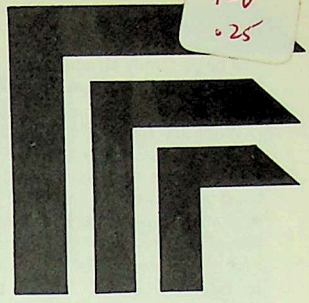


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editorial

And a woman who held a babe against her bosom said, Speak to us of Children.
 And he said:
 Your children are not your children.
 They are the sons and daughters of Life's longing for itself.
 They come through you but not from you,
 And though they are with you yet they belong not to you...1

This issue of Praxis Notes relates to the question of collective childrearing in our society and includes two articles which we hope will stimulate discussion about the theory and strategies behind a campaign for day care facilities. Institutionalized day care for children under school age has been the centre of a current debate. Financing, location and training are points for discussion but central to policy concerning centres is philosophy of childcare.

As an environment for childrearing, day care concerns not just mothers but women, children and men. The nuclear family in this historical period intensifies the values of ownership associated with parental love. A day care centre provides a structure in which children can

belong to a community. That is to say, it is a milieu where children can be exposed to several adults and their different behaviour and can grow up with an awareness of a social milieu much broader than the privatized family unit.

The nuclear family which is the basis of intense one-to-one relationships prevalent in our society stems from the prevailing wage system and gives rise to the assumption underlying objections to day care, namely, that all infants have a biological need to develop a constant relationship with one person. Two main objections are:
 1) economic: childcare for under three year olds would be costly because the child-adult ratio should be small. The cost of the service is emphasized as the vital factor in assessing feasibility,
 2) maternal relationships:

mothers do not have an opportunity to develop a constant relationship with their children during the early years of development.

These attitudes and government policy change according to the needs of the economy. Fathers sell their labour power; mothers maintain the family, except when economic conditions require require women's labour outside the home. During the War, for example, when women had to run factories, they performed many skilled jobs and day care was made available. There were 27 day nurseries in Ontario, 19 in Toronto. That was in 1946. Today, almost 30 years later, with an increased population, there are 16 municipally operated centres in Toronto.

As long as the nuclear family is

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the basic family structure, day care will be primarily supplemental care for a child.

What are the alternatives for a working class family if they need more income but that the mother must stay with the children? The first alternative is that the mother decides not to go out to work at all and the decision in effect is made to deprive certain needs, both physical and psychological, rather than seek additional financial help. Thus, the family operates under a financial strain which carries with it its own set of problems such as depression, overcrowded housing, lack of proper nutrition, etc.

Another alternative is for the father to work overtime, or to moonlight. The impact of a father that is pushed out of family relationships is not to be ignored.

"It is surprising how society has accepted with strange equanimity, the fact that fathers may hardly appear at all as members of their families except in a state of physical exhaustion." 2

A third alternative is for mothers to bring work into the home. This alternative is in direct contradiction with the original argument calling for a mother's constant attention to her child. In addition to regular work to maintain the household, mothers end up with increased demands on their time, and are usually paid a pittance of the value of their work. They have no access to the standards and protections developed by workers through labour unions.

Any of the socially accepted alternatives to mothers going out to work have their own drawbacks, for the family and for the children which have hardly been given the consideration they require. In fact, the family has often been forgotten in the noisy disputations about the importance of the mother... 3

In Sweden, the day care program is financed by the government and women are made aware of the principle that every citizen is entitled to work. Thus, adequate childcare facilities are of utmost importance.

A government commission was set up in Sweden in 1968 to study the content and quality of day care

programming. The assumption it developed which underlined the recommendations it put forward was the following:

"rearing children collectively with the idea of eliminating aggressive competition and materialistic acquisitiveness has become a necessity, yet one should preserve and develop individual potential." 4

After studying the program already in existence, the commission made the following recommendations:

i. no set routine but children moving at their own pace.

ii. a new kind of building to adapt to "no set routine" which includes a small sleeping room for private rests instead of rest period, bathroom-water play rooms, cloak rooms, parents rooms and home rooms for kinds of resting.

iii. encouragement of male staff to allow for identification models of both sexes.

iv. instead of small groups, collectives of 40 children aged 2 1/2 to 7 (separation between over 2 and under 2 to continue).

v. responsibility for decisions to lie with a collective of 5 adults instead of one teacher. Cooks and cleaners will participate more directly in the training program.

vi. physically and mentally handicapped children will be included in the collective of forty children.

In Canada, we are not without similar experimentation. Many cooperative centres have been attempted by various groups. Included in this issue is a case study of one attempt in Toronto which has ended up in the Appeals Court. The Sussex St. experiment is one which points out the contradictions of the legislation as it presently exists in Ontario. In this sense it is an action project geared to social change by virtue of its very existence.

Limitations of Legislation

The day care legislation which presently exists is a clear example of the way our capitalist economy generates the formulation of policy which is unrelated to the needs of working people. The Sussex St. case shows how the legislation is based on the

prototype of entrepreneurial, commercial centres with middle class standards and thus frustrates the development of parent-controlled child care centres.

According to a recent survey by the Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto, approximately 5,500 children are cared for in licensed day care centres, including 16 municipally operated, several non-profit and a number of commercial private centres. An additional approximately 150,200 children are cared for in agency-supervised family day care programs. The Sussex St. experiment also points out the class nature of the publicly supported day care centres.

"Implicit in the Ontario legislation is a particular view of the nature of public responsibility for day care services. Broadly, this view suggests that public provision of day care services should be limited to families whose social and economic conditions make it impossible for them to meet their child-rearing responsibilities in accordance with community standards. In other words, it is a special service substituting for parental care in unusual family situations." 5

Thus, the day care legislation presently comes under the welfare department. Day care has not been presented as supplemental care over which the parents have a control but rather as an enrichment program with a definite class bias. Day care should be taken out of the private sector and the welfare sector.

Women in the Labour Force

The right to work for all Canadians is central to any demand for day care facilities.

Historically, women have played a role in the economic development of Canada as reproducers of the population and as childrears. Today, women still play the same role but in a more sophisticated way that is rapidly changing.

The reason that women receive such low wages is not unrelated to the fact that they are tied to unpaid labour in the home. In the

reproductive and childrearing function of women which ensures that women will be a cheap labour supply in a capitalist economy. This is confirmed in various aspects of legislation. For example, the sexes are not interchangeable in income tax law. The Hamilton Spectator reported on September 14, 1971 that the Income Tax Department issued an interpretation bulletin outlining its application of current tax law on working wives who support their husbands:

"A claim by a wife will usually not be allowed where the husband is a man of means who, though happening to have little or no income in a year, might reasonably be expected to have supported himself, and possibly his wife as well, through the use of a Revenue of a non-income nature. In other words, it must be shown that a man hasn't the means to support his wife before she can claim an exemption for supporting him. But whether she has means or not, he can claim a full \$2000 exemption for supporting her if her income is not in excess of \$1000 a year." 6

The Status of Women Report points out that about 1/4 of the Canadian female labour force are mothers:

"Among them, they have... about 18 per cent of all Canadian children. (Almost 90 per cent of these children required care arrangements.) ...Median weekly earnings for working mothers are \$50 per week. The common assumption is that child care should be charged against the mothers' earnings, rather than as an item in the family budget, and this may be related to the unsatisfactory provisions she is frequently forced to make for her children." 7

It is the private notion of child care that ties women to the home and keeps them out of the labour force and that accounts for the charge of daycare against the mother's earnings. This is true in higher income families as well as in lower income families. In a study done by the Ontario Women's Bureau family responsibilities were listed as a primary obstacle to pursuing a career. This is despite the fact that many clients were motivated by declining family duties. Women were either unable or unwilling to



spend family money in pursuit of their own careers, and were forced to consider part time work as a first stage of their planning. They were very sensitive that this should not reflect low motivation but rather that it seemed to be "the only practical course of immediate action" This is not to deny that the wealthier the woman's husband, the better chances she has for a career of her own choosing, but merely points out that even middle and upper middle class women perform free labour in the home and thus, are kept out of the general labour force.

External Forces on the Family

Popular attitudes define the problems in low income families or in families where the mother is a fulltime worker, as being those of parental shortcomings or as being

the home. Relatively little attention is given to the external conditions which puts pressure on these family situations or which force the mother to go to work.

The implication is that the economy is run so that men have the prior right and responsibility to work. But in our economy, full employment of even just the men is impossible and unemployment is

being further generated by the transformation of Canada into a distribution and resource economy. This transformation takes place as U.S. corporations tend to move labour-intensive industries to their home base (the U.S.A.) or "export" them to developing countries where labour is cheap and unorganized. The resource extrative industries are capital intensive. They don't employ many people and virtually no women. Thus, with increasing unemployment, there is less demand for a labour supply, and women's reproductive function is of less importance. This is coincidental with the fact that women are being forced out of the home to participate in the labour force because of the higher unemployment rate among men. This is the contradiction. The same process that is transforming the economy is both causing unemployment among men and forcing women into the labour force.

In the decade from 1959 to 1969 the participation rate of women in the labour force increased from 24.9 percent to 31.9 percent. Ontario has the largest percentage of women workers and is a likely place for a day care campaign to begin. The majority of working mothers work full time regardless of the number of children and their ages. They usually also work a day shift.

The entrance of women into the labour force has not changed the sex-typing of jobs. Women's participation in the labour force is basically in the clerical and service sector. Most jobs are menial tasks and are identified as "women's work" e.g. secretaries, salesgirls, daycare professionals, etc. The following bulletin from the Department of Social and Family Services of the Province of Ontario demonstrates such sextyping and the low value placed on women's work and is another example of policy which is based on the assumptions of the prevalent wage system:

It's a profession for women. Can you guess what it is? Here are some clues:

While you are training, girls, and as you work professionally at it, you are also preparing yourself for marriage...

You are also preparing for successful parenthood, because you are learning about children...

One other unusual feature of this profession, which will probably give it away, is the fact that you can work at it before and after you are married, and you can either bring your children to work with you after they are two, or you can set up shop yourself in your own home.

A nursery school teacher usually begins as an assistant. In a day nursery requiring full-time employment, her initial salary may be approximately \$3,474-\$4,100 a year. This will increase as she gains experience and knowledge, and in some cases she may earn up to \$6,300 a year. At the present time, steps are under way in Ontario which may bring about substantially increased salaries in the near future.

In a nursery school where she works part-time, salaries vary considerably according to the size and type of school, but a teacher may reach a maximum of \$3,600 a year." 8

Centres in Industrial Settings

In keeping with this kind of thinking, a new program has been attempted by Manpower and Mothercraft which will train women to take care of children in their homes. Clearly this day care program does nothing to change the basic contradictions for women in this society, but like most social services is based on and reinforces the existing economy by providing reforms within it.

Day care facilities in the present economy, if they were located in industrial settings, could facilitate sex-typing of jobs, could tie women to the workplace simply because the care was available and because stability in the care of a child is a very important factor. In other words, it could ensure and facilitate the exploitation of women workers as a cheap labour supply.

Day care services should not be limited to parents who have full time paid employment, but must meet the needs of the working class, whether employed or unemployed, unionized or non-unionized. Where both parents are working, forces on them are such that they cannot afford a great deal of time or energy to establish and run a day care centre. As such, trained staff is needed as well as government financing.

The argument for location in industrial settings is that it is the only way to force corporations to share in the financing of a day care program. Another way would be corporate taxation, but this would require a significant change in government policy and would be opposed by corporations.

As Kari Levitt points out in *Silent Surrender*,⁹ there are difficulties in making corporate taxation the source of revenues because of the present taxation system. Since we are a branch plant economy, a system of internal trading off between parent and subsidiary companies is permitted. The result is that branch plants can operate at a deficit without affecting the overall profits of the parent company. The Canadian government not only permits this by the tax structure but seeks to encourage it through forgivable loans, tax concessions, and incentive grants. Further taxation on the already overburdened working class to pay for day care centres should be opposed.

Nevertheless, Thomas Wells, Minister for Social and Family Services, recently stated at a public forum that the government is considering putting day care centres under public education legislation. A demand for such day care should include a demand for

restriction on grants and concessions to all, especially foreign, corporations.

As legislation now stands, private groups can license their own centre. In British Columbia where legislation is similar, a day care centre for twenty children has been built by the B.C. Government Employees' union and operates on a non-profit basis.

Canadian Labour reported in June 1971 that provision of day care facilities in public housing is to be standard policy. Robert Andras, when he was minister in charge of housing, said that Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation is 'stressing and promoting' inclusion of such facilities in plans for public housing. Loans of 90 per cent of the cost of day care accommodation plus 50 per cent of the total cost of operation are available for day care centres for children of working mothers both in new and existing projects.

There is, therefore, a basis for a campaign which would locate government-financed centres in geographical communities or in union centres as opposed to industrial settings. Parent-controlled institutions would ensure that parents have control over policy in the centre and over hiring.

Thus, day care becomes an integral part of the needed struggles that must continue against the exploitation of women, the further privatization of the family and the isolated, competitive patterns of child rearing. Any demand for day care must challenge the economic position of women as a cheap labour supply to be exploited when needed and relegated to the home when not. We must relate to the phasing out of production by American corporations in Canada at this time through a demand for aright to work for all Canadian citizens. Any program that unions take on for a campaign for day care must coincide with a fight against sex-typing of jobs and equal pay for equal work demands. The link is crucial. The demand for day care should be for government financed, independently parent-controlled institutions. The need is for space and money.

Lynn Lang

Footnotes

1 Kahlil Gibran, *The Prophet*, Alfred A. Knopf, NY, p. 17.

2 Simon Yudkin and Anthea Holme, *Working Mothers and Their Children*, p. 132.

3 *ibid.*, p.183.

4 Dorothea Teakles, "Day Care in Sweden Today and Tomorrow".

5 "Day Care Legislation in Canada", prepared as part of the report on the national study of day care by the Canadian Council on Social Development.

6 Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women on the Status of Women in Canada, Information Canada, 1970.

7 *The Women's Bureau Careers Centre, Staff Study* by Linda Bell, Ontario, 1967-8.

8 *Bulletin from the Department of Social and Family Services, Province of Ontario*.

9 Kari Levitt, *Silent Surrender*, Macmillan of Canada, Toronto, 1970.
10 Canadian Labour, June 1971, vol.16 no. 6, p. 19.

Space and Money

by John Foster

CONSTITUENCY NEED

Your interest in day care probably springs from a direct need, but you'll have to establish the extent to which the others in your community share that need, what they can afford, what hours they need it, how far they want to travel, what sort of centre they want for their children. 1

Our centre grew out of concern for the situation of working women with children, and for the socialization of children. In the spring of 1969 a group of women in Women's Liberation in Toronto decided to get these concerns down to earth by investigating needs for day care. "We made preparatory surveys which revealed the particular lack of care for children under two years of age. Good daycare facilities existed in Toronto only for the wealthy. We found there were only two daycare centres for children under two...both with long waiting lists, and both costing approximately \$100 a month."

Need and interest focused around the university community (which is also a broader youth community) and by opening up discussion to people with or expecting children, by pressing fathers and interested men to attend an action group was formed. The onset of the university term, the pressing need of parents for full day care, fired a frantic search for a "home" for the centre.

LOCATION FACILITIES

Whether it's in-home family care

or something larger, a place where the children are going to live for a good portion of their waking week (that's not only suitable but somewhat exciting), is a real spur to your progress if you've got it, and one hell of a stumbling block if you haven't. 2

Accepting the university - its students, support staff and faculty, its neighbourhood - as our focus, we tramped the pavement looking for reasonable accommodation. Churches, houses, countless possibilities fell through. Most of us had some relation to the University, it owned a lot of property, and lacking a free bulldozer from time to time, it leaves empty houses standing. Our intelligence agents filtered out retrieving lists of U-owned houses, we put several under surveillance. Finding one occupied only by crashers, we simply moved in letting negotiations - which had been fruitless before our action - continue.

It was direct action! The bureaucracy we faced had been slow but not too repressive, and there we were painting, collecting cribs, high-chairs, toys, hauling in an old fridge and getting excited.

In comparison with a dark church basement, or nothing, this old house - 12 Sussex - was pretty heavenly for our kids. Back yard with high hedges, lots of little rooms for sleeping, changing rooms, and a location close to working and student families as well as potential student volun-

teers. We knew there would have to be improvements, but we didn't really know what lay ahead of us.

STANDARDS FINANCE

You need to be prepared for a long haul in starting a centre, your building can be very important to your progress, and your financial resources will probably be constantly strained. 3

Our centre started out with a consciousness of need, particularly of single parents and young student parents, and it started out with the idea of day care free (in the sense of available to those who need it). Our fees were \$30 a month, unheard of for under twos in Toronto. Some families were accepted without fee. There was a need, it was urgent, our growing community had to respond.

Perhaps it was because we were so conscious of the need, because we struggled so hard to keep fees low, because most of our labour was contributed by interested motivated people, and our staff worked at bare-bones wages, that we found the whole process of "meeting standards" so hard. Perhaps we should have occupied a new split level (in downtown Toronto?), or Lord Lansdowne school, because we quickly found out that our homey old house wasn't what "inspectors" had in mind for day care.

Some friends at another centre had told us that the provincial Day Nurseries Branch, which supervises licensing of centres,

would give us time to make improvements, and so we awaited fire, health and day nurseries inspectors. First there were floor plans...back and forth the envelopes and emissaries went: proper scale please, india ink please, proper labelling please. Then similar games with fire and health, it just took a long time. We decided in long community meetings to go through with the whole "official" process. Fire and safety were important we agreed. In addition, with so many needy families applying for day care, we needed to apply for welfare subsidies for many of them, and we couldn't do that without a license. We had to be patient, we had to endure a good deal of insecurity anticipating the arrival at the door of either the provincial or university wolves. Luckily the time also helped us to gain some confidence in ourselves as a group, and to learn some ways of getting answers from bureaucracies, and time to gain confidence with the children, and to establish a warm trusting atmosphere in the centre.

Sifting the reports and advice, it turned out that we needed a new three-basin sink, did not need "boys" and "girls" toilets, and that fire doors, fire escapes and a warning system were "musts". \$2000 was the estimate for that, and we began negotiating again with the University. We were asking for improvements or alternate accommodation, but what we were really suggesting was that the University had a responsibility for day care for its students and employees. We'd raised some money from those students and employees but with no provincial funds available, capital expenditures on fire equipment were just beyond our reach. So we kept on long negotiations with the University administration.

Frustration focused in a spring march to Simcoe Hall (the administration building), to present our case to the President. Some of us in the carpeted office...aren't these fire-doors as important as the subsidy to the Graduate Students' bar?" "Will you come out and talk with the parents Mr. Bissell?" The answer being no, the

parents, students and various political allies moved into the Senate chamber, and waited until the President came, a day and a night later, to tell them O.K.. It was kind of hard to fight motherhood.

We got our improvements, but they cost \$12,000, not \$2000. Not every building chosen for day care needs this much work, but a lot of them do. The province says, be sure and inspect the building prior to choice, which is fine, if you have some choice. But given older houses, halls and churches as the choice, the province has nothing to offer you, except standards, no capital grants, no guaranteed loans, we were simply damned lucky to have the university, an institution which after you've got its attention-ended up listening.

And so, about a year after we opened, we were finally physically acceptable in the sight of Queen's Park.



ORGANIZING WORK STAFFING

All the pamphlets, and the government's regulations put a heavy emphasis on staffing. They're right, full-time paid personnel are very important to your centre, but more important is the question of what kind of centre you as parent or participant desire. No staff person can or should remove that responsibility from you. 4

We began as a cooperative in 1969, and we're still a cooperative. We saw ourselves as sharing the day-to-day work at the centre, we declined to set up a board, or advisory committee, or executive. We divided the daily shifts into two halves, and asked as many parents as could to volunteer a half day a week. We spread out after-school clean-up and weekend clean-up and shopping and garbage and banking. We got help from interested students and people in the surrounding residential community. We decided to look for two full-time people to co-ordinate these efforts and tie them together. Our standards were very simple: some experience with young children, ability to work in a cooperative of adults, "good vibrations" in terms of a person who loved, was interested in and free with children. We also thought that some

specialized training in early childhood development might be helpful.

We hired two people who were strongly motivated and anxious to become involved (their salaries were not far above subsistence), and we started off. But we found ourselves in disagreement with the one staff member who did have prior training. She was worried by different things than we were, she was moving toward the role of "director", and we were

moving more and more into shared responsibility. So we parted, and a new co-ordinator came out of the ranks of the volunteers at the centre.

It's continued in this way, the renewal of full time staff has come from the ranks of those working in the centre as volunteers, although we've advertised generally from time to time, interviewed and consulted the Day Nurseries Branch about possible applicants.

How do you choose staff in any case? Do you go by paper references and course records? How far can interviews take you? Don't you have to test relationships on the job, in interaction with children and adults?

There is as well, the factor of community in hiring for a co-operative. As our group has grown together and evolved, we've become more conscious of each other's needs — we've almost always had our share of Canada's 6 percent unemployed. In addition people volunteering at the centre often find their career priorities challenged, by the opportunity of being with children in the sort of atmosphere we've created, men as well as women. So the co-hiring pattern that is organic, comes from the community.

Choice of staff is also inevitably affected by what is available, and in the under two age group, approved training in Canada has only recently been established. When the Ontario Day Nurseries Branch began to face this need, their prime reference was to an established, interested group, Canadian Mothercraft. But who was to say that their standards were the only or even the most desirable in this newly developing childcare age group.

Our co-operative didn't want a "director" or someone trained to be one. And as we developed we were increasingly conscious of our differences in approach, to the approved training course at Mothercraft. We placed social relationships among children, and children and adults, ahead of cognitive learning and single child-adult pairs. Community responsibility we placed

ahead of hierarchical staff-volunteer roles. Response to individual children and their needs we placed against the pressures of regularity and scheduling. The need for men fully involved with the children and centre we'd place as a higher priority than highly trained professionals of either sex.

So we've said to the government that parent-controlled centres should have the final say over the staff they employ, and over their internal organization and emphasis.

We recognize that not every group of parents might be able to or desire to spend as much time at their centre as most of our community do, but we'd still take a strong position favoring parent control and responsibility for the nature of the centre as opposed to reliance on a Board of Directors, or staff.

The government's response to us has been that our centre is too casually run, and that the cause is "well meaning but incompetent staff". They stress the need for a schedule guiding daily operations, for "supervision" as the role of a "director", for efficient running of the centre.

LICENSING — APPEAL

If you have more than five unrelated children together you come under the Ontario Day Nurseries Act and must apply for a license or be fined. You are only eligible for "purchased service" or subsidized day care for financially needy parents if you are licensed. Licensing involves meeting fire, health, safety standards and the regulations and discretionary standards administered by the Day Nurseries branch staff of inspectors who visit your centre.

If the province refuses to license you, you can appeal, to a Board set up under the Day Nurseries Act. After a year and a half of improvements and negotiations, the Branch told us "no license". So we appealed, last spring. Half way through the Branch's testimony before the Board, compromise developed. The hearing was adjourned, we appointed an "advisory board" of professional

people acceptable to the Branch, we promised to consult about future staff, and we waited for our license or a provisional license. More inspections ensued, and then our lawyers were informed: no license, hearing commenced again, closure imminent.

The fall of 1971 has been a struggle. We've been very lucky. We've had a law professor and several hard-working enthusiastic students from the new Parkdale Community Legal Services storefront, acting for us (virtually free). Sixty former parents, volunteers, parents and co-ordinators were interviewed, and of these more than twenty gave evidence at the lengthy fall hearings of the Board. We had to engage in a continual dialogue to and through the press and community organizations. We're still waiting for the judgment: the Board is reading 2000 pages of testimony.

All this drains vital energy from the centre, and while it builds a certain unity and strength, we'd prefer to build that strength by acting positively for the extension of day care, and meeting the needs of those on our waiting list, rather than having to defend our one centre.

CO-OPERATIVES — COMMUNITY

Whether you place a high priority on parent participation, or are simply a parent-controlled but largely staff-run centre, the potential for a centre for growth and support not only for children but for parents is one of the most fantastic aspects of initiating day care.

The "community" of our day care centre, probably includes upwards of 100 people: parents, volunteers, children and some former participants or advisors who continue to support the work. How does a co-operative operate effectively? Only with a great deal of work. We've stayed away from written-down structures and by-laws although there are understandings and standards accepted by the group

Most important was some effective decision-making method, and our approach was to put this to a basic community forum, a general meeting. Held every two weeks or so, everyone is welcome. After two years experience we've developed a standard of attendance (miss three meetings in a row and you're out), and we check each other up frequently on the jobs we're doing or supposed to do. This is the only real sanction around the centre, and shows our priorities. Co-operatives can't function in day-to-day physical maintenance, unless people consult about needed changes, criticize and suggest, find ways of distributing work.

So the centre demands a certain level of commitment. There's always the danger that it will be shared only by a few, or that what you decided in an enthused meeting may be way beyond your every-day ability to fulfill.

COMMUNITY LIFE

You never stand still, the group always changes, the children present new challenges, and the curious come to have a look.

The question of commitment comes up when you talk to prospective parents. You have to respond to their often urgent-need. You have to keep in mind the needs of the co-op as a whole. And it's really hard to test commitment until you've worked with people for at least a month. It's also hard for many parents. They've often been used to "transactional day-care", you pay your money, and leave your child at the door. It's difficult to take on the job of thinking about your child's life at the centre as a person who's responsible, and thinking of the centre as a community which relies on you. But many people applying to the centre have such definitive reactions to former day care arrangements, often haphazard ones, that they are really ready to "get involved".

Then there's the question I'd call "education and intimacy" in the group. The general pattern in our society is to "privatize" our relationships with children, and

our marriages, being pretty defensive when they're questioned by "outsiders". When you've started raising your (because day care really is a bit of that) you have to deal with those defences and inhibitions. Creating an atmosphere where you can trust volunteers who often know more about your child's changing personality than you do, where you can give and take criticism and suggestion with other parents and co-ordinators, is difficult but rewarding.

Our community meetings often spend lots of time talking about individual children, or social interaction among them. We found that that wasn't enough. Besides the daily discussions informally around the centre, and bi-weekly general meetings we had to desig a time for focusing on the questions of how we raise children in our society right now. First we tried small group meetings, reading and discussing individual questions and thoughts, but they were hard to get off the ground. Lately we've begun general "educational". We aim talk about home environment, special problems with children, general societal pressures on children and on us, and broad political questions. We also intend to invite some specific input from outside people. For instance we've had one session and plan another with the doctor from the Toronto Free Youth Clinic, about health in the centre and at home. We're now in a series which is examining sexuality and sex-roling of children, in an attempt to free up our approach to the children's development.

A relatively small day care centre, like Sussex Ave., is as important for parents as it is for children. It's important "educationally" in supporting singles and couples in the sometimes frightening or lonely business of raising tiny people in an often overpowering environment. It's important as a centre in which the freedom and warmth that children have pulls people together to open up with each other. There are a lot of myths about "education" and about "community control or people

power", but it seems to me, that when you're developing a co-operative parent-controlled centre, you're very close to education by praxis, that is, education which changes humans, as distinct from education by "banking" which fills them up with concepts and frustrations.

As a community you also have a protective and an evangelistic function. Protective, in the sense, of meeting the pressures which could shove you into meeting standards not your own, into "speeding" your children into achievement models to meet your own frustrations, or to fit you into someone else's system. There are innumerable people who may be curious, and that's often good, but how do you react when people approach you to experiment with your children, test or measure them? We've had long meetings in our community over such requests, and our answers have often been simply kindly no.

If you've begun a centre, you will probably soon have a waiting list. How do you reach out beyond yourself? Can you spare and share some energy in organizing a new group? Can you participate in general pressure on municipalities and the province to organize more centres? We've said to inspectors who spent hours copying our phone lists "Do you ever organize new centres?"

LAW — REGULATION — SERVANTS OF THE LAW

We don't operate in a vacuum. There is legislation regarding day care in Ontario, there are provisions for assisting municipalities with funds, there are provincial staff people, and there is and should be change.

As is evident from the story above, the relations between the 12 Sussex Ave centre and the provincial government have not been the best. Some provincial inspectors were very helpful, others offered suggestions, and the branch as a whole moved very slowly. The longer we negotiated with them, the more it became clear that even in the relatively newly developing and under-developed area of children under two care, the branch had a pretty

definite model in mind, and it wasn't us.

● There was little understanding or flexibility in dealing with a co-operative organization. The branch found it hard to conceive of our responsibility as a community, and preferred to see a single director in charge.

This raises questions as to whether there should not be in legislation or regulations special provision for co-operative centres and their stimulation.

● There was little interest or priority on the values and problems of parent-involvement and parent-control.

If the national Day Care Conference held in June, 1971 chose to place a high priority on parent involvement, should the province not give priority and assistance to its development?

● There was a great emphasis on regulation and standards, and no reference to finance. Co-operatives are defined as private day care, and there is no provincial capital or loan assistance available to them. They must bring themselves up to stand by whatever means they can command. The effect of this is to give commercial private centres preferential status.

Is there not an urgent place then - as the Ontario Welfare Council and other groups have suggested - for making provincial funds available to cooperative and other non-profit community groups to assist with initial capital expenditures of creating liveable, safe and exciting places for children?

● There is little legislation particularly aimed at the under two age group, and the especially urgent need for developing centres for this group. The present direction of the department is toward one model of training and approach that is, of Mothercraft. The effect is to stultify what should be an exciting area of experimentation.

Where day care is not approached as an emergency welfare necessity, the alternative is an extension down to age 0 of the institutional educational system. The paradox in this thinking, at a time when the institutional

bureaucratic hassles, needs. An overview of what happens when limited, separated, aging systems are given a clear once over.

"The Campus Day Care Centre" Guerilla, Toronto, September 1971, an overview of the struggles on the 12 Sussex centre.

Labour Gazette July 1971, "Day Care in Europe" by Freda L. Paltiel, a survey of Western European handling of the day care question.

Susan Jacoby "Who Raises Russia's Children?" Saturday Review August 21, 1971, an examination of current practices and criticisms of pre-school institutions in the USSR.

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Campus Community Cooperative Daycare Centre Handbook, a newly revised historical, and practical look at everyday activity at a cooperative day care centre. Includes some discussion of principles in emphasis and organization of co-op centres. Available from 12 Sussex Ave., Toronto, Ontario

Susan Edmiston "How to Start a Day Care Center" Women's Day, October 1971, a look at two parent-initiated day care centres, one in Brookline, Massachusetts, and one in Washington, D.C.

Jonathan Black "Oasis in East Harlem" Saturday Review, February 20, 1971. An interesting and exciting look at the conflict between parent-controlled and bureaucratic controlled approaches.

A Brief on Day Care for Children Under 3 Years presented to the Community Care Facilities Board, September

A Brief on Day Care For Children Under Three Years presented to the Community Care Facilities Board, September 15, 1971 by Opportunities for Youth: Vancouver Community Co-operative Child Care and Day Care Study, a look at the option of home care or family care day care, valuable because of its critical approach.

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VOLUNTEERS

Who Needs Day Care?

by Barb Cameron

Working mothers do:

The facts speak for themselves:

- In Toronto in 1968, there were 45,130 pre-school children with mothers in the labour force and less than 4,000 children accommodated in Toronto day care centres.
- In Ontario in 1967, there were 158,000 children under six of working mothers and only 10,700 places in day care centres for full-day care.
- A 1968 Dominion Bureau of Statistics nation-wide survey revealed that only 3 percent of children under six of working mothers in Canada were cared for in day care centres.
- By 1970, 39 per cent of Canadian women between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-four (the child-bearing ages) were in the labour force.

Mothers who cannot find space in day care centres they can afford must spend many hours searching for suitable care arrangements with private sitters. Often arrangements are made with other mothers who have their own child-care and housework responsibilities. Despite good intentions, they have little time or energy to devote to the children's development and are usually caring for children to make extra money they cannot otherwise earn. Often the children are encouraged to sleep long hours during the day and the working mother has trouble getting her restless child to sleep at night.

Mothers at home do:

Official estimates of the need for

day care usually look at the needs mothers already in the labour force and ignore women at home. Since World War II we have seen the rapid rise of half-day nursery schools initiated by mothers who recognized day care as an important educational experience for their children or who felt the need for time away from their children to keep a balanced perspective between mother and person roles or to follow their own interests. Nursery schools, however, are expensive and not accessible to most families. An important group of mothers at home are those women who would enter the labour force, continue their education or take job retraining if good day care were widely available. Right now, the expense and poor quality of child-care arrangements makes working a difficult choice for mothers with pre-school children. Until we have good quality day care centres available to all women who want them, we cannot speak of women's free choice between home and work.

Children do:

In recent years, attitudes about the value of group child-care have changed dramatically. Not so long ago the common belief was that "institutional" care and the separation of young children from the mother cause irreparable damage. These attitudes were based on studies of children done in institutions such as orphanages and more recent evidence shows that the damage to these children was the result of the lack of human affection and even of cruel treatment.

Group care of children in a supervised environment is now seen as contributing to the child's

mental, emotional and physical development. There is also a growing body of evidence that the view that children under two need "mother substitute" is unfounded. In organizing their own nursery school and co-operatives parents have proved that day care centres can provide rich experiences with other children and adults not possible in the confines of the nuclear family.

UNIVERSAL DAY CARE

Many people are no longer asking if group care is good for children—this has been proved in studies and in practice. Instead, they are saying that if day care is good for some children, then it is good for all children. Presently, day care is available to the well-to-do who can afford private nurseries and to some low-income families who qualify for government subsidies. Why should day care centres not be available to all, regardless of income?

The term universal day care means day care facilities for everyone, regardless of economic or employment status, who wants to make use of them. In other words, universal day care would be accessible to working and non-working parents regardless of their income. Universal day care would require a large network of low-cost or no-fee day care centres and would have to be financed by government.

ALTERNATIVES TO UNIVERSAL DAY CARE

Profit-making day care

Municipal and provincial governments are making great

use of private profit-making day care centres. Instead of building public day care facilities, the municipal government "purchases services" for low-income families in privately run centres. Non-subsidized parents pay from \$60 to \$95 a month per child for care. Under this system only the rich or those who can prove that they are needy can take advantage of day care programmes. The majority of working parents are left out.

One solution to the day care crisis (especially attractive to private operators) would be the expansion of private day care through government low-interest loans or increased government subsidies. In the short-run, such a "solution" would save the government putting out money for capital expenditures. However, in the long run, it is the parents and other tax-payers who will be paying for these business enterprises. In the United States, government subsidies to profit-making day care encouraged large corporations to develop chains of franchised day care on the model of Mac's Milk or Chicken Delight. Such chains are now beginning to appear in Canada.

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

Family Day Care

Family Day Care is similar to private babysitting where one woman looks after her own children and the children of other families in her own home. The difference is that Family Day Care is supervised by a social welfare agency and is eligible for government subsidies to low-income parents. At a public meeting in Toronto on January 26, the Minister of Social and Family Services, Thomas Wells, announced that family day care would soon qualify for operating subsidies from the Ontario government.

The two main advantages of Family Day Care are said to be

1) the low cost; 2) a mother-substitute instead of group care for children under two. In examining these claims, we can make use of a study done in Vancouver during the summer of 1971 of the already existing British Columbia system of Family Day Care.

Family Day Care is cheaper for the government than the care of children in Day Care Centres. However, the reason for the low cost is the exploitation of the women who care for the children in their homes. In the words of the Vancouver study:

...all bargains involve extra costs for someone somewhere. Clearly these hidden extra costs which permit the provincial government's bargain in family day care are borne by family day care workers themselves. 1

The wage paid to the Family Day Care workers in Vancouver works out to \$1.02 an hour for an average working day of 10 hours! Out of this low wage must come the extra costs of the children's food, equipment, extra laundering, power, house depreciation and repair. Once these costs are included, the average wage of the Family Day Care workers was about half the minimum wage.

The Vancouver Study also found that there was no foundation to the argument that children under two or three are better off with a "mother substitute" than in a group care situation. Based on observations and interviews in the family day care homes, the Vancouver group concluded that there was no evidence that children get more individual care in a setting where a woman is concerned with maintaining her own home and caring for her own family than in a day care centre. They found that, with very few exceptions, the care being given children was mere babysitting with little stimulation.

The Ontario government is introducing family day care because it is the cheapest way to meet the growing demands of working women for day care. The ideology of the "mother substitute" makes the plan more attractive to the public. Family day care can only be accepted as a

stop-gap measure and it must be made clear to the government that it is not an alternative to good group care for infants. The government should also be forced to pay the day care workers a decent salary and to introduce legislation for their protection.

Co-operative Day Care Centres

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

Another problem community groups have faced in setting up parent co-ops is the lack of funds. Co-ops now are subject to the same treatment as commercial operators and receive no capital grants at all and are only eligible for government subsidies for low-income parents after the centre is licensed. Many groups cannot raise the money to meet the licensing standards and the result has been the failure in the past few years of a number of badly needed centres.

At the moment, parent co-operatives can fill an important gap between expensive private day care and unavailable public care. I do not, however, feel that parent co-operatives can be the basis of a government financed system of day care in our present society. The big "strength and weakness" of parent co-ops is that they place the burden of organizing and running day care facilities on the parents. In a growing number of families, both parents work an eight hour day, often at very tiring jobs, and simply do not have the time to

participate actively in the day care centre. One result of demanding that day care centres be parent co-operatives could be that the people most desperately in need of day care (working parents) would be the last to obtain it.

I do think, though, that parents who have the time and resources to become involved in co-operative day care should not be penalized by inflexible government regulations. Many of the problems could be solved by special government legislation which distinguished parent co-operatives from commercial day care, and allowed parents the right to choose their own staff. Parent co-operatives should also be eligible for capital grants to initiate and operate day care centres on the same basis as public day care.

GOVERNMENT ROLE IN DAY CARE

Background

Before World War II, day care centres were supported by charity and provided for needy families where the mother had to work. Public support of day care began during the War when the demand for female labour was great. Under the War Time Day Nurseries Act, the federal and provincial governments split the operating and capital costs of day care centres, each paying 50 per cent. Under this programme nurseries were quickly built in the industrial centres of Ontario.

Government, however, was reluctant to assume a continuing

responsibility for day care. Immediately after the War, the federal government withdrew its financial support and municipalities were called on to pay 50 per cent of the operating costs of day care and all the construction and renovating costs. Involving the municipality placed a great burden on the level of government with the least revenue and effectively hindered the movement of parents trying to keep the War Time Day Nurseries open. A number were forced to close and between 1946 and 1960 the number of public day care centres in Metropolitan Toronto stayed static at 15.

During this same period, the number of women in the work force increased dramatically. Private operators saw the need and the chance to make profits and set up day care centres. Pressure from professional groups and parents eventually forced the government to become more involved. In 1966, the federal government again contributed financially to day care, this time under the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP). Under this welfare act, the federal government pays 50 per cent of the operating costs of day care for low-income families, the province pays 30 per cent and the municipality pays 20 per cent. In 1966 too the province agreed to share the cost of renovating old buildings, but not building new ones, for day care centres. In October of 1971, the province finally undertook to pay 50 per cent of the capital (land, construction of buildings, furnishing) costs of day care centres, leaving the rest to the municipality.

Main Problem Remains

The pressure of day care associations and parents' groups have greatly improved government involvement in day care in the past few years. However, the big problem still remains: the municipality—the level of government with the least revenue—is responsible for initiating day care. The recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women that Ontario legislation be adopted by other provinces does not solve this problem of the municipality's role. If parents and children in Canada are to receive the day care they need, the federal and provincial governments must be forced to assume complete responsibility for the capital and operating costs of day care.

Day Care Under the Department of Education

At the public meeting in Toronto mentioned earlier, Thomas Wells said that the Ontario government has a task force discussing the possibility of administering day care under the Department of Education. At first sight, there appear to be a few advantages to this. Public schools are located in the neighbourhood and parents would be saved the problems of taking young children on crowded transit to and from their day care centres. All children (pre-school and school-age) would be at the same place, close to home. More importantly, day care in the school would establish it as an accepted and universal right, like primary education.

But there are very important practical problems with placing day care under the Department of Education. Education is administered provincially and has been mainly financed through municipal property taxes. Only this year did the provincial government increase its share to 50 per cent for the costs of education. The provincial government's long term goal is to cover two-thirds of the costs. Day care would thus be a responsibility of the province and municipalities and in a worse situation financially than it is now.



Such a cost-sharing arrangement between the provincial and municipal governments would be a serious burden for the homeowner who is already worried about the growing costs of education. The additional tax levy on homeowners for day care would be impossible for them to bear. Any attempt by the provincial government to increase taxes for day care would arouse much opposition. Such a tactic by the Ontario Government could in fact be a very effective way of saying that "public opinion" is opposed to day care.

National Day Care Act

The Royal Commission on the Status of Women recommended that the federal government, in agreement with the provinces, adopt a National Day Care Act to provide the framework for financing and initiating a national day care programme. The Commission also recommended that each province set up a Child Care Board responsible for the establishment and supervision of day care centres and that National Health and Welfare establish a unit for consultation on child-care services.

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

FINANCING DAY CARE

Universal day care is an expensive proposition. Its implementation would require radical changes in the priorities and source of government spending. Canada is, however, a potentially very wealthy country. We are faced today with important decisions about how the existing wealth is used and who benefits from it.

There are a limited number of sources for financing day care.

costs could be borne almost entirely by the parents making use of the service; costs could be shared between all working people through increased income taxes; costs could be paid out of the profits of corporations; or a combination of these.

Parents' Fees?

If day care is to be available to everyone who wishes to make use of it, then some form of subsidy will be necessary to supplement parents' fees. Where parents are required to pay the total cost, as in private day care, only the well-to-do can afford to pay.

Two kinds of parents' fees are possible: the flat rate and the sliding scale fee system. If a flat rate were charged each family it would have to be low enough that all parents could afford it. This is a very impractical method. A sliding scale fee system, with subsidies to low-income families, is more fair. However, here the costs of maintaining the bureaucracy to constantly evaluate the parents' changing income would be enormous.

Besides the practical problems, there is an important principle involved in parents' fees. It is generally accepted in our society that a social service, be it highways or education, are not viewed as the financial responsibility only of its users. If day care is to be accepted as the responsibility of all of society and not just of individual parents then it should be paid for out of the collective resources of the society.

Income Taxes?

Most social services (and other not so social services) are paid for out of the taxes on the income of working people. This method implies the acceptance of collective, social responsibility. But the Canadian people are already paying more taxes than they feel they can afford. Attempts to increase income taxes to pay for day care would inevitably lead to much popular opposition.

The wages and salaries paid to the Canadian people are a very small part of the wealth of our country. The really high incomes

are hardly taxed at all. Instead, most of the wealth produced in Canada by Canadian workers leaves the country as profits for large American corporations.

Organizations?

Some people are suggesting that trade unions play a role in day care either by 1) setting up centres themselves and paying for it out of union dues, or 2) negotiating with the company to force it to contribute part of the costs. The first method has the same disadvantage as parents' fees: finances would again be primarily the responsibility of the users. The second method has the advantage of forcing industry to contribute some of its profits to day care. However, if the battle for day care has to be carried on in each work place, we may have to wait a long time. In addition, it would leave unorganized workers (80 percent of women in the work force) and those in weak unions without day care.

Corporate Taxes!

If we are to get universal day care, a major portion of the financing would have to come from corporate profits. Until recently, Canada was the only western country with no capital gains tax and the new legislation is very weak.

The United Electrical Workers, in its submission to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, made this argument for corporate financing of day care:

The federal government should raise funds by means of a capital gains tax to provide revenues to the provincial governments to cover the costs of constructing and operating the centres and training the necessary staff...we suggest industry financing since it is industry that receives the benefit of women working.

It would, of course, be necessary to remove the many tax exemptions and subsidies that American-owned branch plants now enjoy.

If corporate taxes are to be demanded for the financing of day care, then the federal government must assume the responsibility. Ottawa has the only access to corporate profits.

SOME OTHER QUESTIONS
Work Place Day Care

Many people argue that the logical place for day care is in work places which employ a large number of women. There are, however, a number of disadvantages with locating day care in the typical work place.

Two practical drawbacks to work place day care would be taking children to work on rush hour public transit and the unsuitable conditions of many work places. But the biggest danger is that work place day care would be used to meet the needs of the employer rather than the women workers. It could be used to attract women to low paying jobs and could hinder women from transferring to better paid work. During times of strikes, the employer could shut down the day care and hinder the fight for better working conditions. And, very likely, businesses providing these "services" would receive generous government subsidies.

Employees in certain work places, for example hospitals, may decide that they prefer work place to neighbourhood day care. Unions may attempt to win day care from their employers in negotiations and these efforts should definitely be supported. However, I believe that the majority of parents would prefer day care located in their community. In a survey conducted in August 1971 in an electrical plant in Toronto, 94 per cent of the respondents chose neighbourhood over work place day care.

Times

Most existing day care centres are open from 7 or 7:30 a.m. until 6 p.m., completely ignoring the situation of the many women who start work before 7 a.m. and many others who work afternoon shift.

According to a 1967 study carried out by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 26 per cent of working mothers worked evening shift. To serve all women, day care centres should be open from 6 a.m. to 12:30 a.m. every day of the week.

of the women who work night shift, one or more centres in every area of the city should be open 24 hours a day.

Professionalism

At a public meeting in Toronto this January, Thomas Wells, Minister of Social and Family Services was asked angry questions by two groups of people. Parents from Sussex Street Day Care Centres, who have been fighting the Day Nursery Branch's requirement of qualified staff, wanted to know when they would get their license. And community college students training to be day care workers demanded to know if there would be jobs for them when they finished school. Wells was able to use the apparent conflict of interest between the Sussex Street parents and the community college students and didn't reply satisfactorily to either group.

Wells was able to use apparent divisions in the audience because these "services" would receive generous government subsidies. Employees in certain work places, for example hospitals, may decide that they prefer work place to neighbourhood day care. Unions may attempt to win day care from their employers in negotiations and these efforts should definitely be supported. However, I believe that the majority of parents would prefer day care located in their community. In a survey conducted in August 1971 in an electrical plant in Toronto, 94 per cent of the respondents chose neighbourhood over work place day care.

To begin with, the ethic of "professionalism" has to be seen in the context of female occupations. The vast majority of female professionals (76 per cent) are nurses and teachers. Almost no women are professional doctors, lawyers, dentists, etc. The differences between the situation of male and female professionals are great. Males have very high salaries and often a good deal of control over their working situation. The female professionals are very much lower paid and have no more control over their working conditions than the majority of other working people.

This specifically female "professionalism" probably dates from the days when very few occupations were open to respectable middle-class women. They certainly did not want to identify with the working class factory women, although their salaries were not much better. Instead, they identified with the

much better paid and more privileged male professionals. Most day care workers today, however, are trained in community colleges and may not earn as much salary as secretaries. Professionalism in this context is a kind of anti-unionism and hinders the progress of the day care workers as it has nurses and teachers.

An attack on this kind of professionalism requires support for the right of these young women workers to a job and a decent salary. Instead, we are saying that their trainings are worse than useless and that their work can be just as well done by parent volunteers. Why should child care be performed by unpaid volunteers any more than any other job in this society? Women have cared for children as unpaid volunteers much too long already!

The questions of teaching methods and parent control remain. Parents must be allowed the freedom and financial support to set up day care centres according to their own theories of child care. An important result of these experiments can be to prove in practice that freer methods of child care are better. Criticisms of the way children are taught right through school have to continue. The sex-role learning that begins from the earliest years has to be especially fought against. In addition, attitudes of elitism toward parents that "some day care workers have" must be discouraged. But progress in these areas will come much more quickly if the rights of the day care workers are supported.

THE FIGHT FOR DAY CARE

Who does not want day care?

Three groups of people do not want government financed universal day care. Industry does not want day care if it comes out of its profits instead of out of the taxes of the working people. Governments do not want day care because they know that the Canadian people are already taxed to the hilt and they don't want to tax corporate profits that might discourage foreign investment.

Operators of private day care centres, especially private chains of centres, do not want public day care, although they will gladly accept some government subsidies to help increase their profits. Government will be forced to make some concessions to day care because the need is so great. However, the government will not set up day care without a lot of pressure from the Canadian people.

Who supports day care?

The need is urgent and day care is increasingly accepted as a good form of child care. The potential support is great, as long as people know that the costs to them will not be overwhelming. But most of the support remains unorganized, isolated or divided. The two organized groups pushing for day care now are professional associations and advocates of

community co-operatives. Up to now, the most powerful organizations of working people in Canada, the unions, have played only a minor role. If day care is to be won, as many as the different groups as possible must come together and support common demands. Most importantly, the unions must be encouraged to take an active part in the fight for day care.

Important principles

Here is a brief list of some of the more important principles a movement for universal day care would have to put forward.

- The federal and provincial governments should assume complete financial responsibility for day care.
- A National Day Care Act should be enacted to provide a framework for a nation-wide

programme of day care centres.

- Corporate profits should be taxed by the federal government to pay for at least part of the costs of day care.
- There should be no subsidies to private enterprise for day care.
- Day care workers must be paid a salary at the same level as elementary school teachers.
- Family Day Care Workers must be paid a decent wage and be protected by labour legislation.
- Parents must be able to participate in the running of day care centres in the way they wish.
- Co-operative, community controlled day care centres must be eligible for subsidies on the same basis as public day care and be able to determine their own qualifications for staff.

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