in Canada that provides on-going research, advocacy, and monitoring of ECEC development and spending at the federal, provincial, and territorial levels. The CRRU has released numerous publications in relation to Canada's overall ECEC development. One of the most recent publications includes Friendly, Ferns, Grady & Rothman (2016) *Child Care can't wait till the cows come home: Rural child care in Canadian context* examining access to licensed child care centres in rural communities across Canada. This document specifically examines the limited access to licensed child care facilities across Canada, especially in rural communities. Factors that are specific to rural communities include a low population, prevalence of non-standard work hours, seasonal work, and larger geographic distances.

In addition to studies which examine childcare policies at the federal level and comparing policies in relation to other countries, a few nationwide studies were conducted in Canada in the late 1990's and early 2000's. These studies examined the various factors related to the quality of ECEC. One of the largest studies done in Canadian literature on ECEC is called *You bet I Care!*. This national wide survey completed in 1998 explored the wages, working conditions and practices in childcare centres for early childhood educators and assistants (ECE/A's) (Goelman, Doherty, Lero, LaGrange, & Tougas 2000). Key findings from *You bet I Care!* revealed low

levels of education and training for early childhood educators and assistants in some Canadian jurisdictions, including Saskatchewan, lack of adequate education and preparation for centre directors, tight budgets for child care centres and low staff wages with few benefits and high staff turnover across Canada (Goelman et.al 2000).

Building from *You bet I Care (2000)*, the Child Care Resources and Sector Council (CCHRS) released *You Bet We Still Care! (2013)*. This document also examined the early childhood education and care human resource sector. Key findings for *You Bet We Still Care! (2013)* revealed an aging workforce in the ECEC sectors. Wages for early childhood educators increased across Canada since the release of *You bet I care! (2000)*; however, they remained below the Canadian average, and employers reported challenges in recruitment and retention of qualified staff (CCHRS 2013). *You bet we still care (2013)* also reported that while parent fees varied across jurisdictions and age groups, parent fees have increased across Canada except for Quebec and Manitoba (CCHRS 2013).

Within the child care sector across Canada, unionization for early childhood educator's and assistants (ECE/ECA's) is low. As previously noted, the child care sector is plagued with high turnover rates and instability impacting the quality of care available (CUPE 2016). In *You bet we still care! (2013)* approximately 21.5 percent of the child care sector identified as union members. Unionization within the child care sectors assists in higher staff retention and job satisfaction and promotes better work practices (CUPE 2016). In addition, unionized employees tend to have higher benefits and receive higher wages (CUPE 2016), in *You bet we still care! (2013)*, unionized employees, on average received \$4.61 more per hour than non-unionized employees (CCHRS 2013).

2.4 Policy Framework in Canada

In addition to federal studies, there are several comparative ECEC studies across Canada including (White 1997, Corter & Pelletier 2001, McGrane 2014, Passolli 2015, White & Prentice 2016). These comparative ECEC studies have typically been done between provinces similar in demographics and size. In the publication, *Bureaucratic champions and unified childcare sectors: neoliberalism and inclusive liberalism in Atlantic Canadian childcare system*, McGrane (2014) drew on in-depth interviews with policy actions in each of the four Atlantic Provinces, in relation to the development and delivery of ECEC services until 2011. McGrane (2014)

characterized the provinces ECEC spending in terms of Neo-liberal, Inclusive liberal, Social democratic, or a combination of the three welfare states. Overall, McGrane (2014) concluded that while each province has developed its own policies and funding models for ECEC, agency or lack of action (neo-liberal approach) played a role in bringing about change. Lastly, McGrane (2014) recommended that Atlantic Provinces move away from a neo-liberal model of ECEC to a more inclusive liberal model.

In addition to the nation-wide and comparative studies, several case studies of provincial ECEC developments (Hayden 1997; Prentice 2000, 2004; Friendly 2008; Tough et al. 2013; McCuaig, Dhuey, Jammohamed, & Akbari 2016) have examined Canadian municipalities, such as Winnipeg or Toronto ECEC programs (Prentice & McCracken 2004; Prentice 2007a; Corter and Pelletier 2010). As well, studies have been conducted to examine accessibility of childcare Northern and rural communities and its social and economic impact (Prentice 2007b, Prentice 2007c). Prentice (2007a), in *Childcare, justice, and the city: A case study of planning failure in Winnipeg* examined the distribution of licensed child care facilities in Winnipeg, Manitoba. A key finding revealed a geographic inequality in the distributions of child care facilities. Neighbourhoods with families from lower socio-economic status and a high Aboriginal population has less access and fewer resources available to assist with their child care needs (Prentice 2007a).

2.5 Parental Labour Market Participation & Costs of ECEC

In relation to the discussion of the development early childhood education and care policies, researchers have also examined how child care policies impact labour market participation (Morgan 2005; Waldfogel 2007; Beaujot 2008; Uppal 2015; Petitclerc, Cote, Doyle, Burchinal, Herba, Zachirsson, Boivin, Tremblay, Tiemeier & Jaddoe 2017) and more specifically labour force participation of mothers (Cleveland, Gunderson & Hyatt 1996; Powell 1997; Mason 2003; Lefebvre & Merrigan 2008). Powell (1997) and MacDonald and Friendly (2015) illustrated that the availability and affordability of child care is closely tied to a women's participation in the labour force. Beaujot (2008) in *Demographic change, the labour force and work family conflicts the challenge of public policy adaptation*, discussed how public policy needs to accommodate the demographic changes that are occurring in Canada. These demographic changes included an aging population, a delay in early life transition, changing

family forms, work life balance, caring for dependents and intergenerational relations (Beaujot 2008). Beaujot (2008) also noted that changing family forms and work structures have brought a widespread of economic and social differences across families and recommended that social policies in Canada need to account for these variances.

Across Canada, excluding Quebec, the responsibility for the cost of child care falls to the parents. There has been some research across Canada in relation to the median child care cost (MacDonald & Friendly 2014, 2015 & 2016). Child care costs vary in relation to age group (infant, toddler, preschool, and school age) as well as by location (rural, urban). As previously stated, the availability and affordability of child care is a major influence to women's labour force participation (Powell 1997, MacDonald & Friendly 2015). Recent publications in relation to the cost of child care in Canada included four studies by MacDonald and Friendly, *The Parent Trap* (2014): *Child Care Fees in Canada's Big Cities* (2015), *A Growing Concern: 2016 Child Care Fees in Big Cities* (2016), and *Time Out: Child care fees in Canada 2017* (2017). In each of these studies MacDonald and Friendly examined the unsubsidized median cost of child care across Canada, building upon and expanding their research each year. MacDonald and Friendly (2016) illustrated that the median cost of child care continues to increase in all age groups. Between 2014- 2016, toddler fees saw the biggest increase of 8 percent, representing a monthly increase of approximately a \$53. In addition, MacDonald & Friendly (2015 & 2017) stated that child care fees are easily predicted based on the direct assistance from provincial/territorial government such as developing set parent fees (Manitoba), directly funding licensed child care facilities (Quebec) or whether child care fees and operational costs are left to the market. Provinces with set fees and direct funding have the lowest cost of child care in each age category across the Country. MacDonald and Friendly (2016) also noted that across the country, 70 percent of licensed child care facilities maintain a waitlist, although, waitlists for licensed child care centres are not a clear indication of the demand because lists may not be regularly updated and parents/guardians may have their names at multiple locations.

Across Canada, the province of Quebec is a positive example of early learning and child care policies. In 1998, the province of Quebec revised its family policies and created a universal provincial childcare program, the only one that currently exists in Canada. Quebec, differs from the rest of Canada and the provinces and territories in how it perceives the roles and responsibilities of young children and families. Quebec's viewpoints align with a Nordic model

of welfare compare to a liberal welfare model (Beaujot, Ravanera & Du 2012), which will further be discussed in chapter three. The two main goals of the policy change were to ensure equitable and equally opportunity for young children and increase labour participation of young mothers (Tougas 2001; Beaujot, Du & Ravanera 2013). The General Social Survey (GSS) completed in 2006, compared the type of licensed childcare currently used in Quebec residences and the remainder of Canada and found with the higher availability of funding and space for childcare in Quebec, it prompted higher usages (Beaujot, Du & Ravanera 2013). In Quebec, 72.2 percent of respondents with children between the ages of 0-4 were using some form of licensed childcare services compared to 41.2 percent of respondents in the remainder of Canada (Beaujot, Du & Ravanera 2013).

2.6 Literature in Relation to Saskatchewan's Early Learning and Child Care (ELCC) literature

The early developments and research related to Saskatchewan's ELCC policy framework come primarily from the works of Dr. Judith Martin. Martin's research includes "Childcare in Saskatchewan: What we have and what we want" (1988). This research described the context for Saskatchewan's childcare policy in the 1970s and 1980s with a goal of advancing childcare policy in Saskatchewan (Martin 1988). Martin examined the participation of women with children from 0-12 years of age in the labour force, gross family income, and the number of licensed childcare spaces in the province, with additional information on grant and subsidy dollars allocated to licensed childcare spaces, and approved budget estimates. Martin's previous works also examined the development of day care policy under two former Saskatchewan Premiers. She examined the continuing struggle for universal day care in "Social Policy and Social Justice: The NDP government in Saskatchewan during the Blakeney Years" (1995), which assessed the childcare policy between 1971 -1982 under Premier Allan Blakeney and "From Bad to Worse: Day Care in Saskatchewan, 1982-1989" (1991), which assessed child care policy development during the 1980's under premier Grant Devine. These works lay the foundation for Saskatchewan's Early Learning and Child Care (ELCC) research.

In 2001, the Government of Saskatchewan under the Ministry of Social Services conducted a provincial study, surveying 1,271 individuals. The objectives of the study were to

examine the current child care arrangements occurring within the province, issues, and barriers that families are faced with for managing work and child care arrangements and opinions about the role of the provincial governments in meeting child care needs (Rochon Associated Human Resource Management Consulting 2006). The study found an apparent need for childcare within 60 percent of the households (Rochon Associated Human Resource Management Consulting 2006). Participants indicated that their child care arrangement was a combination of parental, relative, and non-relative care, and only 9 percent of participants indicated they used a license child care facility. While child care was largely informal, participants discussed the stressful moments which included maintaining back up arrangements (68 percent), finding quality and good child care (58 percent) as well as managing the cost of child care (50 percent). The study found that the participants with a lower socio-economic status (SES) and single parents were more likely to worry about the cost of child care than participants who were from a higher SES (Rochon Associated Human Resource Management Consulting 2006).

In addition to asking about their daily child care arrangements, the survey asked participants what was the most common barrier facing Saskatchewan families in relation to child care. Participants who were not using their preferred child care arrangement (39 percent) stated that the availability of spaces was one of the most common barriers they faced (Rochon Associated Human Resource Management Consulting 2006). An additional 31 percent of households had difficulty finding suitable childcare, which impacted their labour force participation, including limiting their hours of work (67 percent) and the jobs they were able to take (54 percent) (Rochon Associated Human Resource Management Consulting 2006). Lastly, the study asked participants what the role of the provincial government should be in relation to providing child care services. 94 percent of the participants agreed and 63 percent strongly agreed that the government should help low income parents with the cost of child care. 86 percent of participants agreed and 44 percent strongly agreed that the government should help middle income parents with the cost of child care (Rochon Associated Human Resource Management Consulting 2006). When asked if parents have sole responsibility for child care arrangement, 15 percent of respondents strongly agreed that parents should have sole responsibility for the cost of child care. In 2001, the perceptions surround what the role of child care in Saskatchewan was, 90 percent of participants agreed, the main goal of child care is to

allowed parents to work and go to school (Rochon Associated Human Resource Management Consulting 2006).

In 2005, Martha Friendly in *Early Learning and Child Care in Saskatchewan: Past, Present, and Future*, evaluated Saskatchewan's ELCC policy development while also placing Saskatchewan in an overall Canadian context. Friendly (2005) examined demographic factors that influenced the development of ELCC policy, including percentage of children below five years of age, labour force participation of mothers, children identified with an Indigenous* group, accessibility, quality, and financing Friendly (2005) illustrated that Saskatchewan has one of the higher rates of labour force participation of mothers with young children, as well as a large percentage of children (0 to 5 years of age) identified with Indigenous backgrounds. In Saskatchewan, 25 percent of children were identified with an Indigenous background, whereas the national average is 5 percent (Friendly 2005). Friendly also noted that Saskatchewan has one of the highest poverty rates in Canada for children between 3 to 5 years of age as measured by the Low Income Cut Off (LICO). While Friendly (2005) examined the demographic factors which influence the development of ELCC policies specifically in Saskatchewan, she only briefly touched on the rural demographics. As previously noted there are specific factors which impact families in rural and remote areas which include a low population, non-standardized hours, seasonal work and a larger geographical differences (Friendly et al 2016). For Saskatchewan to have an inclusive licensed child care programs, rural and northern communities must be involved in the discussion and policy framework to account for these specific circumstances.

In addition to the demographic factors that influence ELCC policies, Friendly (2005) demonstrated that Saskatchewan is relatively low in terms of spending compared to other provinces. Friendly compared Saskatchewan to Manitoba, which she states is similar in demographics (children) and rooted in prairie tradition. While Manitoba's ELCC spending in 2004 was 73 million dollars, Saskatchewan's was only 19.6 million (2005). Lastly in her examination, Friendly (2005) highlighted that licensed child care services in Saskatchewan are significantly underdeveloped in 2004. Over a twelve-year period (1992 to 2004), Friendly pointed out that Saskatchewan developed approximately 1,500 spots, roughly 125 spots per year (2005). Friendly (2005) concluded that Saskatchewan's ELCC system should not be called an ELCC system; while Saskatchewan does have an "early learning" component with pre-

kindergarten and kindergarten part of the public school financial apparatus, child care continues to be neglected. Friendly (2005), like the OECD (2004) urged Saskatchewan to develop a comprehensive, integrative framework and adequate public financing for ELCC.

In terms of comparison studies dealing with Saskatchewan, Mayer and Beg (2006) funded by the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) published; *Building a Community Architecture for Early Childhood Learning and Care Blueprints for Community Architecture*. Mayer and Beg (2006) completed a three-year study that examined four communities from across Canada in relation to the ECEC policy development. The communities included were Halifax, Nova Scotia, Cambridge, Ontario, Martensville, Saskatchewan and Vancouver British Columbia. In addition, there were various stakeholders involved in the study which included parents, early-childhood educators and assistants, representatives from health, education, Indigenous organizations, as well as labour and business organizations (Mayer and Beg 2006). The study had five main goals to determine the current ECEC resources in each location, to create an integrative, comprehensive ECEC community blueprint to serve the direct needs to the community, to facilitate a community consensus on the best model of delivery, inform policy makers on the effective community based models and to illustrate that each community has its own diverse needs, resources bases and funding arrangements that could develop a responsive ECEC policy with quality, accessibility, and accountability as overarching themes (Mayer and Beg 2006). Key findings for *Building a Community Architecture for Early Childhood Learning and Care Blueprints for Community Architecture* revealed that in all four communities there was a lack of adequate funding and fragmented public policies. Referring specifically to Martensville, Saskatchewan, Meyer and Beg (2006) found that there was an undervaluing of early learning and child care, the community and government lacked the understanding of the importance of ELCC and a lack of legislative action in relation to ELCC. Meyer and Beg (2006) recommendation for Saskatchewan included that government and society recognized the importance of ELCC programs, the need for senior government support, integrative jurisdictions framework with multilateral agreements, comprehensive and integrative family support to be in place and post-secondary funding for early childhood educators and assistants.

In 2012, The Muttart Foundation released *Children and Families in the New Saskatchewan: A Discussion of Early Learning and Child Care* examining Saskatchewan's

current ELCC policies. The article, similar to the analysis provided by Friendly (2005) outlines key demographics (population of children, labour force participation of mother, Indigenous population) that influenced the development of ELCC as well as the economic changes that was occurring in Saskatchewan. In addition, The Muttart Foundation (2012) presented Saskatchewan's current ELCC blended approach to the organization, funding, and delivery of ELCC programs. While Kindergarten and Pre-Kindergarten programs are publicly funded, the development of child care has been left to the third sector (non-profit and community organizations). In addition to the current ELCC approach, The Muttart Foundation (2012) presents challenges that they believe the Government of Saskatchewan and families will face in relation to child care services. These challenges include providing child care services for a rapidly growing population, with immigration, out of province migration and an increase rate of births (The Muttart Foundation 2012). Similar to Friendly (2005), the Muttart Foundation (2012) briefly mentions Saskatchewan's rural and Northern communities. The Muttart Foundation (2012) and Friendly (2005) recommend that the Government of Saskatchewan, raise the quality of ELCC services and to ensure accessibility and affordability for Saskatchewan families.

2.7 Conclusion

Research over the past two decades has demonstrated the importance of early learning and child care policies, including: pre-kindergarten, kindergarten, parenting programs and child care. Over and over, the research has shown that well-funded ELCC programs throughout a country and a province provides not only enriching education to children but provides families, specifically mothers, with the opportunity to be a part of the workforce. Recent research by Mayer and Beg (2006) and The Muttart Foundation (2012) has demonstrated that Saskatchewan falls short on funding and development of early learning and child care programs. The question remains, why is this occurring? This issue is especially significant given that research has illustrated that Saskatchewan has growing population of young families and high participation by mothers with young children in the labour force who would benefit from effective early learning and child care policies.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORY OF CHILD CARE IN SASKATCHEWAN & INFLUENCE OF FEDERAL ECEC INITIATIVES

The discussion of accessible and affordable child care emerged as a strong arena of policy focus in Canada in the 1960s. Across Canada, provincial and territorial governments introduced legislation to fund and develop some form of licensed child care services. To assist provincial and territorial governments in the cost-sharing of social programs and policies, the federal government introduced the Canadian Assistance Plan (CAP) in 1966 (Jenson, Mahon, Phillip 2003; 140). In relation to child care, CAP assisted in the subsidization of child care services for low-income families who were at risk or were falling below the poverty line (Jenson et al. 2003; 140). Although federal, provincial, and territorial governments attempted to create a cohesive child care services framework, to date child care policies across Canada differ significantly. This chapter provides a context for my study by discussing how child care policies were introduced primarily in Saskatchewan and how child care is perceived and understood at the individual, societal and government level.

3.1 History of Child Care Policies in Saskatchewan

A large amount of Saskatchewan's child care history comes from the works of Dr. Martin, as previously noted in the literature review (chapter two), as well as from the Child Care Resource and Research Unit (CRRU). Saskatchewan, in 1969 under Liberal Premier Ross Thatcher, introduced its first child care policy (Martin 1988). This policy, Section 66 under the Child Welfare Act established day care in Saskatchewan on the basis of a selectively subsidized; user fee service (Martin 1988). The policy also established minimum regulations for the government to license and monitor non-profit and privately-owned child care centres (Martin 1988). When Thatcher left office in 1971, Saskatchewan had 636 licensed child care spaces (Martin 1988). For eleven years, from 1971 to 1982, the New Democrat Party (NDP) under Allan Blakeney expanded Saskatchewan's child care services. New child care regulations were established in 1974 under the *Family Services Act*, which increased public spending, expanded the number of licensed facilities, established training requirements for caregivers and moved child care out of the commercial sector (Martin 1988). While the NDP expanded services, and

implemented some new regulations over their eleven years in office, the government maintained the previous Liberal ideology, that child care was perceived as a private family matter that was to be dealt with through the market except for cases in which parents/guardians were financially unable to purchase services (Martin 1988). Fast-forward forty-eight years later child care in Saskatchewan continues to be guided by this ideology with its market focus and selectively subsidized user fee approach to licensed child care.

Along with expanding services and establishing training requirements in the Family Service Act, all licensed child care facilities in 1974 were required under legislation to become not for profit organizations, governed by a board in which at least 51 percent of its members are users (Martin 1988). Child care across Canada is largely based on third sector delivery, with four out of every five centres delivered by the not for profit sector (Prentice 2007; 93). In recent years, Saskatchewan has permitted for-profit child care centres again, although these centres do not receive any form of government funding (Friendly 2005). For-Profit child care is relatively small, approximately 0.6 percent (Friendly et al. 2015), and to ensure these centres are following best practices, centre are required to have a parent advisory committee (Friendly, Beach, Ferns & Turiano 2007). Today, in Saskatchewan, the third sector continues to provide child care services to 99 percent of all licensed group child care facilities in Saskatchewan (Friendly et al. 2015).

After Saskatchewan introduced its first child care policy in 1969, Saskatchewan saw little in the expansion of services and funding (Martin 1988). In 1979, Action Child Care (ACC) a community based, non-profit organization, emerged. Action Child Care advocated for a flexible and comprehensive system of child care and parent support policies (Martin, 1988). Action Child Care was a positive force for licensed child care in Saskatchewan. Within its first year, ACC successfully lobbied the government to increase the provincial child care budget by one million dollars from \$1.3 (1978) to \$2.1 (Martin 1988). Action Child Care closed their doors in 1988. Since then Saskatchewan has not had a strong voice or specific group(s) advocating and lobbying the Government of Saskatchewan to enhance child care policies, which will be further discussed in the findings chapter (5).

Currently, child care in Saskatchewan is governed by two legislative documents, *The Child Care Act 2014* and *The Child Care Regulations 2015*, both of which were introduced in 1990 (Friendly & Beach 2005). The Act and Regulations established training requirements of 130 hours for caregivers and licensing requirements of all licensed child care facilities (Friendly &

Beach 2005). The Child Care Act 2014 lays out the policies that child care facilities are to follow to maintain their licenses, while The Child Care Regulations 2015 sets out the requirements for a licensed spaces, which includes the minimum square footage per child, employee qualifications and ratios of early childhood educators, assistances and caregivers to children. The Child Care Act 2014 Child Care Regulations 2015 have been amended three times (in 2000, 2010 & 2015). Amendments to the Act and Regulations have occurred to assist rural and northern communities to develop more licensed child care facilities, increase the availability of infant spaces (Government of Saskatchewan; Saskatchewan Social Services 2000-2001), increasing ECA/ECE's training requirements and to increase best practices.

Similar to other Canadian provinces and territories, Saskatchewan's child care falls under two categories, licensed and unlicensed child care facilities. Licensed child care services includes child care centres and family child care homes. Child care centres are defined by the Government of Saskatchewan as facilities that may provide care for up to 90 children from 6 weeks of age to 12 years (Friendly, Grady, Macdonald, & Forer 2015: 72). As previously noted, in 1974 the Government introduced legislation that child care was to be in the not-for profit sector; however, in the 1990's for-profit child care was once again allowed. The number of children a group facility can care for is determined by the square footage of the centre and by the ratio of ECE/ECA's to children.

When child care policies were first introduced in 1969, the Ministry of Social Services was responsible for the development and funding of these services. Since then, child care as previously mentioned has been moved within the ministry to various departments to fill mandates of the department. Rather than a service that is beneficial to all, licensed child care was perceived as a piece of the puzzle to assist individuals in getting off of government assistance to participate actively in the labour force. In 2006, Saskatchewan was the first province to move the responsibility for ELCC out of the department of community resources (Ministry of Social Services) and into the Department of Learning (Ministry of Education). The move signalled an important step in moving child care from a welfare to an educational discourse. While this was perceived as a positive step nationally, there continues to be a lack of focus from both the federal and provincial governments in who quality child care is beneficial for. While Saskatchewan has expanded access to licensed child care, the growth has been in relation to specific mandates targeting specific populations.

Today, the Early Years Branch of the Ministry of Education is responsible for the development of early learning and child care policies. The branch monitors licensed group and family child care facilities. Although the Early Years Branch does not monitor unlicensed facilities, these facilities are required to meet certain requirements which include ratio of children to caregiver and guidelines provide a safe and nurturing environment for the children (Saskatchewan Bureau of Statistics 2017). While unlicensed facilities are not monitored, the Early Years Branch will investigate if issues related to health, safety or quality of care are reported to the Early Years Branch (The Government of Saskatchewan n.d c).

3.2 Federal Initiatives – How these Initiatives assisted Saskatchewan Child Care

The Government of Canada is not directly involved in the funding, development, and regulation of licensed child care in Canada. However, the federal government is responsible for ECEC/ELCC policies and programming for First Nations communities, military families, immigrants and refugees (Cool 2007). While the federal government does not have a direct role in provincial and territorial ECEC policies, the government is able to influence ECEC/ELCC policies by developing funding initiatives to increase programs and services. Historically this is seen in the *Dominion-Provincial Wartime Agreement* and the Canadian Assistance Plan (CAP) (Scherer 2001). In the late 1990s and early 2000's the Federal government announced three initiatives over the course of five years to assist provincial and territorial governments in expanding their ECEC policies and programs. These initiatives, which included the Early Childhood Development Initiative (ECD) (2001-2006), Multilateral Framework on Early Learning and Child Care (2003-2006), and the Bilateral agreements that were later cancelled in 2006 (Cool 2007) and the Child Care Space Initiative (2007), had implications for Saskatchewan licensed child care policy.

3.2.1 Early Childhood Development Initiative & Saskatchewan

In 2000, the Federal Government announced an injection of \$2.2 billion over a five-year period starting in 2001 to the Early Childhood Development (ECD) Agreement (Cool 2007). Funding from the ECD initiative was to focus on four key areas, which included healthy pregnancy, birth, and infancy, parenting and family supports, early childhood development,

learning and care, and community supports (Early Childhood Development 2012). Provincial and territorial governments had full discretion about where to allocate the funding in relation to the four key areas (Cool 2007). Not all jurisdictions, directed funding towards early childhood developments, learning and care, in order to, further the services and program available in ECEC and in some jurisdictions, there was a decrease in the number of licensed child care facilities (Cool 2007)

In 2001, Saskatchewan started to receive funding through the ECDI, receiving \$10 million in the first year (Friendly et al 2007). Of that \$10 million, \$1.019 million was allocated each year of the ECD initiative to enhance operating funding to childcare centres, training and equipment grants for family child care and enhancing professional development (Friendly & Beach 2005). In 2002-2003 the Government of Saskatchewan committed an additional \$750,000 to the development of licensed childcare centre in the province, as part of the *Income Security Redesign and Building Independence Initiatives*. The goal of the Income Security Initiative as previously mentioned was moving families off welfare and into the labour force (Friendly & Beach 2005). While funding from the ECD increased the number of licensed child care spaces in Saskatchewan in the early 2000's, child care continued to be perceived as a service for low income individuals and families in aiding them off of government services.

3.2.2 Multilateral Framework on Early Learning & Child Care & Saskatchewan

In 2003, the federal government announced an additional investment of \$935 million-dollars over a five-year period into the Multilateral Framework on Early Learning and Child Care (Cool 2007). An additional \$150 million was committed for two years (2004-2006), for a total of \$1.05 billion for ELCC across Canada (Cool 2007). The Multilateral Framework on ELCC was directly focused on increasing early learning and child care spaces across Canada, improving the quality of care and reducing the cost of ECEC services to families in low and modest incomes (Cool 2007). Provincial and territorial governments were required to report the progress that was occurring and were to develop an evaluation framework for ELCC programs and services (Early Childhood Development 2012). Over the five-year period, Saskatchewan received \$32.3 million (Early Childhood Development 2012). Using funds from the Multilateral Framework on ELCC initiative Saskatchewan invested in capital funding for the development of

500 new child care spaces, provided Early Childhood Services funding to 250 spaces, increased the Early Childhood Services Grant, and increased child care subsidies (Friendly et al. 2007)

With funding from the Multilateral Framework on ELCC, the Government of Saskatchewan announced in 2003 a program called *Child Care Saskatchewan*. This initiative was to develop 1,200 licensed child care spaces over a four-year time span (Friendly & Beach 2005). *Child Care Saskatchewan* is one of the largest expansions of licensed child spaces the province has ever seen (Friendly & Beach 2005). These spaces were developed to support labour market attachment (Friendly & Beach 2005). Within the first year of the initiative, 500 licensed childcare spaces were created within Saskatchewan, along with increase in grant funding, and in subsidy financing (Friendly & Beach 2005). Similar to the ECD initiative, funding for *Child Care Saskatchewan* was developed to increase licensed childcare services to assist families relying on welfare to move off government aid; however, little has been done to assist the remainder of Saskatchewan families in finding affordable and high-quality childcare.

3.2.3 Bilateral Agreements & Saskatchewan

In 2004, the Liberal Government under Prime Minister Paul Martin announced the idea of a national child care policy. The federal government would work with provincial and territorial governments to create a multilateral national childcare system based on QUAD principles of quality, universality, accessibility and developmental (Cool 2007). These negotiations between the federal, provincial, and territorial governments did not work with the main point of contention being the requirements to report on measurable outcomes related to the QUAD principles and the concern that funding could only be spent on non-profit child care (Cool 2007). In 2005, the federal government entered into negotiations with individual provinces and territories, leading to bilateral agreements (Cool 2007). From April to November 2005, nine provinces and territories signed individual agreements with the federal government. In signing the agreement, provinces and territories made a commitment to develop a detailed action plan that identified their spending priorities and to follow the QUAD principles (Cooke 2007).

Saskatchewan was one of the first provincial/territorial governments to sign the bilateral agreements (Friendly & Beach 2005). Over five years, Saskatchewan was to receive \$146 million dollars to increase their ELCC policies and programs (Friendly, Beach, Fern & Turiano

2007). In its Action Plan on Early Learning and Child Care, the Government of Saskatchewan identified nine areas that funding would be directed to which included; development of non-compulsory non-targeted pre-kindergarten program for children four years old, expansion of licensed child care spaces, supports for family child care homes, increase in the eligibility levels for subsidies, develop a human resource strategy for the child care arena, develop an early learning guide, continued capital funding for new and expanding facilities, enhancement of accessibility and exclusion support and develop supports for parents (Friendly et al. 2007) . In 2006, the Conservative government, under Stephen Harper, cancelled the bilateral agreements between the federal, provincial, and territorial governments, arguing that a national child care program would not provide choice to parents, but would more likely produced a child care system that was institutional and bureaucratic (Friendly & Prentice 2009; 85). Instead of \$142 million over five years, Saskatchewan received \$42 million over two years to enhance its ELCC policies and programs (Friendly & Beach 2005). With the cancellation of the bilateral agreements, the Government of Saskatchewan could not move forward in all nine areas. Instead, the Government of Saskatchewan focused on eliminating the waitlist for children with high level of disabilities, committing an additional 250 child care spaces in 2005-2006, wage lifts for child care centre staff and enhancements in child care subsidies of an average of \$20.00 per month (Friendly et al. 2007).

When the federal Conservative government cancelled the bilateral agreements, it introduced the Universal Child Care Benefit (UCCB). The UCCB provided Canadian families with children under six years of age with \$160.00 per month to assist in the cost of childcare (Cool 2007). Many advocates for universal childcare opposed the benefit, since it did not help Canadian families to access quality and affordable childcare (Jenson et al. 2003). Arguments made for the UCCB drew from a market ideology model, highlighting the ability to provide choice to families. In 2007, the federal government budgeted \$250 million for the Child Care Space Initiative (CCSI), of which Saskatchewan received \$7.5 million dollars (Department of Finance 2009). The CSSI was developed to provide incentives for employers to develop child care centres in their workplace, although it led to criticism that the federal government was overstepping provincial and territorial governments' jurisdiction for ECEC development. Starting in 2008, funding for the CSSI was transferred to provincial and territorial governments through the Canada Social Transfer (CST) (Government of Canada 2009).

3.3 Conclusion

The history and development of childcare within Canada is long and complex. When examining Saskatchewan specifically, the history of childcare policy is intertwined with the belief system of the government in power at the federal and provincial level and a market orientation ideology. While the federal government today does not play a direct role in Saskatchewan's childcare policies, federal programs continue to influence provincial decisions through ECEC initiatives. Despite increase in licensed spaces and wage enhancements for ECE's/ECA's, Saskatchewan continues to lag behind all other provinces in Canada in providing high quality licensed child care for its people.

CHAPTER 4: THEORY & METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The topic of early childhood education and care has been discussed in a number of disciplines and through a variation of theoretical perspectives. Each discipline and theoretical lens brings to light different roles and relations to the development of a child, the family, and society at large. Through a theoretical orientation one may be able to highlight these different and diverse needs of individuals and groups in society. In this chapter, I will discuss the theories that informed my research concerning what social, political, and economic factors shaped the development of licensed group child care centre from 1999 to 2015. One theoretical work I will be drawing on to examine these factors is Gosta Esping-Andersen's Welfare State Regime, theory to examine the structural forces which have a significant impact on how families find and manage child care. I also will be drawing on a Marxist feminist perspective into my analysis to understand how these policies and structures have impacted and marginalized women in access child care services, potential affecting their ability to participate in the labour force.

4.2 Changes in Family Structures & Women's Employment

Women were and still are considered to be the primary caregiver, responsible for the well-being and development of their children (Jenson et al. 2006, Friendly & Prentice 2009), although, after World War Two, Canada along with other Western industrial countries saw changes developing in their labour markets. These changes included a significant increase in women's participation in the labour force, eroding the traditional family make-up of the male-breadwinner and the stay at home mother (Jenson et al. 2006; 135). In the late 1960's in Canada, mothers of young children were one of the fastest growing segments of the labour force (Jenson et al. 2006; 136). During this time, second wave feminists advocated for accessible, affordable and high quality child care, stating that child care is an indispensable element in achieving equality (Jenson et al. 2006).

Since the 1960s, there continues to be a steady growth of mothers with young children in the labour force (Jenson et al. 2006). Over time, the Government of Canada, along with provincial, and territorial governments have implemented family policies and benefits, such as maternity leave introduced in 1971 to assist parents in balancing work and family responsibilities

(Canadian Labour Congress 2015). Since then, maternity leave has been added to and enhanced, and other new policies have been introduced. Today, over three-quarters of mothers with children under the age of six are working mothers (MacDonald and Friendly 2014). While women with young children are participating in the labour force in large numbers, women, more than men are more likely to juggle the conflicting demands of paid employment and the domestic sphere (Luxton 2006).

After World War Two, many Western welfare states, including Canada emphasized policies which centred around the male-breadwinner (Friendly & Prentice 2005). In addition to the changes occurring in the labour markets, Canada saw changes occurring in family structures. These changes included individuals marrying older, women having their first child later, smaller families, increase in common-law families and more lone-parent households (Friendly & Prentice 2009: 19). The majority of these lone-parent households are headed by women (Friendly & Prentice 2009: 19). With increases in women's participation in the labour force and changes occurring in family structures, industrial nations have struggle to develop policies which account for the changing needs of young working families (Lokteff & Piercy 2011)

4.3 Typologies of the Welfare State

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has for over fifteen years examined the development of early childhood education and care policies in its collaborating countries, including Canada. ECEC policies are influenced by several factors which includes social, political policies and cultural ideologies (Friendly & Prentice 2009; Pasolli 2015). A welfare state commonly refers to the involvements of state responsibility for securing some measure of wellbeing for its citizens (Esping-Andersen 1990). Welfare states are characterised by relationships among three interrelated factors, the family, market and the state (Esping-Andersen 2009). To compare different models of welfare states internationally as well as in Canada, various typologies have emerged to summarize the commonalities and differences (Ebbinghaus 2012). One for the most referred to typologies is characterized in Gosta Esping-Andersen's *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1990).

Prior to Esping-Andersen's (1990) Welfare Regime Theory, defined in the *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, political economists dating back centuries from various perspectives

(Liberal, Conservative, Marxists), examined various factors which impact an individual's life. These factors include the state, class position, the market, and democracy as key elements in terms of an individual's citizenship, efficiency, equality, and ability to participate in capitalist or socialist economy (Esping-Andersen 1990; 12). While the concept and variables associated with welfare states were examined by various theorists (T.H Marshall 1950; Titmuss 1958; Therborn 1983), Esping-Andersen emphasised more fully in his; Welfare State Regime Theory that we must account for how state activities are interlocked with the market and the family's role in social provision (Esping-Andersen 1990; 21).

A key element in Esping-Andersen's Welfare Regime Theory is de-commodification, the availability of services which are rendered as a citizen's right (Esping-Andersen 1990; 23). The level of de-commodification in a state varies in accordance with the degree of involvement from the state, market, and family. While some states provide services in order to assist in social reproduction, by providing accessible and affordable child care and other social services, other states let the market or the family determine services available and needed. In examining de-commodification, Esping-Andersen states that capturing the expenditures of social spending is not enough to characterize a state, it also requires an examination of the rules, standards, and conditions of requirements for welfare programs (Esping-Andersen 1990; 47). Another key element in Esping-Andersen's, Welfare State Regime Theory is stratification. Esping-Andersen (1990) states that welfare states are inherently a system of stratification that is an active force in ordering social relations (23). The organization of the welfare state determines social solidarity, division of class, and status differentiation (55). The state and the market interacted continuously to develop social provisions which define welfare state regimes (Esping -Andersen 1990; 79)

From the Welfare State Regime Theory, Esping-Andersen characterizes three ideal types of welfare states, liberal, social democratic and corporatist. This welfare state typology allows researchers, policy makers, and the public to understand the various levels of de-commodification that shape welfare states. The liberal model, commonly associated with countries such as Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the U.S are likely to employ means-tested assistance, modest universal transfers, or social insurance plans (Esping-Andersen 1990). In a liberal model, governments encourage the use of the market, passively by guaranteeing only a minimum or actively by subsidizing private welfare organisations (Esping- Andersen 1990).

The second regime Esping - Andersen defines is the social democratic regime, associated with Scandinavian countries such as Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Iceland. A social democratic welfare state would promote an equality of the highest standards, not an equality of minimal needs compared to the liberal and the corporatist welfare states (Esping-Andersen 2014). Both liberal and the social welfare models are based on high participation in the labour force of both men and women (Beaujot, Du, & Ravanera 2013). The final typology Esping-Andersen refers to is the corporatist model, which is connected with countries such as Germany, Austria, France, and Italy, which in the past has largely been shaped by the Church; therefore, there is a strong commitment to traditional family values (Esping-Andersen 1990). Family services within the corporatist models tend to be underdeveloped, and the principal of subsidies emphasises that the state will interfere when the family is out of options.

While Esping-Andersen (1990) developed characteristics of ideal typical welfare states, he has stated that it is important to note that no government or state will fall under one pure type. Rather, there are variations of hybrid models. By understanding the characteristics of the typologies one can compare across nation states; in Canada this provides a framework for making comparisons between provincial and territorial governments. The use of Esping-Andersen's typologies offers a powerful explanatory and comparative framework within social policy (Prentice 2004). In addition, Esping-Andersen's theory highlights the various structural relationships which have different effects on gender roles, relations and social reproduction (Charles 2000).

While Canada is one of the leaders in the world in terms of investment into health and education, Canada falls behind in terms of social welfare spending, including child care policies (Hallgrimsdottir et al. 2013). Canada's social policy contains characteristics of two welfare state types, the social democratic, providing universal, publicly funded health care services within a larger dominant liberal regime (Jenson, Mahon & Phillips 2003:139). Liberal welfare states are characterized as having a *laissez-faire* approach, letting policies and events occur with minimal state intervention approach to social policy (Prentice 2004) and tending to favour programs that interact with the market with narrow state intervention and a high reliance on the family and the market (Prentice 2004). Social benefits from characterized liberal welfare states are means tested, short-term and typically stigmatized, available to individuals/families in low socio-economic circumstances (Walmsley & Tessier 2014/2015). An emphasis on the market in a

liberal welfare state to provide services for individual, creates polarization between classes based on what families can afford and what types of service are available, specifically in relation to childcare. Liberal welfare states rely heavily on the private market to provide services which reinforces class, gender, race, inequalities (Luxton 1997; Charles 2000).

Since the 1970s Canada on four separate occasions, has tried to create a national child care policy. Resistance to the development of a national child care policy has been interpreted as a consequence of neo-liberal ideologies prevalent in Canada and Western industrial countries in the 1980s and 1990s (Hallgrimsdottir et al. 2013). Neo-liberal ideologies stress individual responsibility and a decreased role for the state (Hallgrimsdottir et al. 2013). Child care across Canada, excluding Quebec is largely perceived as a private family matter and is to be dealt with through the market rather than through public spending. Provincial and territorial governments across Canada do assist low-income families in the cost of child care by setting eligibility requirements to receive subsidies. In the past, Saskatchewan, determined child care subsidies by the “turning point”, the income level where families receive full child care subsidy, and the “break-even point”, the income level where families are no longer eligible to receive child care subsidies. Today, child care subsidies are determined by a tiered system that takes into account factors like, location (rural, urban, northern) number of children, age of children, and hours spent in care for the week/month (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada 2012).

The golden age of the welfare state emerged post World War One. Social policies were developed in relation to the social risks that were emerging during that period, which included, unemployment, sickness and old age (Prentice & Friendly 2005). In addition, the majority of these social policies focused on the traditional hegemonic family, the breadwinner male and the stay-at-home female (Mahon 2013). Neo-liberal policies became prominent in Canada, United States and Great Britain in the 1980s’ and 1990’s. Governments either pulled back or changed the nature of their social spending, although there were a number of effects that occurred due to the implementation of neo-liberal policies, which included income polarization and persistent poverty (Jenson & Saint-Martin 2003). In the past two decades, governments across Canada have been restructuring their welfare architecture to account for the new social risk that were developing, due to changes in family structures and demographics, and an increase in the knowledge based economy (Jenson & Saint Marie 2003). The structures of golden age welfare state are unable to accommodate the fast pace changes occurring in industrialized countries. A

new model, widely referred to as the social investment state emerged under the “Third Way” policy development in the 1990’s (Pierson & Leimgruber 2012; 44). The third way was a new way of viewing social policies as an investment in human capital, for governments to be able to compete in an increasing globalized and knowledge based economy (Lister 2004).

The social investment state, coined by Anthony Giddens in “The Third Way” (1998) refers to social policies that emphasises investment in individuals to enhance their capacity to participate in the new and growing knowledge based economy (Jenson & Saint Martin 2003). Midgley (1999) maintains that social investment policies have five characteristics as, the coordination of social and economic policies and programs, focus on job creation, economic inclusion, employment participation and favouring policies which illustrate positive returns on the investment. Policies and programs that fall under social investment policies include employability and ECEC (Jenson & Saint Martin 2003). The core of a social investment state is children (White 2012). This is achieved by investing in ECEC programs and services which allow parents to participate in the labour force and prepares and gives children the skills to be part of the increasing knowledge based economy (White 2012).

In recent years, Canada has expanded its spending and development on ECEC policies, in relation to social investment policies, although it continues to lag-behind other highly industrialized countries. The OECD has on several occasions illustrated that Canada continues to be a low spender in relation to ECEC policies, even when compared to other liberal welfare states (OECD 2015). Provincial and territorial governments are responsible for the funding and development of ECEC policies, which creates variations in the number of available licensed spaces, direct funding available to child care facilities and child care subsidies for low income families. While Canada has been characterized as a liberal welfare state, it is important to note that Canada does not have one form of liberalism, but rather there are fourteen variants, federal government, ten provincial governments and three territorial governments, each reflecting a similar but different way in which the state reinforces or undermines the market and the family (Prentice 2004; Jenson et al. 2003:139). The characteristics of ideal typical welfare states, including liberal welfare state, are quite broad; therefore some researchers (Mahon & Phillips 2002; Mahon 2009; McGrane 2014) have characterised two types of liberalism, neo-liberalism, which align with the social investment perspective and inclusive liberalism. McGrane (2014) demonstrates these two variations of liberalism in the Atlantic Provinces in relation to ECEC

policy development. Inclusive liberalism describes how governments stress the importance of early childhood education and care as a social investment in education rather than caregiving (McGrane 2014). While neo-liberalism is characterised solely a private matter with minimal government interference in the development of child care (McGrane 2014). How governments face challenges and opportunities in social policies, especially in relation to child care is affected by the interaction of the federal welfare state, as well as provincial and territorial welfare regime.

The use of Gosta Esping-Andersen's theoretical framework in examining the development of licensed child care spaces in Saskatchewan, brings attention to child care policies implemented by the government as active forces in marginalizing women, families, children, and classes in accessing licensed child care services. Child care within Canada, excluding Quebec is based on a market user model with little assistance from federal, provincial, and territorial in the development of spaces. Rather than providing supply funding, direct funding to the daily operations of child care facilities, government have time and time again provide funding to the demand side, providing tax benefits/credits and subsidies to families who meet the eligibility requirements. Families who receive assistance from the government for child care typically fall under certain tax brackets and in some cases locations. In addition, his theoretical framework provides a foundation to understand how child care policies have been perceived, developed and implemented from the two different governments the New Democrat Party (NDP) (1999-2007) and the Saskatchewan Party (2007- current).

While Esping-Andersen's, Welfare Regime Theory is widely used in comparative policy studies of welfare states, I will also be drawing on the theoretical framework of Marxist feminism. Esping-Andersen's *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1990), while drawing in part on a Marxist analysis, has been criticized for the lack of attention paid to gender (Orloff 1996, Lewis 1997, Gornick & Meyers 2004). Throughout his work, Esping-Andersen does little in relation to acknowledge gender differences, in terms of employment and in care (child, elder). By also drawing on a Marxist feminist theoretical orientation, I will also be including the gender aspect. In addition both a Marxist Feminism and Esping Andersen's Welfare Regime Theory incorporate a class analysis, influenced by the works of Karl Marx into their theories.

4.4 Marxist Feminism

The feminist movement across Canada as well as other Western industrial countries has been one of the most influential social movement affecting the developments of childcare policies (Ferguson 1988). The overall goal of feminism is to achieve equality in the social, political, economic, and cultural spheres. Several denominations of feminism have developed in regards to how achieve equality, which includes Liberal, Traditional, Radical, and Marxist feminism. Over time each branch of feminism has established different underlying assumptions about the individual, the household, family, society, as well as on the topic of childcare (Ferguson 1988). While various branches of feminism has developed and taken up various social issues, at the centre of each critique is the current hegemonic family and prevailing family forms (Luxton 1997). The various feminist perspectives have resulted in different end goals and ways to achieve them (Ferguson 1988). In addition to the typologies of the welfare state, I will be using a Marxist Feminist theoretical lens to examine the development of Saskatchewan's licensed child care. I will focus less on class inequalities that are emphasized in orthodox Marxist

A Marxist Feminist theoretical orientation, is largely influenced by the theoretical works of Karl Marx's, *Capital: Critique of Political Economy* (1867) and of Frederick Engel's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884) (Smith 1985). Drawing from these works, Marxist Feminists illustrate how gender and class are two equal determining variables which account for women's secondary position in society (Ferguson 1988). The capitalist state has continuously reinforced gender relations and roles by the ideal of the male breadwinner and women's economic dependence on men (Charles 2000). A Marxist Feminism orientation emphasizes that material relations, social structures, modes of production and gender still permeates into all aspects of society, which are continuously being shaped by economic and political processes (Smith 1985). In addition, Marxist Feminism illustrate that social structures, material relations and modes of production are shaped in relation to local norms and practices in relation to gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, class, and other forms of system inequalities (Luxton 2006a; Carty 2014). While a Marxist feminist perspective highlights these areas, it has also been critiqued in the past for its lack of focus on diversity among women, concentrating analysis especially on Caucasian middle-class females (Carty 2014). To ensure that I do not make similar mistakes, I will highlight how women from different social positions and groups access child care

services, which includes Indigenous, immigrant, racial diversity women as well as women from rural and urban settings.

When the issue of affordable, and accessible child care emerged in Canada in the 1970's advocates were largely made up of feminist, labour unions, child, and family advocates (Prentice 2009). These advocates stressed the connection between childcare services and gender equality (Prentice 2009). Today, advocates are arising from various areas, which include corporate, health, and private sectors, with each sector emphasising the economic benefits of investing in ECEC policies to society (Prentice 2007). ECEC in Canada has been slowly transformed and reframed from an issue concerned with women's equality and alleviating poverty to the short and long term economic returns of early childhood education (Prentice 2009). The shift of perception on ECEC can be illustrated by the Canadian physician researcher Fraser Mustard and his colleagues, who believe that focusing public spending on young children will provide returns that exceeds any other type of human capital investment (Prentice 2009). With what might say stronger advocates for ECEC, Canada may see funding improvements in ECEC policies.

ECEC policies in Canada in the last decade, have been reframed as a social investment in children and are posed as gender neutral policies (White 2004). By reframing child care away from women equality to gender neutral policies, there is a failure to address the social, economic and the gendered costs (Dobrowolsky and Jenson 2004) These costs include high child poverty rates, diminished earning power for women and erasures of women's distinct relationship to child care (Dobrowolsky and Jenson 2004; Prentice 2009). Dobrowolsky and Jenson (2004) warn of the dangers of government's attention being exclusively directly towards children and children's programming. Though such a focus of attention on children and their program, women can be left in the shadows making class, gender, and other structures of inequality invisible (Dobrowolsky and Jenson 2004).

Across Canada, access to licensed child care facilities varies significantly, impacting women across the country in several different ways. Powell (1997) and MacDonald and Friendly (2015) have illustrated that the affordability and accessibility of child care services is closely connected to women's participation in the labour force. With minimal assistance from the state both at the federal and provincial/territorial levels in direct funding to licensed child care facilities, traditional gender roles and relations of caring for young children are reinforced. Women are more likely than men to take time off of work to care for young children and cite a

lack of affordable child care as reason for working part-time rather than full time (MacDonald & Friendly 2015; 14). MacDonald and Friendly (2015) created the Child Care Affordability Index, comparing child care fees to the median income of women (aged 25-34) in each city. In Canada, Brampton, Ontario consumes the highest percentage of a women's pre-tax income, approximately 36 percent. A close second was Toronto, London, and Windsor Ontario and Surrey, British Columbia which take approximately 34 percent of a women's pre-taxed income. In Saskatchewan, Saskatoon was the only city in the Affordability index. MacDonald and Friendly (2014) found that child care in Saskatoon took approximately 23 percent of a women's pre-tax annual income, one of the lowest percentages in Canada. The cost of child care in Winnipeg, Manitoba and Quebec City, Longueuil, Montreal, Laval and Gatineau Quebec, took the lowest percentage of a women's pre-taxed fifteen and four to six percent respectively. Manitoba has been moving towards affordable and accessible licensed child care, while Quebec introduced their universal \$7.00 a day child care in the late 1990s (MacDonald & Friendly 2015). For remaining cities in Canada, women can expect to pay one-quarter to one-third their income on child care expenses (Macdonald & Friendly 2015).

A number of factors impact mothers and families in placing their child into licensed child care services, accessibility and affordability are primary factors. Unfortunately, race has been also been demonstrated as a factor in gaining access to child care services. Prentice, (2007a) in *Childcare, justice and the city: A case study of planning failure in Winnipeg* has illustrated that access to licensed child care across a single city, Winnipeg, based on socio-economic status as well by race. Access to licensed child care facilities is lower in poor and inner-city neighbours such as Mynarski in Winnipeg, which have a higher percentage of Aboriginal residents. While neighbourhoods in the suburban areas in Winnipeg, such as River Heights which has a lower percentage of Aboriginal residents, also have greater access and a lower percentage of Aboriginal residents (Prentice 2007a). Access to licensed child care services helps children all socio-economic status (SES) in developing life skills; however, research (Beach & Bertrand 2000) has illustrated that ECEC services for children in lower SES can help reduce the negative physical, psychological, social and economic effects.

The current underlying ideology in Canada, and many place throughout the world in relation to child rearing, is that mothers provide the best and most suitable form of care (Luxton 1997b:163). Motherhood is impacted by how gender, race and social class intersect (Fox

2006:231). Fox (2006) argues that the concept of motherhood is a class-act that developed from middle class, Caucasian women in the late 18th century due to economic changes (235). Skills that were necessary for survival were changing in relation to the development of capitalism (Ibid., 235). With the rapid changes that were occurring within society, middle class women assumed responsibility for the raising and well-being of their children and were to ensure that children had sufficient education, both formal and informal skills necessary to succeed in life (Fox 2006:235). By the late 19th century, women were largely perceived as responsible for the transmission of values, attitudes, and behaviours to the next generation (Fox 2006:236). Fox (2006: 236) argues that these roles women fulfill ensure women's economic dependence on men, and tie women to the household. Today, motherhood is still largely influenced by these 18th century ideals of care, impacting how the welfare state reinforces gender roles and how policies are developed and funded.

In relation to childcare and early childhood education and care, Marxist feminism illustrates the importance that society has placed on the activity and labour associated with childcare (Ferguson 1988). Even though there is significantly high social values associated with responsibility for the upbringing of children, Marxist feminism has illustrated at the same time that society undervalues the labour related to the care of children and of dependents (Ferguson 1988). This is illustrated in the low remuneration and benefits for early childhood educators and assistants as well as by the lack of social policies and programs to assist in the raising of children. Until there is equal worth between productive and reproductive labour, Marxist feminist believe that women will continue to be oppressed within society (Ferguson 1988). Smith (1985), illustrates that gender is continuously being shaped by economic and political factors and permeates into all aspects of society. Therefore, it is important to examine these forces in relation to women's position within society and advancement in social policy.

In recent years arguments for accessible and affordable child care have been made from economic, medical, corporate and private sectors (Prentice 2009: 688). However, I believe it is important to bring child care back to its original framework though a feminist lens. While the benefits of early learning and child care policies and programs for children have been illustrated by number of studies (Helburn & Howes 1996, Brownell, Roos & Fransoo 2006, Prentice 2009), it has also been noted that accessible and affordable child care assists women in participating equally in the labour force (Cleveland, Gunderson & Hyatt 1996; Powell 1997; Mason 2003;

Lefebvre & Merrigan 2008; MacDonald & Friendly 2014, 2015, 2016, & 2017). A Marxist Feminist approach highlights the lack of gender within social policies and the enormous imbalance that women continue to bear a significant amount of responsibilities in child care and rearing. A Marxist Feminist perspective elaborates on social policies and state interventions in terms of social reproduction, in which parts of care work are considered private matter or collective responsibility and the harmful effects it has on gender, specifically on mothers (Charles 2000).

4.5 Social Reproduction

Since birth and throughout our lives we are continuously taught and reinforced by our parents, family members and friends the norms and values of our society. Researchers have developed a term which encompasses a wide range of daily activities, attitudes, emotions, roles, responsibilities, and relationships involved in the maintenance of everyday life, known as social reproduction (Luxton 2006: 35). Social reproduction involves the transmission of activities and attitudes from one generation to the next (Luxton 2006: 35). There are three main institutions where social reproduction occurs the state, the market and the family (Luxton 2006: 38). Social reproduction can also occur in volunteer, community, and religious organizations, and informal networks of friends and communities play an important role in social reproduction (Luxton 2006a: 37). The work involved in social reproduction is intensive, undervalued, and largely invisible within society (Bezanson 2006: 175); even though social reproduction is essential to the daily and long-term development of capitalism (Luxton 2006c:261).

Social reproduction is politically, socially, and culturally determined (Luxton 2006). The primary responsibility for social reproduction has historically varied between the main institutions of the state, family, and market, due to struggles over political, economic, and social priorities (Luxton 2006:38). The state plays a central role in social reproduction through structuring the inputs and conditions in which it will be carried out and how it will be licensed through the market, such as providing income support for individuals, children and dependent care (Cameron 2006). In my analysis, I will be drawing on the concept of social reproduction. Social reproduction is an important tool for analysis since it emphasizes and explains society as a whole; the structures, relationships, and dynamics which produce the wide range of activities, attitudes, roles, and responsibilities (Luxton 2006: 37) and highlights the ways which the welfare

state reinforces traditional gendered roles and relations (Orloff 1996). In addition, social reproduction generates a deeper and more integrated analysis of gender and race within society.

4.6 Methodology - Critical Discourse Analysis

To examine the political, economic, and social factors influencing the development of Saskatchewan's ECEC policy, specifically in relation to licensed group child care facilities I performed a critical discourse analysis (CDA). Discourse, from a sociological point of view, refers to any social practices such as dances, rituals, myths, and books which individuals have imbued with their own meanings and realities (Ruiz 2009). A CDA originally developed from a critical theory of language, which perceives the use of language as a form of social practice (Janks 2008) A CDA, as a research methodology, attempts to break down the mutually reinforcing relations of power and dominance in society (Ruiz 2009). Fairclough's (1995) CDA model emphasises the role of language and how individuals come to understand the world, interact with it, are shaped by it, and shapes the world (Richardson 2011). Fairclough's (1995) CDA consists of three interrelated processes which are connected to three dimensions of discourse:

- the object of analysis (includes verbal, texts & visuals);
- the process by which the object is produced, received (writing, speaking, designing etc.) by human subjects; and
- the socio-historical conditions that govern these processes (Janks 2008)

Fairclough (1995) states that each one of these levels requires a different analysis that builds on one another and follow as a descriptive (description), processing analysis (interpretation) and social analysis (explanation) (Janks 2008).

A main aspect of a CDA is the identification of key ideological formations which the discourse is built on (Richardson 2011). Discourses are inherently dialectical relationships of structures and events, which are continuously shaped, reshaped and reproduced by one another (Fairclough 2010: 59). A major form of a discourse that I will be examining in my thesis is represented in social policies, specifically the development of child care policies. Social policies are embedded and intertwined with ideological formations and social interactions which include

relationships with the market, gender relations, relations with the state and within institutions (Fairclough 2012; 59). A CDA constitutes society and culture, is situated and historical, highlights power relations, and addresses social problems (Rogers et al. 2005).

While a CDA highlights and addresses power relations and social problems, it has faced three common critiques which include that political and social ideologies are read into the data, there is an imbalance between social theory and linguistic and method and that a CDA is often divorced from social contexts (Rogers, et al. 2005). While it is important to acknowledge the critiques a critical discourse analysis faces, it is important to note that all knowledge claims are socially situated (Harding 1992). A CDA take a political stance against the social inequalities and injustices that are occurring within society. As a female researcher, I believe that women should have equal access to resources that will assist them in participating equally in the labour force. A CDA is best fitted for my research since the methodology allows for an examination of the relationships among the texts, interpretation of the discourse practices and allows for an explanation the various factors. Within my research I have examined in particular the political and social ideologies expressed in government reports and documents, political debates, and other groups seeking childcare reform that have influenced the development and created the current state of licensed groups child care. The documents I examined in order to address why Saskatchewan continues to have a low number of licensed child care facilities for children below five years of age included the planned and annual reports from the Ministry of Education, Social Services, and Finances from 1999-2015. These documents are one-way sources, which provide information to the citizens of Saskatchewan on the year's successes and future plans for each ministry. These ministries were chosen since they have either direct or indirect responsibilities in the development, funding, and delivery of licensed child care facilities in Saskatchewan. These documents can be found on the Government of Saskatchewan's website back to 2003, and the remaining documents from, 1999-2003 were located at the Saskatchewan archives at the University of Saskatchewan. These reports provided a general framework of the previous fiscal years developments and plans for the following year.

In addition to the planning documents and annual reports produced through these three provincial ministries, I examine policy initiatives documents that have been released from the Government of Saskatchewan throughout the sixteen years which includes *Our Children. Our Promise. Our Future. Early Childhood Development Progress Report* (2004-2005; 2005-2006;

2006-2007 & 2007-2008). These initiatives emerged from the federal funding from the Multilateral Framework Agreement on Early Learning and Child Care. The Multilateral Framework agreement provided funding for provincial and territorial governments to expand their early childhood education and care policies. Funding was directed towards four key areas set out by the federal government which included, promoting healthy pregnancy, birth and infancy; improving parenting and family supports; strengthening early childhood developments, learning and care and strengthening community supports (Cool 2007).

To develop a better understanding of the developments that were occurring in relation to group child care facilities, I decided to examine a sample of Saskatchewan's Hansard between 1999 and 2015. The Hansards are transcripts of debates and proceedings which take place in Assembly and its committees (Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan 2017). My sample includes 29 individual volumes of Hansards retrieved from the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan website. I searched for the terms "child care" and "early learning and child care" to ensure I was focusing on legislative debates that were related to the development of licensed child care in Saskatchewan. In addition, I tried to ensure that each fiscal year was represented to guarantee a well-rounded sample. The final report that I examined was *Saskatchewan's Early Years Plan 2016-2020* released by the Government of Saskatchewan in 2015. The plan sets out actions and goals to improve Saskatchewan's current early learning and child care programs and supports over a four-year period, from 2016 to 2020 (The Government of Saskatchewan nd.: c).

4.6.1 Questions to Guide the Critical Discourse Analysis

1. What was the government's overall direction for the year in the annual reports?
2. What is the mandate/goal for ECEC development for the year?
 - a. Is there a goal?
 - b. Do these goals change throughout the year(s)?
 - c. Are there long term mandates/goals?
 - i. If so, what are these long term goals?
 - d. What does the Government of Saskatchewan recognize the importance of ECEC programs to?
 - i. Children
 - ii. Women

- iii. Families
 - iv. Society
3. What assumptions does the government make about Saskatchewan families?
 - a. Traditional?
 - b. Lone-parent households?
 4. What does the government related accessing ECEC services to?
 - a. Education?
 - b. Labour force?
 5. Do ECEC policies account for the demographic changes occurring in Saskatchewan?
 - a. Increase of women's participation in the labour force?
 - i. What/ is there a percentage change over the last fifteen?
 1. Children under the age of 2
 2. Children under the age of 5
 6. Number of children between 0-5 years of age?
 - i. What is there a percentage change?
 7. What was the amount of funding allocated towards the developments of licensed child care space?
 - a. What percentage of provincial budget was allocated towards licensed child care?
 8. What was the funding directed towards? /How much of the funding?
 - a. To increase licensed child care spaces?
 - b. ECA Wages
 - i. What supports are given to early childhood workers in terms Professional Developments?
 - ii. What is the percentage of unionization for ECE/ECA's in the province?

4.6.2 Federal Initiatives Questions

1. How much funding did Saskatchewan receive?
 - a. How long was the funding for?
2. What were the goals attached to the funding?
 - a. Increase of Spaces?
 - b. Wages for Early child care workers?

4.7 Conclusion

While child care in recent years has been examined through a number of theoretical lens, I decided to draw on the theoretical works of Gosta Esping-Andersen's welfare regime theory and a Marxist feminism orientation to address my research question, what social, economic and political factors have shaped the development of licensed child care in Saskatchewan from 1999 to 2015? When the issue of affordable, accessible and quality child care emerged in the 1970's it was in relation to women to participate equally in the labour force; however, child care policies are now discussed in the investment into the child and long term economic returns rather than equality for women. I believe the combination of two theoretical perspectives combined with a critical discourse analysis, brings attention back to the inequalities and marginalization that women face when trying to accessing licensed child care spaces across the province.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

Early childhood education and care (ECEC) services across Canada are described as a “patchwork” of services (Friendly & Prentice 2009). As previously noted, provincial and territorial governments are responsible for the funding and development of these services under the Constitution Act of 1867. During the 1960s, as women entered the labour force, there was an increasing focus on enhancing child care policies. Saskatchewan, as noted in chapter 3 (History of Child Care in Saskatchewan) introduced its first child care policy in 1969. Since then; however, licensed child care in Saskatchewan has been characterized as in crisis (Martin 1988, 1991; Friendly 2005), with limited licensed child care spaces, inadequate funding directed towards the expansion of licensed child care, and low remuneration for early childhood assistants and educators. In this chapter I will demonstrate the social, economic and political factors that have influenced the development of licensed group child care facilities in the province. Social factors include a growing population of children zero to five years of age, an increase in the number of mothers with young children participating in the labour force, and a young and growing indigenous population. This chapter will highlight four reasons as to why Saskatchewan continues to fall behind in the development of licensed child care spaces a reliance on the family to provide child care services, the impact of neo-liberal policies, funding directed towards targeted services, rather than universal access, and limited advocacy within the province to expand services and the quality of care within the province.

With growing attention in Canada on early learning and child care policy and what the best practices are to serve Canadian parents and children, there continues to be a lack of research and available data. The OECD (2006), Friendly (2005) and Mayer and Beg (2006) have called on Saskatchewan to develop a comprehensive and integrative ELCC framework as well as continuous and up to date data collection. There continues to be limited data collected on licensed child care policies and programs in Canada and in Saskatchewan. The Government of Saskatchewan has administrative data such as operational and wage enhancement grants and growth of licensed child care spaces; however, there has been limited attention and research done in Saskatchewan both at the provincial and academic levels. The last research done by the Government of Saskatchewan in 2006 was to identify the current usage of licensed child care as

well as issues and barriers parents faces with accessing child care and opinion on what the role of the government should be (Rochon Associated Human Resource Management Consulting 2006). Up to date data and continuous data collections assist in appropriate policy responses and identifying the needs of Saskatchewan families in terms of accessing licensed child care facilities as well as the remuneration and educational levels of early childhood educators.

5.2 Demographics

The topic of accessible and affordable child care emerged on the national stage in Canada in the 1960s. Since then the federal, provincial and territorial government have had little to no involvement in the expansion of childcare services and facilities. In the early and mid-2000's the federal government funded three separate ECEC initiatives, the Early Childhood Development (ECD) initiative, the Multilateral Framework on Early Learning and Child Care and the Bilateral Agreement. These initiatives assisted provincial and territorial governments in expanding their early learning and child care policies and programs. The changing demographics of Canada has been a significant driver in the federal government's investment in ECEC in the 21st century. Demographic changes include an aging workforce, high percentage of working mothers with young children, persistent child poverty and generational and class inequalities (Friendly & Prentice 2009).

Over the past decade or more, Saskatchewan has undergone several social and economic changes that directly have had an impact the accessibility of child care services in the province (The Muttart Foundation 2012). These changes include: an increased participation of women in the labour force, "in" –vs "out" migration, an increase in young families, and an economic upturn that has increased the cost of living and housing (The Muttart Foundation 2012). A few of these factors such as the increase in women's participation in the labour force and the increase in young families, have direct implications for the accessibility and affordability of child care across Canada (The Muttart Foundation; MacDonald & Friendly 2014). These factors play a significant role in consideration of how best to approach the design, funding and delivery of early learning and childcare policies, specifically the development of licensed group child care centres in Saskatchewan (The Muttart Foundation 2012). While, over the years, the Government of Saskatchewan has funded various initiatives to increase the amount of licensed childcare

services in the province, the development of facilities in Saskatchewan has been relatively slow compared to the increase in demand of childcare services.

Over the past fifteen years, partially as part of the economic growth, Saskatchewan has seen a significant increase in its population. The economic growth resulted from a boom in the natural resources industries, such as potash and oil, which has drawn many individuals and families from across Canada and internationally to Saskatchewan since 2006 (The Muttart Foundation 2012). During this period of growth, Saskatchewan witnessed a small baby boom with a 20 percent increase in children from 0-5 years of age between 2006 and 2011 (The Muttart Foundation 2012). In 2016, Saskatchewan was home to 1,098,352 people, an increase of 6.3 percent from 2011 (Saskatchewan Bureau of Statistics 2017).

Canada and other industrial countries saw a significant increase in women's participation in the labour force beginning in the 1960s, with the largest increase occurring in the 1980's (Friendly & Prentice 2009; 16). Women's increased participation in the labour force is related to women's education attainment, changing cultural attitudes and changes in family structures and needs (Uppal 2015, Esping-Andersen 2009). Compared to other characteristic liberal welfare states, such as Australia, New Zealand, United States, and Great Britain, Canada's labour force participation of mothers is high (Friendly, Beach, Ferns & Turiano 2007; Friendly & Prentice 2009; 16). The percentage of women with children between three and five years of age participating in the labour force has also increased from 60.7 percent in 1996 to 67 in 2001 and 69.7 percent in 2009 (Statistics Canada 2015).

Canada has one of the highest rates of participation of mothers in the labour force, and those of Saskatchewan's mothers are higher than the national average (The Muttart Foundation 2012). Similar to Canada, the proportion of mothers with young children in Saskatchewan participating in the labour force has steadily increased since the 1980s. In 1998, 65 percent of mothers with young children between the ages of 0 and 2 and 73 percent of mothers with children between 3 and 5 years of age participated in the labour force. (Friendly, Grady, MacDonald & Forer 2015). By 2014 in Saskatchewan, labour force participation of mother with children 0 to 2 years of age increased from 65 percent to 71 percent and for mothers with children 3 to 5 years of age from 73 percent to 76 (Friendly et al. 2015; 15). With a significant percentage of women with young children participating in the labour force in Canada and in Saskatchewan, many families rely on informal or formal child care services.

Once known as a rural province, Saskatchewan families with young children are migrating towards the city centres of Regina and Saskatoon (The Muttart Foundation 2012). Between 2006 and 2011, Regina and Saskatoon were two of the largest growing urban metropolitan areas in the country (The Muttart Foundation 2012). During this period, Regina's population grew eight percent and Saskatoon's by 11.4 percent, together accounting for 46 percent of the total provincial population (The Muttart Foundation 2012). While a large number of young children (0-5 years of age) reside in urban areas, 54 percent of children in Saskatchewan still are in rural and northern areas. Access to licensed child care facilities in Northern and rural communities is limited across Canada (Friendly, Ferns, Grady, & Rothman 2016) and in Saskatchewan. A number of factors influence the development of child care services in rural and northern locations, including low and sparse population, and prevalence of seasonal and non-standardized work hours (Friendly et al. 2016).

Saskatchewan is home to the one of the largest and fastest growing Indigenous populations, comprised of First Nations, Metis, and Inuit (The Muttart Foundation 2012). In the 2016 Census, 16.3 percent of Saskatchewan's population identified as Aboriginal, the second highest in Canada, following after Manitoba (Statistics Canada 2016). In addition, approximately three in ten children between zero and five years of age in the province are of Aboriginal heritage (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada 2012). While there is an increase in lone-parent households across Canada and in Saskatchewan, 42.5 percent of Aboriginal children in Saskatchewan live with a lone-parent and face financial precarity compared to non-Aboriginal families (The Muttart Foundation 2012).

The Government of Saskatchewan does not finance any child care program on reserves and since 2001 the responsibility of licensed child care facilities is by the First Nation (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada 2012). There is approximately 76 on reserve child care facilities across the province, with 1,044 spaces (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada 2012; 155). While the Government of Saskatchewan is not legally responsible for the funding and development of licensed child care spaces on reserve land, approximately 43 percent of status Indigenous individuals live off reserve (Kelly-Scott 2016). When updating and developing ELCC and licensed child care policies in Saskatchewan, it is important to have appropriate cultural awareness and programming in relation to indigenous culture and heritage.

Access to licensed child care facilities is relatively low, across most of Canada and lower in Saskatchewan. In 2014, Saskatchewan had the lowest percentage of licensed child care facilities with 12.4 percent compared to 24.4 percent nationally (Friendly, Grady, Macdonald, & Forer 2015; 10). While access to licensed child care in Saskatchewan is the lowest in the country, access to licensed group child care facilities increased from 5.2 percent to 12.6 percent between 1999 and 2015 (Friendly, et al. 2015; 19). With assistance from the federal initiatives (ECD, Multilateral and the Bilateral Agreement), Saskatchewan invested over three hundred million dollars in licensed child care between 1999 and 2015. Yet this investment has not compensated for the increase in population and increase in working mothers who require child care.

5.3 Themes

5.3.1 Targeted vs. Universal Access to ELCC Discourse

Historically, access to child care nationally and in Saskatchewan is not perceived as a citizen's right but rather, as a private family matter to be dealt with through the market, requiring government intervention only to support low income families. While research has highlighted the positive contributions quality child care can have on children's development research (Helburn & Howes 1996; Brownell, Roos & Fransoo 2006; Prentice 2009), this is not widely accepted by government or in society at large. Rationales for ECEC/ELCC in Canada have vacillated between children's development, life-long learning, school readiness, women's equality, employability, balancing work, and family, alleviating at risk status and social integration (Friendly 2000). Research has also illustrated that access to early interventions and ECEC services, especially for children in lower socio-economic households, can help reduce the negative impacts of physical, psychological, social, and economic challenges (Beach & Bertrand 2000, Canadian Public Health Association 2016). ECEC resources continue to be limited across Canada and in Saskatchewan, therefore research has been rationalized to be directed towards children and families that are considered at risk (Beach & Bertrand 2000).

Debates over the role and overall goals of child care continue in Saskatchewan. In recent years, Friendly (2005) and Mayer and Beg (2006) have illustrated that the Government of Saskatchewan does not see the importance of early learning and child care programming benefits for all children. In the literature (OECD 2001 2001, Friendly & Prentice 2009), ECEC/ELCC is an overarching framework that encompasses programs and services for children and their

families, although in the mid-2000, the goals of child care were still debated in legislation, illustrated by Ms.Durnford Deputy Minister of Advanced Education and Employment in the Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly on April 29th, 2004:

...there's ways competing goals with regards to child care. Is it an early childhood program, or is it a labour force support for working parents or working mothers, single parents? I mean that is a balance that always has to be achieved. But our sense was that we needed to bring the two together (p.21)

When arguments for accessible and affordable child care first emerged in the 1960's, the main goal of child care was a service that would allow women to participate equally in the labour force. Still, we continue to have debates about whether child care is good or bad for children, we still hear that opinion that women ought to stay home and provide care for their children. While Ms. Durnford had good intentions to promote licensed accessible, affordable child care as a support that enables mother to participate in the labour force, this goal has yet to been achieved in Saskatchewan.

Relying upon funding from the various federal initiatives, the Government of Saskatchewan has focused a significant amount of money and resources towards low income children and families. The Government of Saskatchewan has characterized low income families as young parents, below the age of 24, typically female headed households, who are either unemployed or work less than 40 hours a week, isolated from community supports, who may be dealing with an addiction and are prone to violence within their families (Saskatchewan Learning 2007). In 2001, the Government of Saskatchewan received \$10 million dollars from the ECD initiative, of which just over ten percent (\$1.019 million) was directed towards enhancing operating funding to licensed child care centres, training and equipment for family centres and professional development (Friendly, Beach, Ferns & Turiano 2007). Most of the EDC funding (\$8.4 million), was directed towards Saskatchewan's new interdepartmental initiative in 2001, known as the *KidsFirst* Strategy (Friendly et al. 2007). This strategy focused on families and children in vulnerable circumstances provided at home visits, intervention programs and educational support (The Government of Saskatchewan 2005). As emphasized in the legislature on May 8th 2001 by New Democrat MLA Mr.Yates,

Because dollars are limited... we need to channel our efforts to where the need is greatest and the families in need are concentrated. And in short Mr. Deputy Speaker, we want to focus on where we can have the greatest impact with the funding available (p. 1008).

The *KidsFirst* strategy is based on prevention and early intervention initiatives for children prenatal to five years of age, and their families who were considered due to their social and economic circumstances (Government of Saskatchewan 2005). The overall goal of *KidsFirst* was for the families to reach a new level of strength and independence, and to close the gaps in services and support (The Government of Saskatchewan 2005). In addition to providing supports at home, the Government of Saskatchewan sponsored licensed childcare spots for children involved in the *KidsFirst Strategy*. However, in 2017, the Government of Saskatchewan announced funding for *KidsFirst* child care spaces would be cancelled due to budget constraints occurring across the province.

While the Government of Saskatchewan in past years developed initiatives specifically to assist children and families in at-risk situations, access to licensed child care services across the province has remained limited. Funding for licensed child care from 1999 to 2015 has increased significantly over the years from \$5.2 million in the 1998-1999 fiscal year (Government of Saskatchewan; Saskatchewan Social Services 1999-2000; 72) to \$50,246 million in 2015 (Government of Saskatchewan; Ministry of Education 2015;23), the growth in child care expenditures is illustrated in Figure 5-2. A portion of funding from each of the federal initiatives (ECD, Multilateral & Bilateral) has been directed towards the expansions of licensed child care spaces in the province. From the ECD, Saskatchewan directed \$1,019 million each for five years (2001-2006) to licensed child care services. Funding from the Multilateral Framework assisted in *Child Care Saskatchewan*, as previously noted, one of the largest expansion in the number of licensed regulated child care spaces in the province, growth in licensed child care spaces is demonstrated in Figure 5-3. Funding from the Bilateral agreements assisted in the expansion of 250 child care spaces and wage enhancements for early learning educators and assistants (Friendly et al. 2007).

Figure 5-2: Government of Saskatchewan Expenditures on Licensed Child Care Facilities & Subsidies from 1999-2015.

(Government of Saskatchewan, Ministry of Social Services (1999-2006) Ministry of Education (2006-2015))

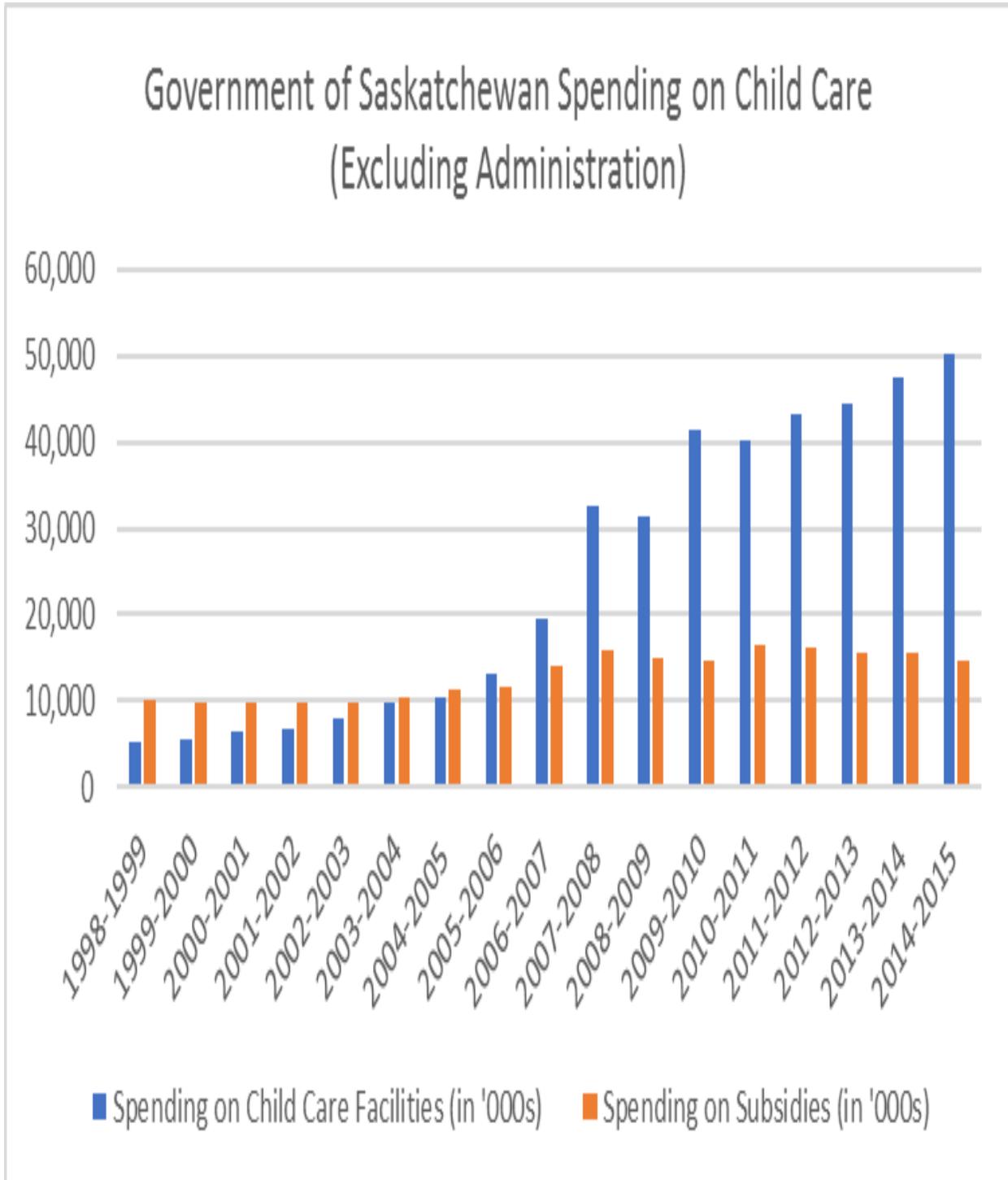
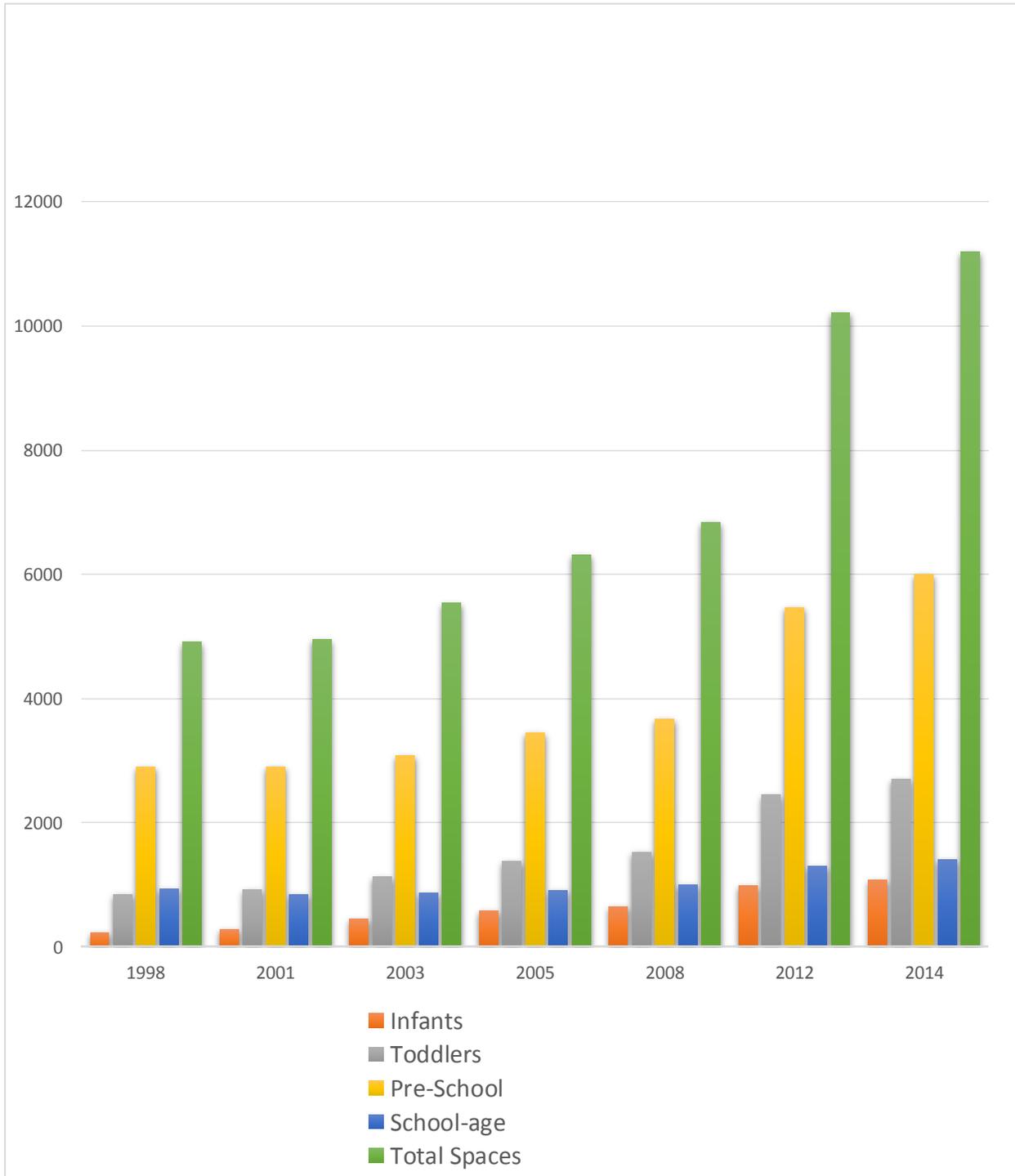


Figure 5-3: Number of Licensed Child Care Space by Category (1998-2014)
 (Early Childhood Education and Care in Canada 4th –10th editions)



Child care in liberal welfare states is characterized by reliance on the market for families to purchase services, formally or informally, providing tax credit or breaks to modest and higher SES families and subsidization low income families. When Saskatchewan introduced its first child care policy, it established minimal standards and regulations. In addition, the Government of Saskatchewan established child care subsidies for low income families that are only allowed to be used at licensed child care facilities. To receive child care subsidies in Saskatchewan there is a two-step process. First the parent(s)/ guardian(s) must prove that they are either employed, seeking employment, attending school or a training program, receiving medical treatments or have a child with special needs (Friendly et al. 2007). An income test is then applied if the previous requirements are met. While other provinces and territories determine their subsidize eligibility on net income, Saskatchewan differed by determining eligibility on an individual's gross income (Friendly, Beach & Turiano 2003; Beach, Friendly, Ferns, Prabhu & Forer 2009: 103). This is significant because gross income can overestimate the disposable income available to a family and inaccurately represent that a family does not require the benefit of a subsidy. Within the subsidy policies there is a strong connection to Giddens's (1998) theory of social investment, which is to create policies and programs to assist individuals into active labour force participation. The Government of Saskatchewan has established this criteria within its subsidy policies that parents must be actively looking, be a part of the labour force or going to school.

While each provincial and territorial governments differs in the eligibility process and the amount for subsidised child care, Saskatchewan in the past determined eligibility based on the "turning" and "break-even" points. The "turning" point was the income in which families can receive full subsidies, and partial subsidy was available until the "break-even" point when eligibility for child care ceased (Friendly et al. 2007). Currently, child care subsidies in Saskatchewan is determined based on a 3 tier system (rural, urban and northern locations), number of children in care, fee charged, age of child/children in care, and number of hours in care (part or full time) (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada 2012). Saskatchewan parents are still required to pay 10 percent of the user fee; however, the national average surcharge for parents is 30-40 percent and Saskatchewan has one of the highest out of pocket fees for parents receiving subsidies (MacDonald & Friendly 2016).

Since child care was introduced in 1969, Saskatchewan has focused a significant amount of its spending in relation to child care on subsidies, the demand side of child care. It was not until

the 2005-2006 fiscal year, illustrated by Figure 5-2, that the government started to provide more direct funding to child care facilities than towards subsidies, the supply side. While spending has increased over fifteen years in relation to licensed child care programs and services, Saskatchewan still has one of the lowest rates of expenditure on ELCC in the country. In 2015, Saskatchewan spent \$51.921 million on child care facilities (Ministry of Education 2015: 23), approximately 0.2 percent of Saskatchewan's GDP (Atkinson Centre 2018), well below the one percent the OECD recommends governments to investment in ECEC/ELCC policies and programs (MacDonald & Friendly 2012). In 2003, the OECD recommended that Saskatchewan, along with all other provincial and territorial governments develop a comprehensive child care framework that was to include objectives, goals, and funding to guide current and future ELCC policies, the provinces has yet to develop a comprehensive child care framework. While the number of licensed child care spaces has increased, demonstrated in Figure 5-3, it has been in relation to meet the needs of children and communities characterized as at-risk, or as a service to assist individuals off government assistance, rather than as a comprehensive public service.

5.3.2 Neo-Liberal Policies & the Choice Discourse

During the 1980s and 1990s, many western states, including Canada, United States and Great Britain saw a significant decrease in their involvement and spending on social policies. This policy shift, referred to as a move towards neo-liberal policies, is characterized by an emphasis on “free” markets, decreased state regulations, lower direct taxes, and greater individual responsibility (Bezanson & Luxton 2006; 4). The focus on individual responsibility and decreased role in state involvement, has led to individualization and privatization of many aspects of social care (Hallgrimsdottir et al 2012). Across Canada, in the 1990's federal, provincial, and territorial governments changed the nature of their involvement in all forms of social policies including child care, education and health.

Within Canada, and other liberal welfare states, the “choice discourse” within ECEC/ELCC policy is illustrated within the literature (Jenson & Sineaur 2001: 45; Michel & Mahon 2002; Iyioha 2004). The choice discourse is characterized by its focus on allowing individuals to select of what options work best for them and their families; employs gender neutral language, muting concerns for gender and class inequalities (Kershaw 2004, McKenna 2016). Although the choice discourse is represented in gender neutral policies it often intersects

with a patriarchal division of labour, resulting in circumstances in which many women, especially, leave the paid labour force (Kershaw 2004).

The government of Saskatchewan, similar to the rest of Canada, excluding Quebec, emphasises parental choice in relation to what type of child care they would like their children to receive and what parents are able to afford. This is illustrated in the observation by Ms. Bakken, MLA for the Saskatchewan Party, on April 22nd, 2005 that,

this government (NDP) must look at this and *realize that parents should have the right to choose where their children go*. And if they feel that their children are secure and they support the care that they are receiving, that should be their decision, not the government's (p. 2633).

While Saskatchewan, assists low-income families in covering a portion of the cost of licensed child care, modest to high socio-economic families are left to rely on the market to serve their child care needs. Licensed child care is unattainable for many Canadian and Saskatchewan families who do not qualify for child care subsidies. In lieu of affordable, and accessible licensed child care, families manage child care through informal care, extended family and friends or through the market in unlicensed child care spaces.

Instead of providing supply funding to child care facilities, governments have advocated and provided for the demand side of child care, providing tax benefits and credit to parents of children and subsidies to low income families. This includes the federal benefit, the Universal Child Care Benefit (UCCB), the Child Care Expense Deduction (CCED) and the Provincial, Saskatchewan Child Benefit (SCB). While tax-benefit and credits can assist some families with covering the high cost of child care, it does not help the majority. Tax benefits and credits have been criticized for reinforcing class and gender inequalities and not assisting in the development of quality, affordable and accessible care. While Early Childhood Education and Care was once again on the federal agenda, the Government of Saskatchewan was discussing ways of easing the cost of child care to parents by providing tax incentives. This is illustrated by the remarks of Mr. Wilberg, Saskatchewan Party of MLA from Saskatchewan Rivers, in the legislative Assembly on April 19th, 2000,

The responsibility for raising and looking after children should be and always needs to remain the primary responsibility of the parents. There is a great deal of concern that in today's society that children nowadays are being pushed more and more into a state run system for parenting. In today's society with taxation limits that are being pressed upon young people, in many cases, both parents are being forced to rise every day and be gainfully employed just that they can provide the necessities of life- good food, good clothing, good shelter....the opportunity to bear

children to watch them being raise in a responsible manner become very tough on those young parents. And so more and more now young parents are being forced to seek opportunities where someone else is taking on the responsibility for raising their children... I think that is a great misdeed that is being placed upon our society (p. 821).

While tax benefits and credit can assist families in the cost of child care service or allow parents, generally the mother to stay at home and care for their children, they do not assist the majority of Saskatchewan families in finding licensed child care services or with the high cost associated with child care. Within governments there continue to be the underlying ideology which Fox (2006) has highlighted, that mothers provide the best type of care and ought to stay home to care for their children.

In addition to advocating for child care benefits and credits, many politicians or other government officials have highlighted the role that family members can play in providing child care. Neo-liberal policies have put a significant amount of pressure on families to provide for themselves or to turn to the market for their needs. Government officials have made assumptions about the roles that family members are able to provide. In 2006. Brad Wall, who was the leader of the opposition, Saskatchewan Party at the time, mentioned alternatives forms of care that are available to families with young children including grandparents or the ability for a parent to stay at home: "...There are grandparents that are providing that kind of service and there are parents who have on the spouse, husband or wife, stay at home and obviously provide that daily child care" (May 18th 2006: 1752). While some grandparents and parents are able to stay at home and care for young children, this is not the case for every family in Saskatchewan despite the inherent assumption by Mr. Wall and by the government that the family is able to provide full time child care. Grandparents are working longer or may not be available due to distance or other factors, while more families are needing two incomes, or the wages of a working lone parent to provide for themselves and their families.

The retrenchment of social spending in the 1980s and 1990s, known as neo-liberal policies has had negative effects on society, specifically on women. These effects include an increase in poverty and income polarization (Jenson & Saint-Martin 2003). Since the introduction of neo-liberal policies, there is an assumption that all families, specifically mothers, will be able to provide equally for the services that were cut and more specifically on the availability of women's unpaid labour to care for the home, children, and the elderly (Jenson et

al. 2003: 137). Neo-liberal policies play a significant role in discounting the evidence of the importance of quality child care (Kershaw 2004).

5.3.3 Top down - vs – Bottom up Development

Licensed child care facilities across Canada and in Saskatchewan are largely developed in the not for profit sector (Prentice 2006). Historically the initiation, development and maintenance of licensed child care facilities have been driven by parent groups, voluntary organizations, and entrepreneurs (Friendly & Prentice 2009; 31). In recent years, Saskatchewan has had for-profit child care, although it makes up for 0.6 percent of services (Friendly, et al. 2015; 20). In the Annual Reports, legislative debates, policy initiatives documents and, the Early Years Plan, there is continuous discussion of expanding child care space, whether it is in relation to moving individuals off of government assistance or a service to assist parents in participating in the labour force; however, there is little discussion demonstrating the third sector involvement in the conversation.

Provincial and territorial governments continue to struggle in determining the number and what type of spaces (infant, toddler, preschool etc.) are needed and where (Flanagan & Beach 2016). For decades, centres have maintained their own waitlist, although these are an unreliable source of information and do not give an accurate picture of the demand for child care. Parents can have their names at multiple centres, lists can be outdated, lists may not be regularly updated, or sometime parents put their name down on a preferred location while receiving child care at another (Flanagan & Beach 2016). A few governments, including Manitoba, Prince Edward Island (PEI), Quebec, and some jurisdictions in Ontario, have been proactive, implementing a centralized registry/waitlist to identify the unmet need of licensed child care spaces and the need for additional spaces (Flanagan & Beach 2016).

In the past, development of licensed child care services has been in relation to goals outlined by the Ministry of Social Service, specifically oriented to getting individuals off of social assistance, and community need. When discussing child care space expansion, illustrated by Ms. Durnford, Deputy Minister of Advanced Education and Employment on April 29th, 2004 in the Saskatchewan legislative assembly, spaces have been developed in relation to the specific goals of the Ministry of Social Services,

With regard to space (Licensed child care facilities) development, part of it is maintained by a waiting list as to where there may be potential spaces to be developed; part of it going to be determined by where we would like to see spaces relative to some of the other goals of the department around getting people, in single families particularly, off of social assistance and into employment. We know child care is an important piece of making that transition into a job. So that would be part of the other criteria. Some of it is going to be determined by where there is a community need as well. So there's numbers of factors that we would take into account in the determination of how spaces would be allocated (p.20).

While the government may want to develop licensed child care spaces in relation to their goals, such as the *Building Independence Strategy*; without a centre or community's ability and capacity to take on the financial and social responsibilities of developing child care spaces, licensed spaces may not happen. In addition, without adequate capital and continuous funding from government to assist in wages for staff, child care facilities will continue to rely on parent fees keeping child care unaffordable and out of reach for many families.

With a growth in its population Saskatchewan saw an increase in demand for child care and educational services. Within the last decade the Government of Saskatchewan started to examine the infrastructure of current school buildings across the province. What was found was that these public schools were needing renovations to accommodate the growing population and changing nature of education (Government of Saskatchewan; Ministry of Education Annual Report 2011-2012). In addition, the Ministry of Education was working with school officials to come up with innovative and integrative ways to provide licensed child care services in the school system (Government of Saskatchewan; Ministry of Education Annual Report 2011-2012). In 2013, the Government of Saskatchewan announced funding for the development of nine new elementary schools across the province, known as the P3, Public, Private, Partnership model of school funding. These schools were built to accommodate the rapid growth of young families and young children in Saskatoon, Regina, Martensville, and Warman (Government of Saskatchewan). The schools are jointly used by public and Catholic school divisions, in addition, all P3 schools had 90 licensed child care spaces built in representing in total, an increase of 810 child care spaces (The Government of Saskatchewan n.d). While child care spaces were allocated in the P3 schools, child care centres were responsible for equipping the centres and recruitment of ELCC staffing, and wages.

5.3.4 Quality Child Care

Aligned with the discussions of quality child care, is the level of training and remuneration of early childhood educators (ECE'S) and early childhood assistants (ECA'S). The definition of quality early childhood education and care policies, as illustrated in the literature review (chapter 2) vary in relation to individual and societal value. Literature demonstrated many factors that influence practices of child care, regarding concepts of the child, childhood, the purpose of the program and the role of the family and of society (Friendly, Doherty & Beach 2005). Friendly, Doherty and Beach (2005) have indicated eight factors which influence the type of ECEC quality available in Canada. These variables include teaching staff with post-secondary education, salaries for staff at the high end of the continuum, a healthy ratio of children to staff, non-profit ownership, higher centre revenue, free or subsidized child care services and the directors level of education (Friendly et al. 2005). There is an emphasis on quality ECEC since research (Helburn & Howes 1996, Brownell, Roos & Fransoo 2006; Prentice 2009) has illustrated the positive correlation to children's social, cognitive, and language development; in addition children in high quality ECEC programs are more likely to be emotionally secure, self-confident, and have stronger abilities in language use. This research (Helburn & Howes 1996; Beaujot, Du & Ravanera 2013) has also indicated that lower quality ECEC programs can have a negative effect on children's development including, poor long term developmental outcomes, poor school skills and heightened aggression.

The first measure to address the quality of early child care in the province appeared in 1974, when the Government of Saskatchewan under the NDP introduced the *Family Services Act*. As previously noted, the Act moved child care out of the commercial sector and into the non-profit sector (Martin 1988). In addition, the act also established the provincial's first training requirements of 40 hours for licensed child care facilities (Martin 1988). Since then the provincial government has increased requirements for ECE/ECA's to work in licensed group child care facilities. Currently, Saskatchewan has three levels of certification, Early Childhood Education (ECE), I, II and III (Friendly et al. 2007, Friendly, Grady, Macdonald & Forer 2015, Government of Saskatchewan n.d.b). ECE level I requires a 120 hour child orientation course or equivalent provided through Saskpolytech (previously known as SIAST), ECE II is a one year certificate or equivalent, and ECE III is a two year ECE diploma or equivalent (Friendly et al. 2007). In addition, the Government of Saskatchewan passed legislation to improve the quality of

licensed child care. This included provisions, that directors of child care facilities were required to have their ECE III as of July 2001, staff members working 65 hours or more a month had to have their ECE I, 30 percent of staff were required to have their ECE II as of January 2005 and 20 percent of staff are required to have their ECE III as of January 2007 (Friendly et al. 2015). In addition, all staff members are required to have completed a first-aid and CPR course (Friendly et al. 2015).

Since the introduction of child care legislation, the Government of Saskatchewan has provided minimal operational, wage enhancements and grant funding to licensed child care facilities. Child care across Canada, excluding Quebec, is a user fee service financed largely through parent fees, which make up on average 80 percent of the operation cost (Friendly & Prentice 2009; 39) and staff wages and benefits account for approximately 75 to 90 percent of the yearly budget (Beach & Costigliola 2004, Kershaw 2004; MacDonald & Friendly 2015; 17). Across Canada, ECE's and ECA's are among the lowest paid professions in Canada, receiving approximately half of the national average wages (Friendly & Prentice 2009; 42). Approximately 96 percent of individuals working in the child care area are women (Friendly & Prentice 2009: 42). Unfortunately, low wages have and continue to be a defining characteristic in the child care arena. Wages for ECE/ECA's vary in relation to provinces/territories, region, unionization and whether the centre is for or non-profit (Friendly & Prentice 2009: 43).

Funding from the ECD, the Multilateral Framework on Early Learning and Child Care, and the bilateral agreements assisted in enhancing ECE/ECA's wages and educational levels for ECE/ECA's in Saskatchewan. In 1996, the government of Saskatchewan agreed to a wage enhancement grants, as part of the Saskatchewan Action Plan for Children, which was later amalgamated into the Early Childhood Service Grants in 2000 (Friendly et al. 2007). In 2006, the government announced to wage lift for ECE/ECA's with funding from the ECD, which increased wages by 9 percent (Friendly et al. 2007). Over the years, the Government of Saskatchewan has assisted ECE/ECA's in their formal education with the tuition reimbursement grants, which refunded a portion, \$150.00 per class and \$450.00 per orientation course per staff (Friendly et al. 2012).

In November 2007, the NDP led by Lorne Calvert was defeated by Brad Wall and the Saskatchewan Party. As part of their mandate to building a strong Saskatchewan, Premier Wall and the Saskatchewan party promised to maintain government funding in relation to licensed

child care. Additional grants were developed to start new facilities or bring to code grandfathered facilities and to update and enhance current child care facilities across the province (Friendly et al. 2007). Grants included one-time start-up for the development of new facilities, space development, fire, health and safety, and the enriched learning environment. The government also provides reoccurring funding which include the early childhood services grants, supporting the on-going operation and staffing of child care centres, nutrition and equipment grants and the inclusion and enhanced accessibility grants to support children with diverse needs (Human Resource and Skills Development Canada 2012).

While the Government of Saskatchewan has expanded grants to improve child care facilities and enhanced wages and education requirement for ECE/ECA's, nothing in my data reveals that there was discussion of unionization. Unionization within the childhood sector in Canada is low, with approximately 13.4 percent of ECE/ECA's in Canada represented in a union (Doherty & Forer 2003). As noted in the literature review (chapter 2) unionization within the child care sector assists in higher staff retention and, job satisfaction and promotes better work practices (CUPE 2016). In addition, research has also illustrated that high wages predict higher quality of care (Doherty & Forer 2002). To improve the child care sector in Saskatchewan, spaces are not only needed, but adequate wages and benefits to ECE/ECA's are also needed (Beach & Costigliola 2010).

The child care sector has been fraught with low remuneration for caregivers and high turnover rates, which makes the child care sector unstable. While the Government of Saskatchewan has discussed the expansion of spaces, there was little discussion about the expanding the number of certified ECE/ECA's in the province in the data that I examined. In recent years, the Government of Saskatchewan has examined ways of getting more individual's interested in the child care sector. In 2015, the Ministry of Education partnered with the Saskatchewan Polytechnic institution to create the Early Childhood Education Course Partnership (Saskatchewan Hansard, May 14th 2015: 7257). The partnership would allow grade eleven and twelve students across the province to take three courses that would count towards their high school diploma and an early childhood certificate/diploma at Saskatchewan Polytechnic (May 14th 2015; 7257). The program may assist in getting more individuals interested in the sector, although it may not help with the high turnover rates. In their Early Years Plan, released in 2015, the Government of Saskatchewan maintains its commitment to

support the child care sector, in the recruitment and retention of staff, although there are no details as to how this will be accomplished.

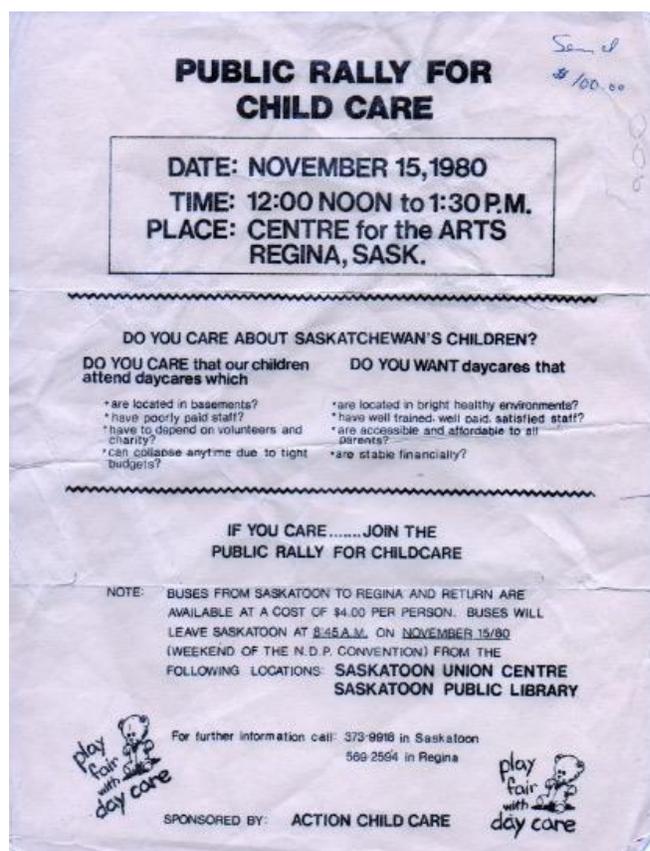
In recent years the Government of Saskatchewan has increased the availability of grants to improve and increase the amount of licensed child care centres in the province, as well as ways of getting more individuals involved in the child care sector. Furthermore, in the past decade the Government of Saskatchewan has invested in the quality of child care by increasing the educational requirement in the sector by developing the tuition reimbursement grant for early childhood educators and assistants. While there are grants available to licensed centres to assist with wages for staff, without adequate and consistent funding from the government to retain qualified early childhood educators, the child care sector in Saskatchewan will continue to lag.

5.3.5 Advocacy within the Province of Saskatchewan in Relation to Child Care

Advocacy is an important element in moving licensed child care forward in Canada as well as in Saskatchewan. Within Saskatchewan, child care advocacy in the late 20th and into the 21st century has decreased significantly.. After the child care legislation was introduced in Saskatchewan in 1969, licensed child care facilities saw little expansion of services or in funding (Martin 1988). In the late 1970s an interdepartmental government review, the Child Care Review, found that the affordability, availability and quality of services was becoming an increased issue for families in Saskatchewan (Childcare Resource and Research Unit 2005). Action Child Care (ACC) emerged in 1979 as a non-profit community based organization. ACC advocated for a flexible and comprehensive system of child care and parent support policies and increased funding directed towards licensed child care centres (Martin 1988).

Action Child Care emerged as a positive force for child care in Saskatchewan, which had a board of ten individuals. Within its first year, Action Child Care successfully lobbied the government to increase their child care budget by eight hundred thousand dollars, from \$1.3 million (1978) to \$2.1 (Martin 1988). During this same period, the Canadian Child Care Advocacy Association (CCCAA), emerged at the national level in 1979. One of the founders of Action Child Care, Dr. Martin was also one of the founders and the first chair of the CCCAA. As the first chair of the CCCAA organization, Dr. Martin, brought attention to the child care crisis not only in Canada, but also in Saskatchewan.

Advocacy is an important element in enhancing early learning and child care policies in Saskatchewan and across Canada. Advocacy assists in educating the public on the importance of quality licensed child care facilities and early childhood educators. In 1988, Action Child Care closed their doors and since then Saskatchewan has not had a strong voice or specific group advocating to enhance child care policies. Even though there is not a specific or strong advocacy group within the province some attention was brought to the Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly about enhancing the current state of ELCC. In the data that I examined, I found one case of advocacy for early learning and child care in the province. A petition was presented to Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly by Ms. Higgins, a former NDP MLA, on March 18th, 2009, from citizens of Estevan and Weyburn communities to increase



Public Rally for Child Care
 Personal Collection of Martin, J. (1980)

the funding for infrastructure, training and wages for early childhood workforce:

“Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that your Hon. Legislative Assembly may be pleased to cause the government, through consolation with child care community to immediately invest in growing the capacity of early learning child care community to enable new child care spaces. This investment must include infrastructure funding for new facilities and expansions, funding to significantly increase the number of early childhood diploma and certificate training seats, and funding to ensure that the sector is able to increase its wages and benefits to attract and retained needed personnel.” (p. 2353)

While this demonstrates actions of a few to increase the state of licensed child care, there is not one united and continuous voice.

Today, there is one large organization in Saskatchewan in relation to licensed child care facilities, the Saskatchewan Early Childhood Association (SECA). The SECA mission is to provide support services for their members, promote professional development, to create

unification in the province and to advocate for children, families, high quality learning, and those working in the ELCC arena (SECA 2017). There is also the Saskatoon Early Years Partnership made up of parents and early year and community professionals who are dedicated to the investment in children (Saskatoon Early Years Partnership n.d). While there are two organizations with mandates that include licensed child care, the data that I examined, I found little to no evidences of either organization actively being involved or invited to the discussion to enhance child care policies across the province. Governments alone cannot enhance child care policy, advocacy is an important element in educating the general public on what quality licensed child care is and why it is important not only for the children and families that directly benefit from quality child care but for society overall.

5.3.6 Paradigm/Language Shift: Social Investment

Across Canada, federal, provincial, and territorial governments have changed their language use in relation to child care policies. Once referred to as child care, governments, policy makers, and advocates started to refer to it as early childhood education and care (ECEC) or early learning and child care (ELCC) in the new millennium. The growing consensus, internationally, is that care and education are inseparable (Friendly & Prentice 2009: 4). White (2004) has illustrated that there is not an exact date as to when governments changed their terminology, although the Early Childhood Development (ECD) Initiative (2000) was the turning point for the terminology change in Canada. The change in terminology in Canada was welcomed by advocates, since they believed that it would generate greater support and public funding (White 2004). With greater emphasis on the investment in children, access to child care was no longer perceived as a way to achieve equality for women (Dobrowolsky & Jenson 2004: 169; McKenna 2015).

Since the introduction of Saskatchewan's child care policy in 1969, the responsibility for funding and development of child care policies has been under the Ministry of Social Services in various branches. These branches included the Services Division, the Income Security Branch and the Early Learning and Child Care Branch. Under the Ministry of Social Services, access to licensed child care was largely perceived as a service that primarily assisted low-income families on social assistance to find and secure employment. On February 1st, 2001, the responsibility of child care moved from the Services Division branch to the Income Security Branch (Government

of Saskatchewan, Ministry of Social Services Annual Reports 2001-2002). The decision for this move was in relation to the Government of Saskatchewan's *Building Independence Strategy* developed in 1997 (Government of Saskatchewan; Ministry of Community Resources & Development 1999-2000). This strategy developed several programs and additional services, to assist individuals, families, and communities in low socio-economic circumstances in gaining independence (Government of Saskatchewan; Ministry of Community Resources & Development 1999-2000). Access to child care was recognized as a key element in encouraging and supporting individuals' capacity to participate in the labour force (Government of Saskatchewan; Ministry of Social Services Annual Report 2000-2001: 16).

In the 2003-2003 fiscal year, the Government of Saskatchewan, like the federal government changed the terminology surrounding child care policies and programs. The Government of Saskatchewan refers to its ECEC policies, and programs as early learning and child care (ELCC). However, while the terminology surrounding child care changed to ELCC, the responsibility for funding and development remained under the Department of Community Resources and Employment (Ministry of Social Services). In 2005, responsibility for child care was once again moved, from the Income Security Branch to the Early Learning and Child Care Branch under the Community Resources and Employment Division (CRED). In April 22nd 2005, in the Saskatchewan legislative assembly, Ms. Bakken, MLA for the Saskatchewan Party discussed the importance of child care in allowing parents who are specific receiving government assistance to find and maintain work:

We need to provide individuals with financial support to assist them in moving from welfare to work and we need to recognize the important role that access to quality child care play in enabling parents to acquire and maintain employment (p.2633)

While child care was under the Early Learning and Child Care branch in the Community Resource and Education Division, ELCC programs and services was still focused on moving individual's, and families off government assistance, and into the labour force. This orientation is consistent with Giddens's (1998), conception of the social Investment state, which features as one of its main characteristics a focus on moving individuals off of government assistance in order to participate in the labour force by providing services, such as child care.

The responsibility for the funding and development of ELCC policies remained in the Early Learning and Child Care branch under the Department of Community Resources and

Employment (Ministry of Social Services) until April 1st 2005. In February 2005, Premier Lorne Calvert announced that the Government of Saskatchewan would be moving the responsibility for ELCC development to the Department of Learning (Ministry of Education) (Friendly 2010). Saskatchewan was the first provincial and territorial government to make such a move which was perceived as a positive step towards the integration of child care in to the early learning agenda (Friendly 2010). By acknowledging child care in an education discourse, there was hope that access to licensed child care would become more accessible and affordable. Rather than being proactive in its child care policy development, Saskatchewan licensed child care policies could be considered an anti-poverty strategy, continuing to target funding and resources to low income families. Even though the responsibility for licensed child care was moved to the Ministry of Education over a decade ago there was and continues to be a lack of focus from the provincial government in the construction of a strong and well-funded licensed child care program benefitting all Saskatchewan families.

Today the Ministry of Education, through the Early Years Branch is responsible for the funding and development of early learning and child care policies and programs. ELCC services includes licensed child care, *KidsFirst*, and the Early Childhood Intervention program (Government of Saskatchewan, Ministry of Education Annual Reports 2014-2015: p.23). While the Ministry of Education is responsible for the direct operational grants and licensing, child care subsidies remains under the Ministry of Social Services. This arrangement stands contrary to the OECD (2006) position that all aspects of early learning and child care should the responsibility of one ministry.

In 2015, the Government of Saskatchewan released *Saskatchewan's Early Years Plan 2016-2020*. The *Early Years Plan* sets out goals and actions to improve the early year's programs and supports in Saskatchewan over five year period, 2016-2020 (Government of Saskatchewan nd: c). The plan was citizen informed and included recommendations from the Saskatchewan Poverty Reduction Strategy, the Mental Health and Addiction Plan, and the Saskatchewan Disability Strategy. The plan focuses on four areas, healthy childhood development, including prenatal, and early childhood supports for mothers and children, improving parents choices and access to high quality early learning and child care facilities, supporting parents in their roles as parents and caregivers, and aligning programs and services at the provincial and community level (Government of Saskatchewan). In addition to the four goals of the Early Years Plan, the

plan indicates five pillars for early learning and child care. These five pillars include healthy beginnings, early learning, child care, strong families, and community planning and alignment

While ECEC/ELCC policies, as noted in the literature, are to be inclusive and integrated services which have multiple roles in supporting the parents and children (Friendly & Prentice 2009: 4). Saskatchewan maintains child care and early learning programs and policies as two separate entities, illustrated in *Saskatchewan's Early Years Plan*. The early learning pillar is characterized as “children will benefit from high quality early learning environment, developmentally appropriate practices and engaging supporting relationships” in pre-kindergarten and kindergarten context (Government of Saskatchewan), while child care is defined as “...high quality environments while their parents work or go to school” (Government of Saskatchewan 2015). Despite these objectives, Friendly (2005) and Mayer and Beg (2006) have contended that Saskatchewan’s ELCC policies neglect the child care aspect while failing to understand, nor does the government or the citizen see the benefits of, quality early learning and child care policies. Friendly (2005) and Mayer and Beg (2006) both recommended that the government of Saskatchewan develop a comprehensive and integrative ELCC. In addition, Mayer and Beg (2006) recommended support from senior government officials and increased funding for post-secondary ECE/ECA’s. More than ten years after the recommendations by both Friendly (2005) and Mayer and Beg (2006), Saskatchewan continues to maintain early learning and child care policies as separate program

The language shift from child care to early childhood education and care has been accompanied by increased funding and attention paid to this sector across Canada. At the same time, the shift in terminology as previously mentioned has reframed child care from a women’s equality issue to an investment into children’s development and the country’s economic future. Along with the shift in terminology, by the mid-2000s seven provincial and territorial governments reorganized their ECEC services and programs to promote integration under the Ministry of Education. As governments reorganized their services, they have maintained legislation and funding mechanisms that has entrenched child care services and programs (Beach & Bertrand 2000). While Saskatchewan moved the responsibility for the development and funding of child care into the Ministry of Education, it maintained the same funding requirements when child care was introduced in 1969, reinforcing that child care is largely

perceived as a private family matter that is dealt through market mechanisms, except for those, financially unable to pay for services.

5.4 Conclusion

From 1999 to 2015, the Government of Saskatchewan increased funding to the child care sector, which subsequently increased the amount of licensed child care spaces and the quality of care available in the province. While Saskatchewan saw an increase in spaces in the 21st century, it continues to have the lowest access of licensed child care spaces for children zero to five years of age in Canada. My analysis has shown that development of licensed child care space has been influenced by a number of political, economic, and social factors. Saskatchewan continues to lag in the development of licensed child care facilities due to the funding that has continuously been directed towards targeted services, rather than universal access, the influence of neo-liberal policies that focus heavily on the family to provide services, similar to when child care legislation was introduced in the province in 1969, and limited advocacy in the province. There is a growing body of literature about Canada's ECEC policies both at the federal and provincial levels; however, there has been limited research of Saskatchewan's current licensed child care system. My research will start to fill in the gap, highlighting major issues and development in the province while also addressing the debates regarding variations of liberalism and ECEC policies within Canada.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

6.1 Discussion

The issue of affordable, accessible, licensed child care continues to be a growing concern for many Canadian and Saskatchewan families (Iyioha 2015; MacDonald & Friendly 2016; CTV Saskatoon 2017; Press 2017). Since child care emerged as an important social policy issue, Saskatchewan, like Canada as a whole, has seen demographics changes that have impacted the development of licensed child care. These factors have included changes in family structures such as increases in lone-female households, women's labour force participation and cost of living. Since then many Canadian and Saskatchewan families have learned to cope, and have made personal and financial sacrifices to provide child care for their young children whether that entails staying at home or seeking alternative child care arrangements.

In order to understand these changes, I have drawn from Gosta Esping- Andersen's (1990), Welfare Regime Theory which has been used in a number of studies examining and comparing social policies. Esping-Andersen's welfare regime theory is relevant in the context of examining the development of Saskatchewan's licensed child care spaces by, highlighting how policies have been active forces in marginalizing women from all socio-economic statuses from labour force participation. Access to licensed child care is not considered a citizen's right. Rather access to licensed child care has been and continues to be perceived as a resource to move individuals off of government assistance to become active members of the labour force. Esping - Andersen's (1990) concept of de-commodification highlights these institutional structures the Government of Saskatchewan has created in regards to the rules, standards and conditions of requirements for child care subsidies and access to these spaces. Child care in Canada, excluding Quebec, is characterized by a market user-fee approach influencing the type and quality of care a family is able to purchase. Within the broader framework of the welfare regime theory, Giddens' concept of the social investment state, as previously noted focuses on investment in individual's to enhance their ability to participate in the growing knowledge base economy and in children through investment into ELCC policies and programs. Canada's federal government, and Saskatchewan, have used language such as investment to justify their spending in ELCC.

The access to licensed, affordable and accessible child care emerged in the 1960s, gaining prominence through second wave feminism as an equality issue. Since then, child care discourse

has been framed in a number of way from a number of disciplines from psychology to economics, away from a feminist perspective. White (2004), Dobrowolsky and Jenson (2004) and Hall (2012), as previously noted have warned governments of the dangers of reframing child care policies into gender neutral policies. By reframing child care policies into gender neutral wording, policies fail to address the social and gendered costs of child care, which includes high rates of child poverty and, diminished earnings for women and erases women's direct relationship to child care (White 2004; Dobrowolsky & Jenson 2004). In Saskatchewan, early learning and child care policies, specifically in the development of licensed child care spaces, have been posed as gender neutral, rather than being framed as equality for women. In the thesis, I have drawn from a Marxist feminist approach, which despite critiques levelled against it, highlights the lack of attention that is being paid to gender, in regards to the development of and access to licensed child care spaces and remuneration for early childhood educators and assistants. Combined with Esping-Andersen's welfare regime theory, the two theoretical orientations bring attention to how policies have marginalized women in accessing licensed child care services, impacting their participation in the labour force and potentially their financial stability.

While many jurisdictions across Canada have moved to provide greater state support for ECEC, Saskatchewan remains behind. My research question explores what social, political and economic factors have shaped Saskatchewan's current licensed child care policies. While I was determined to find the answer, I quickly realized that no single factor could be isolated to fully explain why Saskatchewan was so far behind the rest of the provinces and territories. Rather it is combination of all three the social, political and economic factors that has created our current licensed child care system. While there has been an increase of licensed child care spaces from 1999 to 2015 in Saskatchewan, the development of spaces has not kept up with the growth of children between zero to five years of age and increase of mothers with young children participating in the labour force. The Government of Saskatchewan has increased operational and wages grants to funded licensed child care with assistance from federal initiatives (ECD, Multilateral and Bilateral) with an emphasis in investing into children's wellbeing. Even with increased funding, Saskatchewan continues to rely heavily on non-profit organizations and parent fees to start and fund licensed child care, keeping affordable, licensed child care out of reach for mothers and families.

6.2 Future of Child Care in Canada & Saskatchewan

For over a decade, Canada has held the title as one of the lowest spenders in the OECD for early childhood education and care (ECEC) policies (OECD 2006; Friendly & Prentice 2009; OECD 2015). When first reviewed by the OECD as part of *Starting Strong*, in Canada only 19.1 percent of child care spaces for children zero to five years of age were licensed, whereas in 2014 the level was approximately 24.1 percent an increase of five percentage points (Friendly et al., 2014). While access to licensed child care spaces has increased in Canada, funding continues to be limited, with approximately 0.25 percent of Canada's GDP is spend on ECEC (Denburg & Denis 2010).

In 2017, the federal government under Prime Minister Justin Trudeau announced \$7.5 billion dollars in funding for a new Multilateral Early Learning and Child Care framework for eleven years (Government of Canada 2017). Similar to the Multilateral framework announced in 2003, the 2017 framework focuses on increasing the quality, availability, affordability, flexibility, and inclusivity of early learning and child care policies across Canada (Government of Canada 2017). Provincial and territorial governments individually have or will be signed onto the new multilateral contract with the federal government to receive funding for early learning and child care services for eleven years, until 2027-2028 (Government of Canada 2017). The federal government has targeted this funding especially for low-income, Indigenous, single parent, underserved communities and for children with disabilities (Cossette 2017). As of March, 2018, the Government of Saskatchewan signed the bilateral agreement with the federal government for three years of funding totaling 41 million dollars (Cowan 2018). With the funding, the Government of Saskatchewan will be creating 2,515 new licensed child care spaces, 950 of the spaces will be for group child care facilities as well as investing into professional development for early childhood educators and assistants (Cowan 2018).

Enhancing and expanding access to licensed child care across Saskatchewan has not been a key element in any political party platform in Saskatchewan. Discussions have been limited to maintain the status quo, although, discussions about expanding licensed and affordable child care in Saskatchewan has recently emerged. In 2020, Saskatchewan will once again head to the polls to elect a new premier, with new leaders at the head of both major political parties. In spring, 2018 the New Democratic Party has two leadership candidates, Ryan Meilie and Trent Wotherspoon, both of whom discussed early learning and child care. Mr. Wotherspoon as a part

of his platform announced \$15.00 a day universal child care (Bonokoski 2017), though, he has not presented details about how this policy would be implemented in Saskatchewan. Although no further information about these policy directions has been released since the subsequent selection of Meili as NDP leader, it is a positive to see a politician discussing expanding licensed child care services as well as making child care affordable in Saskatchewan.

6.3 Policy Recommendations

While it has been noted that there is not one single “bullet” or solution that is feasible and that will address all concerns to the child care crisis (Flanagan & Beach 2016), Saskatchewan should and could do better for its citizens. Early learning and child care policies are complex, with a number of interrelated factors which influence their development. The Government of Saskatchewan from 1999 to 2015 has increased its annual spending on early learning and child care by \$50 million dollars, although access to licensed group child care remains limited and unaffordable for many Saskatchewan families. As it stands, Saskatchewan’s current licensed child care represents a neo-liberal variant of the liberal welfare state type, following McGrane’s (2014) characterization, demonstrated by limited state funding (less than one percent of Saskatchewan’s budget directed towards licensed child care), limited availability of licensed spaces and a heavy reliance on subsidies and targeted programs directed towards low income parents. The following sections will provide six policy recommendations to improve Saskatchewan’s licensed child care policies

From the current research, one of my first recommendations to enhance Saskatchewan’s licensed group child care is to develop a strong and clear early learning and child care framework. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 2006 called on Canadian provinces and territories to develop a comprehensive strategy for ECEC/ELCC policies, to include clear goals, annual service targets, and to move all ECEC/ELCC responsibilities under one ministry; Saskatchewan has yet to fulfil these recommendations (The Muttart Foundation 2012). While Saskatchewan was the first provinces to move the responsibility of licensed child care to the Ministry of Education, which was seen as a positive step towards the integration of child care policies, it has yet to have all licensed child care services under one ministry. Licensed child care, as noted in chapter three (History of Child Care in Saskatchewan), continues to be under two ministries, the Ministry of Social Services,

responsible for child care subsidies, and the Ministry of Education, responsible for policy development and funding. To ensure the best child care possible for children in Saskatchewan, one ministry needs to oversee all of early learning and child care policies and services provided.

From 1999 to 2015, access to licensed group child care spaces for children zero to five years of age increased by 7.4 percent in Saskatchewan (Friendly et al 2015). While access has increased, Saskatchewan has yet to fully fulfill the OECD recommendations of developing a comprehensive ECEC/ELCC strategy. In 2015, the Government of Saskatchewan, as noted in chapter five (findings) released the *Early Years Plan 2016-2020*. While the plan informs the citizens of Saskatchewan what the government has planned until 2020 in regards to expanding early learning and child care policies, there was little to no information on how this will be accomplished. There are no set goals in regards to licensed child care spaces such as how many licensed spaces will be developed from 2016 to 2020. Additionally, it was not clear the amount of funding that would be directed towards licensed child care and if there would be any increases in remuneration grants for early childhood educators and assistants.

Saskatchewan is not alone in trying to expand ECEC/ELCC policies and programs. In recent years, the majority of provinces and territories have been moving towards implementing affordable child care services (Building a Better B.C 2017, Government of Alberta 2017, and Government of Manitoba 2018). Saskatchewan and Manitoba are similar in demographics and landscape, although Manitoba has a progressive early learning and child care policy framework. In 2015, the Government of Manitoba established the Manitoba Early Learning and Child Care commission and announced that it was moving towards a universal and accessible early learning and child care system that will be capable of meeting the growing demand in the sector (Flanagan & Beach 2016). Manitoba's early learning and child care policy framework is guided by five principals. The first principal is a focus on the child, providing a high quality early learning environment, while the second is equity to licensed child care services, regardless of family's income, language, culture, ability or location. The third principal emphasises the importance of quality ELCC services with a focus on qualification and remuneration for early childhood educators and assistants (ECE/ECA's), pedagogical approaches and indoor and outdoor physical environments. The fourth principal is non-profit provision and the final principal is accountability to the citizens of Manitoba with on-going data collection, analysis, research and evaluation (Flanagan & Beach 2016). Saskatchewan can examine the early learning

and child care policies that have been developed in Quebec and emerging in Manitoba to assist in developing long term attainable goals in relation to the development of licensed child care spaces.

In relation to developing a strong overarching ELCC framework, the second recommendation is to increase the budget for early learning and child care policies. In 2014-2015 fiscal year, the Government of Saskatchewan spent \$50.246 million on licensed group child care facilities (Ministry of Education 2015). Saskatchewan has spent significantly lower on ELCC policies compared to other provinces and territories, even compared to Manitoba which in similar is population demographics and geographic layout. Manitoba in the same fiscal year, 2014-2015, spent approximately \$144 million (Flanagan & Beach 2016). The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2006, 2012, & 2015) and United Nations Children's Emergency Funding (UNICEF) (MacDonald & Friendly 2014) has noted that governments should spend approximately one percent of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on ECEC/ELCC programs and services. Currently the Government of Saskatchewan spends approximately 0.2 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP) on ELCC policies and programs, significantly lower than the OECD and UNICEF recommendations. Saskatchewan needs to increase significantly the amount of funding that is allocated to early learning and child care programs which will assist families in finding accessible, affordable and quality child care.

All provincial and territorial governments collect administrative data on early learning and child care policies; however, at the federal, provincial and territorial levels there is a lack of continuous and up to date collection of data on ELCC (Flanagan & Beach 2016). The third policy recommendation is to continuously collect and report data of ELCC policies to Saskatchewan citizens. Continuous data collection and analysis would assist in determining appropriate policy responses including identifying the needs, preferences and use patterns, monitors policies effectiveness over time, ensure accountability to the public on spending and provides information to parents on quality indicators, child outcomes and program characteristics (Flanagan and Beach 2016). The Government of Saskatchewan reports its yearly spending on ELCC and specifically on licensed child care facilities and subsidies, including the number of spaces that have been developed and closed; however, little other information is available. In recent years the Government of Saskatchewan has updated its web page to inform parents on the care that is available in the market, which includes how to find licensed child care

space, in both group and family centres in the province and educating parents on quality child care services.

In relation to continuous and up to data collection, the Government of Saskatchewan should develop and implement a province wide study to determine the actual need and demand for licensed child care spaced in the province. The latest study that examined licensed child care in the province was in 2001, over a decade ago, when the Ministry of Social Services surveyed 1,271 individuals (Rochon Associated Human Resource Management Consulting 2006). The survey examined families current child care arrangements, issue, barriers and opinions about the role of the provincial government in providing child care services (Rochon Associated Human Resource Management Consulting 2006). Since then Saskatchewan has had limited research done in relation to licensed child care, though such data are needed to ensure that policies are introduced to support mothers, families and children.

Building off the third recommendation, of continuous data collection and a province wide survey to examine the actual need and demand for licensed child care spaces in the province, is a recommendation to implement a province wide wait list. Currently Prince Edward Island, some municipalities of Ontario, and Manitoba have all implemented a type of online registry/ wait list for licensed child care spaces. Manitoba and Prince Edward Island implemented their provincial waitlists in 2011 (CTV Winnipeg 2013, Bruce 2017). A provincial wide waitlist allows the government to track and determine the amount of spaces that are needed to be developed. In Manitoba, the list is updated quarterly to ensure up to date and accurate information of the demand in the province (Flanagan & Beach 2016). The waitlists in Manitoba and PEI have demonstrated a need for more spaces. By creating a provincial waitlist, the Government of Saskatchewan would be able to plan where spaces need to be developed as well to try to ensure enough individuals in the province have their ECE level one, two and three to provide quality care to children.

While NDP leadership candidate Trent Wotherspoon announced universal child care as a key part in his platform, there needs to be more immediate steps to be taken to address the accessibility and affordability of licensed child care in Saskatchewan. The fifth recommendation is to create and implement set parent fees in Saskatchewan. Quebec implemented new family policies in 1997 which included limiting costs to seven dollars a day for child care (now between \$7.30 and twenty dollars a day, based on families' income) (Costanzo 2015). Currently Quebec

is the only province/territory in Canada which has developed and implemented universal child care. Since each provincial and territorial governments is responsible for the funding, development and implementation of child care policies, each government has developed several ways to ensure accessibility and affordability. Prince Edward Island and Manitoba's have both implemented set child care fees in licensed child care facilities and as a result has some of the lowest child care costs (MacDonald & Friendly 2017). By creating set parent fees it allows licensed child care to be more affordable for families from all socio-economic classes.

My final recommendation to ensure a positive growth for the sector and quality of care for children is to implement mandatory wages for ECE/ECA's. Historically, wages for ECE/ECA's have been low, creating the ongoing challenges in the recruitment and retention of qualified staff (Goelman et al. 2000, Beach 2013, Flanagan & Beach 2016; 70). National studies such as *You bet I care!* (2000) and *You Bet We Still Care!* (2013) have demonstrated well remunerated staff and working conditions are predictors of quality care (Flanagan & Beach 2016; 71). Currently there are only two provinces in Canada that have implemented mandatory wages/wage scales for ECE/ECA's, Quebec (2000) and Prince Edward Island (2010) (Flanagan & Beach 2016). Wages, in these provinces are determined on level of education, experience and job position (Flanagan & Beach 2016; 71). Mandatory wages recognize the important role ECE/ECA's have in children's development as well as in the recruitment and retention of staff (Flanagan & Beach 2016). These six policy recommendations will assist in moving Saskatchewan from a neo-liberal to an inclusive liberal typology, therefore remaining modest compared to more expansive welfare state regimes. Characteristics of an inclusive liberal include moderate spending on licensed child care, between one to three percent of provincial budget, moderate availability of spaces, a decline on parental subsidies and a growing use of operating grants for child care centres (McGrane 2014).

6.4 Conclusion

Accessibility and affordability of licensed child care in Canada and in Saskatchewan continues to be growing concerns for families and for governments. In recent years, the federal governments has once again promised funding through the 2017 Multilateral Early Learning and Child Care Framework to provincial and territorial governments to increase their early learning and child care spaces and quality of services. A number of social, political and economic factors

have influenced the growing demand of child care across Canada and in Saskatchewan. With increase of lone-parent households, majority of these households are headed by women, increase of labour force participation of young mothers and significant increase in cost of living. A combination of social, political and economic factors have shaped Saskatchewan's development of licensed child care spaces; however, Saskatchewan continues to lack in providing accessible, affordable and high quality services to its citizens.

APPENDIX A: SASKATCHEWAN HANSARDS

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- Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, *Edited Hansards*, 24th Legislature, 1st Session. April 19th 2000.
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- Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, *Edited Hansards*, 24th Legislature, 4th Session. May 8th 2003.
- Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, *Edited Hansards*, 24th Legislature, 4th Session. June 2nd 2003.
- Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, Standing Committee on Human Services, *Edited Hansards*, 25th Legislature. Number 02. April 29th 2004.
- Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, *Edited Hansards*, 25th Legislature, 1st Session, Number 91A. April 13th 2005.
- Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, *Edited Hansards*, 25th Legislature, 1st Session, Number 97A. April 22nd 2005.
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- Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, *Edited Hansards*, 25th Legislature, 2nd Session, Number 1A. November 7th 2005.
- Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, *Edited Hansards*, 25th Legislature, 2nd Session, Number 63B. May 18th 2006.
- Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, *Edited Hansards*, 26th Legislature, 1st Session, Number 28A. April 17th 2008.
- Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, *Edited Hansards*, 26th Legislature, 2nd Session, Number 35A. March 18th 2009.
- Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, *Edited Hansards*, 26th Legislature, 3rd Session, Number 1A. October 21st 2009.
- Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, *Edited Hansards*, 26th Legislature, 3rd Session, Number 39B. March 10th 2010.
- Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, Standing Committee on Human Services, *Edited Hansards*, 26th Legislature, Number 42. May 10th 2010.
- Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, *Edited Hansards*, 27th Legislature, 3rd Session, Number 3B. October 28th 2013.
- Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, *Edited Hansards*, 27th Legislature, 3rd Session, Number 39A. March 25th 2014.
- Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, Standing Committee on Human Services, *Edited Hansards*, 27th Legislature, Number 29. April 9th 2014.

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