

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Interest Group Influence on Child Care Policy in Alberta

by

Wendy Fletcher

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SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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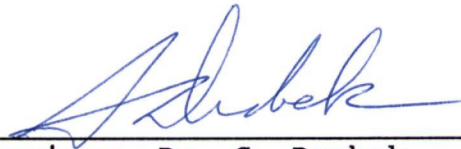
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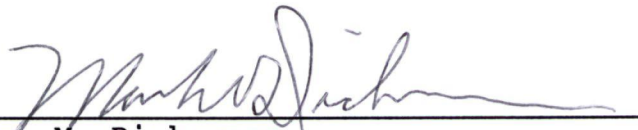


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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Interest Group Influence on Child Care Policy in Alberta" submitted by Wendy Fletcher in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



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DATE: September 8, 1994

ABSTRACT

Although Alberta has long lagged behind the other provinces and territories in child care legislation, it is now catching up with new regulations on day care staff qualifications.

This thesis examines the efforts of two day care groups to influence staff qualification policy. Their efforts are compared to those of a business interest group operating outside the day care sector, in order to contrast differences in access to policy discussions and the political agenda.

Two literatures are used to analyze the data: policy sector literature and political agenda control literature. In the end, the reader will have four clear impressions: how Alberta's policy on day care staff qualifications has evolved; what type of policy network best describes Alberta's day care sector; the day care community's effectiveness in policy setting; and factors outside the policy community which influence day care's place on Alberta's political agenda.

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The Political Science Faculty at the University of Calgary started me on the right track with their academic and teaching skills. My classmates, especially Ian, were an important source of support and inspiration. I thank Dr. Mark Dickerson for his thoughtful reading and questioning of the thesis. Dr. Annette LaGrange provided valuable suggestions to help strengthen the thesis. I especially want to say thank-you to my Advisor, Dr. Stan Drabek, who is a most patient man. He never seemed to tire of reading and responding to my many submissions. I will always appreciate his gentle and clear guidance in helping me construct a sound thesis.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ASCFRC -- Alberta Social Care Facilities Review Committee
CFIB ---- Canadian Federation of Independent Business
DCPAC --- Day Care Parent Advisory Committee
DCSA ---- Day Care Society of Alberta
ECA ----- Early Childhood Academy
ECD ----- Early Childhood Development
ECS ----- Early Childhood Services
ECPAA --- Early Childhood Professional Association of
 Alberta
F&SS ---- Family and Social Services
LEAF ---- Legal Education and Action Fund
NAC ----- National Action Committee on the Status of Women
PDCAC --- Provincial Day Care Advisory Committee
REAL ---- Realistic Equal Action for Life (Women)
SSCC ---- Social Service Caucus Committee

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to look at the influence of child care interest groups in day care regulations in Alberta. This is done by studying the nature of the child care policy community of Alberta. One area of regulatory policy is chosen for investigation, that being staff qualifications. Staff qualifications are well known to be a primary factor in assessing the quality of care provided in the service of child day care.¹ Is there evidence to suggest that in the area of day care staff qualification policy, the government of Alberta acts in concert with, or independently of, the child care community? What interests and whose interests are represented in public policy? These two questions are the focus of this thesis.

The research for this thesis covers the years since the mid 1970s to the early 1990s. Since the mid 1970s there have been several changes within the Department of Family and Social Services². This is also a time of political stability

¹. Whitebrook, M; Who Cares? Child Care Teachers and the Quality of Care in America, Final Report, National Child Care Staffing Study; Oakland; Child Care Employee Project, 1989.

². Prior to 1985 known as the Department of Social Services and Community Health.

for the province in that the Conservative Party of Alberta has been in government since 1972.

Chapter Two is a review of the relevant literature. It begins with a discussion of policy community literature which helps to explain the methodology used to analyze and understand the child care community of Alberta. A discussion of terms commonly used in sectoral analysis such as associational systems and types of policy networks introduces the reader to a major part of the thesis. The thesis also includes a comparison between the sectoral analysis literature and literature regarding who and what controls the political agenda. Moreover, it examines the factors which influence the setting of the political agenda in terms of which issues are given priority on the political agenda.

Chapter Three is a study of the history and interplay within Alberta's day care policy community which includes the government and interest groups. Prior to 1978 child care programs were operated in accordance with the Welfare Homes and Institutions Act and in 1978 the province enacted its first Day Care Regulations Act. In 1985 the Department of Family and Social Services (F&SS) published its first Policy Manual. The Act was updated in 1981 and 1990 and the Policy Manual was revised and reprinted in January, 1993. Many factors have influenced the development of Alberta's day care policies and Day Care Regulations Act. A summary of the

governments reactions to initiatives from the day care community closes Chapter Three.

Interest groups in Alberta's day care sector have existed since the early 1970's. The groups have increased in number and in their level of sophistication over the past two decades. The more than twenty day care interest groups in Alberta (see appendix B) share a stated common concern for the promotion of quality care for Alberta's children. The interest groups differ, however in their stance on what constitutes quality care and to what extent the provincial government should be involved in the provision and monitoring of child care.

Chapter Four includes a brief description of two of the main players in the day care policy community of Alberta. The two groups chosen for this study are: the Day Care Society of Alberta (DCSA); and the Early Childhood Professional Association of Alberta (ECPAA). These two groups are two of many provincial and national child care interest groups which influence the child care policy community. The DCSA and ECPAA are studied because they both function independently of government funding and authority. They both represent province-wide interests and they are both supportive of day care as a necessary service to Albertan families. They differ in their stance on what constitutes quality child care staff and the extent to which the provincial government should be involved in province-wide regulations for day care.

Interviews were conducted with both the DCSA and ECPAA. Both shared generously written and verbal information about their respective groups. A brief description of each group is presented, together with an overview of some of their efforts to influence staff qualification policy.

Chapter Five provides an analysis of the relationships within the day care policy sector. This is done by tying together the literature on policy communities and applying it to the day care community. In particular what are the government and interest group factors which have had the most impact on staff qualifications in Alberta's child care policy? The type of network which best describes the Alberta day care policy community according to sectoral analysis is identified and explained. Then the agenda control literature is tied in with the data on the day care community. Chapter Five closes with an answer as to whether or not child care interest groups in Alberta have access to the provincial government. In addition, the question as to whether these groups have helped determine provincial child care policy is answered.

An overview of the structure and function of a business group is presented in Chapter Six. The Canadian Federation of Independent Business (CFIB) is an interest group with an established provincial branch with specific provincial objectives. How CFIB is structured and how it functions on a provincial level is presented. The type of network which best describes CFIB according to the Coleman and Skogstad

literature is identified. A discussion of how the provincial government reacted to initiatives from the day care interest groups as compared to CFIB serves as a conclusion for the chapter.

Based on the evidence presented, Chapter Seven discusses the likely future of child care policy in Alberta. Included in this discussion is Alberta's political climate because of its relevance in understanding the present and future state of child care policy in the province. The data presented in the thesis, along with a look at the political climate of the province, are drawn together to project the future of child care policy in Alberta.

CHAPTER 2.

LITERATURE REVIEW

During the twentieth century, political scientists have changed their approach to the study of interest groups. For the most part, this study is based on literature which looks at interest groups from a sectoral approach and then literature which looks at interest groups from a broad political spectrum. The literature used is from the early part of the twentieth century to the 1990s. The objective is to look at child care interest groups in Alberta from the narrow perspective of its own sectoral community and then from a broader perspective which considers interest groups as they function within the larger political arena.

This research is timely in two respects, first the issue of child care in Canada has been breaking into the political arena only since the 1984 federal election and second because of the practical realities and influence of Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Charter "can be understood as an arena for competitive "status building""³ because of the many groups which have accessed it since its implementation in 1982.

³. Knopff, R. and F. L. Morton, Charter Politics. Toronto: Nelson Canada, 1992, p.80.

In Canada many various and diverse interest groups are able to use The Charter in pursuit of their legal, democratic and equality rights. Child care is a basic right and necessity for women in terms of their equal access to education and employment⁴, in this sense child care is included as a feminist issue⁵. The "Legal Education and Action Fund (LEAF), a feminist organization ... systematically uses Charter litigation to promote feminist policy objectives."⁶

National groups have promulgated differing views on child care. An example of this is The National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) and a national group known as The Realistic Equal Action for Life (REAL Women). The point is that the Charter has effectively politicized Canadians and has provided people of diverse backgrounds with an opportunity to seek their "charter rights" through the court system.

⁴. Auerbach, Stevanne and J.A. Rivaldo; Rationale for Child Care Services: Programs vs. Politics; Human Sciences Press, Inc. New York: 1975, p.xx.

⁵. Fletcher, Wendy, Postmaterialism and Child Care based on the 1988 Canadian Election Survey, University of Calgary, Unpublished POLI 691 Paper, Dec. 1990, pp. 4 & 20. This paper discusses child care as it relates to the political theory of Postmaterialism. A factor analysis was conducted using postmaterialist variables on the 1988 Canadian Election Survey. The factor analysis shows that child care loads into the same factor as postmaterialism. In addition to this, the literature connecting child care to women's equality rights is presented and applied to Canada and to sections 15 and 28 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

⁶. Knopff & Morton, Ibid. p. 4.

The increase in number and sophistication of interest groups has, in some cases, resulted in a situation where advice from these groups is sought in the process of political discourse and public policy. This has effected a change in Canada's political culture. Alan Cairns argues that with the 1982 Charter, Canadians have an instrument for approaching the state as groups and individuals.

If other eras have been summed up by other attributes feudal, renaissance, capitalist our era merits the label "political" to identify its defining characteristics.⁷

The proliferation of interest group politics in recent times is not a phenomena unique to Canada, however, our new Charter of Rights has been an effective instrument in the expansion of interest group politics. Simultaneously, The Charter has developed linkages between citizens and the state which, before 1982, were unknown. This will become an ever greater factor in Canadian politics.

Concern about the growing number and force of interest groups in the 1960's centred around the question of their governability and the possibility that they would lead to the

⁷. Cairns, Alan. "The Embedded State: State-Society Relationships in Canada", in Keith Banting, ed. State and Society: Canadian Comparative Perspective. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1986. p.55.

demise of democratic governments⁸. More recent literature suggests that interest groups have become more integrated with the overall political system.

Today, many public agencies have come to treat pressure groups they deal with as a functional constituency equally significant and often as influential as the constituencies represented in the legislatures.⁹

Sectoral Literature:

Some of the mechanics involved in the study of policy communities as laid out in Policy Communities & Public Policy in Canada by Coleman and Skogstad (ed.) are summarized in the next few paragraphs. The term 'associational systems' is used in reference to public, private and state groups and individuals who are concerned about a specific policy area. Associational systems is a more encompassing term than 'public' or 'special interest group' because it "refers to the collection of associations within a given domain"¹⁰. Coleman and Skogstad introduce a structural approach to policy studies and distinguish it from the more often used approach, that of

⁸. Pross, A. Paul, Group Politics and Public Policy, Canada: Oxford University Press, 1986. p. 1.

⁹. Pross, Ibid, p. 24.

¹⁰. Coleman, William and Grace Skogstad, (ed.) Policy Communities & Public Policy in Canada; Missassauga: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1990, p.21.

public choice. Policy networks, as outlined by Coleman and Skogstad are categorized as Pluralist, Closed and State-Directed. Coleman and Skogstad also introduce six types of networks under which associational systems can be categorized: pressure pluralism, clientele pluralism, parentela pluralism, closed corporatism, closed concertation and state-directed networks.

A structural approach to policy studies involves an analysis of pertinent political institutions and their relationship to individuals, agencies, interest groups and economic variables within a given sector. Public choice is a better known approach to policy studies and it is more aligned with a pluralist understanding of the state. It looks at institutions in terms of their legal status and places an emphasis on the role of broad economic actors such as producers, consumers, entrepreneurs and workers. In reference to the public choice approach, Leslie Pal states, "Interest groups, in short, were considered as independent variables, and public policy ... as the dependent variable" ¹¹. Pal continues with some of the merits of a more sophisticated approach and advocates an approach which analyzes "the organic links that sometimes can arise between groups and state agencies."¹²

¹¹ Pal, L., Interests of State, Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1991, p. 6.

¹². Pal, Ibid, p. 11.

Structuralists then, study policy in terms of the interplay within policy communities, including group resources in terms of dollars, numbers, organization and influence on voting decisions, as well, structuralists study the organization and strength of state institutions. Public choice research, on the other hand, looks at the relative strength of large groups and hence their influence upon institutions and resultant public policy.

The challenge in policy analysis from a structuralist approach is to understand the relations within and between associational systems, that is, the 'policy network'. To analyze and understand policy networks and public policy "much greater attention must be paid to specific bureaucratic arrangements and to the relationships that the officials involved maintain with societal actors"¹³. Coleman and Skogstad define a policy network as "the properties that characterize the relationships among the particular set of actors that forms around an issue of importance to the policy community"¹⁴. Structuralists then, are interested in how governments and associational systems work with one another and how their relationship affects tensions that arise within and between policy networks.

¹³. Atkinson, M.M. and W.D. Coleman, (1989) "Strong States and Weak States: Sectoral Policy Networks in Advanced capitalist Economics." British Journal of Political Science, 19: 47-65, p.50.

¹⁴. Coleman and Skogstad, Ibid, p.26.

Much of the policy analysis literature uses terms such as 'micro', 'meso' and 'macro'-level analysis. Micro-level analysis provides precise understanding of some of the intricacies and nuances of public policy research. Meso and macro analysis refers to sectoral research and the overall picture, respectively. Thorough policy analyses must deal with a given associational system at all three levels, however, such is a massive undertaking and beyond the scope of this research. Here, the concern is mainly with meso and some macro-level analysis.

At the meso level, Coleman and Skogstad identify six types of policy networks. Pluralist policy networks emerge in issues with fragmented and to some extent, dispersed state authority and low level organization development within the associational system¹⁵. A network of pressure pluralism exists when issues involve groups who assume a policy advocacy role only and the state remains autonomous. A clientele pluralism network emerges when the state has dispersed authority and poor organization and is dependent on organized interests for expertise. When organized interests gain a dominant place within a governing political party and when they have members in prominent bureaucratic positions the network is known as parentela pluralism.

Closed associational systems are the norm in situations which involve a single, well organized state agency and highly

¹⁵. Coleman and Skogstad, Ibid, p. 27.

organized interests. Closed corporatist networks are ones in which the state is strong and organized interests are well developed but economically or socially vulnerable. Closed concertation refers to policy networks with a strong and single association and a well organized single state agency. This type of network is atypical in Canada and not easily found in the provincial governments either. Policy areas which involve little or no interest group participation and have highly autonomous state agencies are categorized as state directed networks.

Table 1

Groupings of Policy Networks

Pluralists	Closed	State-Directed
pressure pluralism	corporatism	
clientele pluralism	concertation	
parentela pluralism		

Source: Coleman William D. and Grace Skogstad, ed.; Policy Community & Public Policy in Canada; Missassauga: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1990, p.27.

Different policy networks are characterized by different approaches to the state and in the relationship between the state and the interest group sector. Moreover, policy network

types differ in their role as policy advocates and policy participators. Advocacy refers to efforts to influence policy decisions from the outside, whereas, participation refers to the act of being included in policy discussions and decisions. Some networks are better equipped to participate in policy discussions and decisions. In turn, these networks are well equipped to continue to participate in policy discussions.

Well-developed associational systems are better equipped to move beyond policy advocacy to policy participation and the incentives to increase the level of organizational development should rise as a system becomes involved in policy making.¹⁶

Analysing associational systems according to their network structure is an extremely useful means to understanding the relation between interest groups and the governing apparatus. However, in the real world of politics, policy networks are rarely as well defined as they are here.

Policy communities are not necessarily made up of only one type of policy network. Indeed, when research is done from a structural approach, many group and individual actors are part of the analysis thus allowing for multiple levels of interaction and influence. The Coleman and Skogstad text has examples of policy communities which are made up of more than one type of network. These include "... Policy-Making in the

¹⁶. Coleman and Skogstad, Ibid, p.23.

East Coast Fishery", "Official Language Minorities and the State ...", "Organized Women's Groups ..." and "The Poverty Policy Community ...". Each of these policy areas include multiple groups and individual networks. Moreover, the groups, individual actors and networks themselves are not stagnant and they experience a variety of changes over time. The child care community of Alberta is an example of a policy community which is more and less easily defined at different times in its history.

Coleman and Skogstad's structural approach to policy communities is extremely helpful in that it gets us out of micro-level parochialism. Furthermore, it gets us away from macro-level analysis which at times can be "too crude to begin to account for the rich variety of state-society relations that are being documented"¹⁷. The sectoral approach is helpful in analysing associational systems and in particular, understanding the relationship of the DCSA and the ECPAA with the Provincial Department of Family and Social Services. This investigation of Alberta's child care sector describes some of the main players, provides anecdotal information and analyzes the sector according to some of the available policy sector literature. The overriding objective is to gain an understanding of the relation between the two interest groups, the Department of Family and Social Services and the policy making process as regards day care staff qualifications.

¹⁷. Atkinson and Coleman, Ibid, p.47.

Looking at the interest groups in this study will provide a clearly focused investigation of the interactions and influence between these groups and the government of Alberta. In understanding the child care policy community of Alberta we will be able to identify the political attributes within the community. In addition to presenting some of the sectoral attributes, the study will show some of the sector's weaknesses and some unexplained gaps. This is to be expected because "meso-level phenomena cannot be explained in isolation from broader political institutions."¹⁸ The meso level findings of the child care policy community of Alberta directs the research toward some macro level analysis. Hence, a look from the macro-level is an important consideration in the understanding of child care policy in Alberta.

Macro Literature:

In terms of macro-level analysis and public input, three distinct levels of participation and representation are identified: "parties, policy communities and new social movements ... [the former] make up two institutional levels [the latter] act on the margins of the established system"¹⁹.

¹⁸. Atkinson and Coleman, Ibid, p. 67.

¹⁹. Galipeau, Claude; "Political Parties, Interest Groups, and New Social Movements: Toward New Representation", in Alain G. Gagnon and A.B. Tanguay; ed. Canadian Parties in Transition. Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1989, p.417.

A sectoral analysis cannot provide the entire picture of how day care policy has evolved in Alberta because "policy is moulded by a variety of forces beyond those within the policy making system itself"²⁰. Beyond parties, policy communities, new social movements and forces within the system there exist ideological, national and international factors which, too, play a role in the development of child care policy. This investigation cannot adequately consider all of these factors. The focus is on the relationship of the DCSA and the ECPAA with the provincial government and the influence these groups have had on day care staff qualification policy.

Special attention is paid to the agenda control literature in terms of day care's position on the provincial political agenda. Specifically, does the DCSA or the ECPAA successfully influence provincial policy in terms of regulations covering staff qualifications? Are there external factors which impede day care interest groups from accessing the provincial policy agenda and policy discussions? The following section of this literature review deals with the broader political spectrum and some of the influences in the setting of the political agenda.

Much literature exists which argues that interest groups vary in their strength and influence. This, effectively, ensures that certain groups have a more direct line to

²⁰ Linblom, Charles E, The Policy Making Process, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1968, p. 4.

government, political agendas and policy decisions. "The influence of groups is determined by their numbers, wealth, organizational strength, leadership, access to decision makers and internal cohesion"²¹. "In general the strong groups dominate, displace, or destroy weaker groups"²². "Some groups find it nearly impossible to force their way into the consultative system"²³. Sectoral analysis overlooks the impact of external sectors on any one sector under analysis. In studying the child care policy network of Alberta we can ascertain a fairly clear view of how it works, but in isolation from the broader political picture we cannot appreciate the external factors which affect its shape and influence on Alberta's child care policy.

In terms of setting the political agenda, those interest groups with the most direct and influential lines to government tend to have the most influence with the agenda and the resultant policy. This is the argument of many experts in the field: groups with indirect and weak influence are no match for groups with direct and influential government contacts.

²¹. Dye, T.R. Understanding Public Policy. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1984, p.26.

²². Bentley, A. F. The Process of Government, Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press, 1967, p.xxiv.

²³. Richardson, J.J. and A.G. Jordan, Governing Under Pressure, Oxford: Martin Robertson and Co. Ltd., 1979, p. 127.

The distinction is between associations that rely mainly upon members for resources and usually, therefore, have a limited and unstable supply and those which have diverse sources of institutionalized resources.²⁴

Part of macro-level analysis is seeing how a particular associational system compares with and relates to other associational systems within the same jurisdiction. The literature is clear that influence in the setting of the agenda is tantamount to influence in policy.

Deciding what will be the problem is even more important than deciding what will be the solutions. ... Creating an issue, dramatizing it, calling attention to it and pressuring government to do something about it are important political tactics. ... These are the tactics of "agenda setting".²⁵

The issues which receive political attention and political support are often those of the more elite societal groups. These more influential groups have more clout in setting the political agenda in terms of what goes on and does not go on the agenda. "We want to keep in mind that policy making involves agenda setting (capturing the attention of policy makers)"²⁶. Keeping a potential political issue off the political agenda is an important part of policy decisions.

²⁴. Coleman and Skogstad, Ibid, p.22.

²⁵. Dye, Ibid, p.326.

²⁶. Dye, Ibid, p.25.

Some policy networks are better equipped than others to influence the policy agenda.

Non decision making may occur when dominating elites act openly or covertly to suppress an issue because they fear that if public attention is focused on it something will be done and what is done will not be in their interest. ... There is a mobilization of bias within the political system itself, that is a set of "predominant values, beliefs rituals, and institutional procedures ... that operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of others"... we know that the political system responds well to large-scale, well-organized, active interest groups with access to government officials. It responds less well to smaller, unorganized, inactive interest groups with few available channels of communication to government officials.²⁷

"The business community is by a wide margin the most highly organized segment of society ... [and] ... the business or upper-class bias of the pressure system shows up everywhere ..."²⁸. As such, the business community highlights its own concerns in the course of political discourse. These arguments are used to help explain the influence of the DCSA and the ECPAA in child care policy in Alberta. By implication, the fact that Alberta's child care community is not representative of the upper class business community, its access to government and policy discussions will always be hampered by "the privileged and intermediate groups [who] - can often

²⁷. Dye, Ibid, p. 327.

²⁸. Schattschneider, E.E. The Semisovereign People. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960, pp. 30-31

defeat the larger groups - the latent groups - which are normally supposed to prevail in a democracy."²⁹ This position is well argued by several political scientists: "Charles Lindblom (1977) has argued persuasively that business interest associations possess a "privileged" position in the policy process"³⁰ This point, in terms of Alberta's child care staff qualification policy, is made clearer in Chapter Six. An analysis of the relationship between the DCSA and the ECPAA with the provincial Department of Family and Social Services is presented. Then, by way of comparison the CFIB's influence over government policy and discussion is highlighted.

Another important consideration in interest group politics is the already mentioned fact that "group formation has accelerated substantially since the 1960s"³¹. Literature written about this argues that the existence of many disparate groups can, in effect, mean that they function to weaken one another. Again, political scientists have written much on the effect of the many interests on government "Mancur Olson ... viewed interest based politics as contributing to governmental immobilism and reduced accountability."³² Keeping each other

²⁹. Olson, Mancur, The Logic of Collective Action.
Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965, p.
128.

³⁰. Coleman and Skogstad, Ibid, p. 11.

³¹. Cigler, A.J. and B.D. Loomis, Interest Group Politics,
Washington: Congressional quarterly, 1983, p.10.

³². Cigler and Loomis, Ibid, p. 2.

in check and the representation of disparate views ensures that, at best, a middle ground is maintained, "conflict among interest groups curbs the influence of any one of them"³³ and "if all groups could be mobilized the result would be a stalemate"³⁴. It is further argued that "pluralist theory is responsible for some of the most costly attributes of modern government: the atrophy of institutions of popular control and the maintenance of old and the creation of new structures of privilege"³⁵.

In terms of Alberta's child care policy community there are several interest groups which have articulated their position regarding staff qualifications. Not all child care interest groups agree on all matters regarding child care policy. Indeed, if they did, there would be less of them. Regarding staff qualification legislation, the two child care groups which are analyzed in depth for this study, the DCSA and the ECPAA, may, in effect cancel one another out. Although they agree on some training requirements for child care staff, the type and quality of training each advocates is not the same.

Adding to what A.P. Pross and A. Cairns are quoted as saying, pluralist theory argues that

³³. Lindblom, Ibid, p. 68.

³⁴. Schattschneider, Ibid, p. 35.

³⁵. Lowi, Ibid, p. 58.

Organized interests emerge in every sector of our lives and adequately represent most of those sectors, so that one organized group can be found effectively answering and checking some other organized group."³⁶

If this were in fact the case we could hope that the situation would be one of equal access and influence among disparate groups. Based on the literature regarding differing strength and influence between sectors, we cannot, in fact, be sure this is the case. Indeed, the literature is clear that at the meso and macro level, groups do not have equal access and influence. The case of child care policy in Alberta illustrates that all policy networks are not equal and do not effectively answer and check other policy networks. This will be made clearer in the analysis of Alberta's child care policy community.

Summary:

Literature used in this thesis provides a framework by which to clearly understand policy networks. In this research the network in question is the child care policy network of Alberta. Once the literature on policy networks is established, the thesis draws on literature highlighting influencing factors outside the policy network itself. Therefore, the thesis studies Alberta's child care policy

³⁶. Lowi, Theodore J., End of Liberalism, New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1979, p.51.

network at the meso-level, then it looks at the policy community from a macro-level perspective. The following headings are used to separate and organize the study: History of Child Care Policy in Alberta; The child care interest groups: DCSA and ECPAA; Analysis; CFIB; and Conclusion. The following chapter looks at the legislative history of the Alberta child care sector.

Chapter 3

HISTORY OF CHILD CARE POLICY IN ALBERTA

Prior to 1978, day care centres in Alberta were regulated by the Welfare Homes and Institutions Branch of the Department of Health and Social Development.³⁷ This branch was responsible for governing the operation and licensing of all institutions and nurseries. Regarding staff qualifications, there is no mention in the regulations covering homes or institutions requiring specific skills or abilities of staff. An example of this regarding homes is, "section 1. ... (c) [day care staff must have] adequate qualifications and experience to give care to persons in her care,"³⁸ without any definition as to the meaning of "adequate qualifications". As for social service institutions and nurseries the act reads:

Staff ... An adequate number of competent persons shall be employed at every institution or nursery to ensure that all the children accommodated are properly cared for and that the requirements of this

³⁷. Since 1985 known as the Department of Family and Social Services

³⁸. Department of Health and Social Development; "Minimum Standards Required by the Welfare Homes and Institutions Branch", Edmonton, AB p.3.

division are complied with.³⁹

Since the mid 1970's a lot of attention has been paid to child care legislation in Alberta and the overall result has been gradual legislative change. A brief history of provincial regulations beginning with the mid 1970's is presented in this chapter. This date is chosen because this is when government first began to interact with the day care community as an entity separate from other types of social services. In addition to actual legislation, there have been a number of committees and related events within the Department which are relevant to the research and hence included in this chapter.

In April 1975 the Honourable W. Helen Hunley was appointed Minister of Social Services and Community Health. Under her direction the department developed a Task Force on Day Care (whose membership of which consisted of both private and public interests), prepared a Proposal for Day Care Standards and Licensing in 1976 and published a Task Force Report in 1977, its four recommendations for staff qualifications follows.

It is essential that post-secondary institutions offering early childhood development programs be given the resources to enable them to offer workshops, seminars and short courses, to individuals already in day care ... and to new generations of

³⁹. Provincial Board of Health Regulations; "Code of Standards for Institutions and Nurseries", Section 15-2-5, June, 1972. p. 7.

day care personnel.⁴⁰

We see a very real need for some staff whose training is ... in related fields such as psychology, nursing, music, recreation, social work, etc.⁴¹

We suggest that we concentrate on making it possible for workers in various parts of the province to take advantage of part-time training programs.⁴²

A Professional Day Care Staff Licensing Board should be established. ... Primary staff who have been in the field for five or more years should be licensed immediately as should the graduates of the early childhood development programs ... Others who have been involved in day care ... should be licensed if they can satisfy minimum competencies as determined by the Licensing Board. ... Within five years, ... at least half the primary staff in all centres should be licensed.⁴³

Hunley's ministry was responsible for implementing the first Day Care Regulation in 1978. These regulations required the establishment of a registry for day care centre staff. However, in spite of the 1977 Task Force recommendations, the Day Care Regulations of 1978 did not address staff qualifications. Several possibilities exist as to why qualifications were not addressed in 1978. Two possibilities include: the autonomous nature of the state apparatus and the lack of access of the child care sector to political

⁴⁰. Minister of Social Services and Community Health; Report of the Day Care Task Force; April, 1977. p.10.

⁴¹. Ibid, p.11.

⁴². Ibid, p. 11.

⁴³. Ibid, p.12-13.

discussions and agenda setting. In the end, language used to describe staff qualifications in the 1978 Alberta Regulations was as general as that used in The Welfare Homes and Institutions Act. The 1978 Regulations state "An adequate number of competent persons shall be employed as primary staff ..."⁴⁴

In March 1979, Bob Bogle took over the Ministry of Social Services. Mr Bogle's ministry made a serious attempt to put day care issues on the government's agenda. During Mr. Bogle's time in office the Alberta Social Care Facilities Review Committee (ASCFRC) and a Provincial Day Care Advisory Committee (PDCAC) were established. The Advisory Committee was:

established in September 1980 by Ministerial Order 52/80 ... to review and advise the Minister on matters respecting Day Care including ... qualification of personnel, training programs, day care registry ...⁴⁵

The Advisory Committee was in operation from 1980 to 1983 (when it was disbanded by the new minister at the time, Mr. Neil Weber). There is no documentation of the Committee's work nor why it was disbanded. The Advisory Committee's input is not crucial in this study since the focus is on interest

⁴⁴. Government of the Province of Alberta, Day Care Regulation; 1978, 104/78, p.9.

⁴⁵. Powell, Karen L. (compiler), Reference Guide to Alberta Government Committees 1905 - 1980; Legislative Library, Edmonton, AB. p.21.

groups which are independent of government. However, its timing and disbandment are noted as part of the overall continuum in the Day Care Branch of the Department of F&SS.

The establishment of ASCFRC was a government initiative without apparent interest group influence. ASCFRC has been active since its inception and annual reports have been readily available for public perusal. As regards staff qualifications in day care centres, ASCFRC frequently commented on the need for provincial regulations in the area.

In 1981, Mr. Bob Bogle's Social Services Department revised and reprinted the day care regulations of 1978 as the new "Day Care Regulation, 1981 (144/81- 198/89)". Nothing was changed in terms of staff qualifications in the new 1981 regulations. Again, we can only speculate as to why staff qualifications were excluded from provincial regulations. The two possibilities referred to under Helen Hunley's ministry are applicable here, the autonomous nature of the state and the lack of access of the child care policy community to the political agenda. Either of these factors could explain why day care staff qualifications were excluded from the 1981 day care regulations.

The ASCFRC continued to recommend "A registry of qualified day care workers be established ... and training programs be encouraged and promoted for day care workers⁴⁶.

⁴⁶. Department of Family and Social Services, Social Care Facilities Review Committee; Alberta Social Care Facilities Review Committee Report; 1982, p.5.

"Staff training in the various aspects of day care operation and child development should be encouraged and supported"⁴⁷.

In 1984 the Committee's report included:

Many suggestions were made ... regarding the importance of staff training ... It is recommended that first aid training and cardiopulmonary resuscitation courses be encouraged and supported in all social care facilities.⁴⁸

In 1987 ASCFRC recommended "No day care centre should be allowed to operate without some professionally trained workers on staff"⁴⁹ and in 1988 it recommended that the requirements for the number of trained staff per facility be established⁵⁰.

In 1990 the provincial government initiated its day care reforms which included a five year plan to improve staff qualifications in day care centres. The ASCFRC reports from 1990 to the present refer positively to the connection between increased training of staff and the improvement in the quality of care being provided in provincial day care centres.⁵¹ Based on this evidence, it is obvious that the committee has been consistent and proactive. ASCFRC recommended to all of

⁴⁷. Ibid, 1983, p.7.

⁴⁸. Ibid, 1984, p.10-11.

⁴⁹. Ibid, 1987, p.12.

⁵⁰. Ibid. 1988, p.8. 1989, p.8.

⁵¹. Ibid, 1990-1992, p.10.

the Social Service Ministers from 1981 to 1989 a need for regulations covering daycare staff qualifications. Its support for the new reforms and legislation of 1990 is consistent with its history.

Mr. Bogle, whose ministry established both the ASCFRC and the PDCAC, was replaced in office by Mr. Neil Weber in November 1982. With the change of ministers the progress of day care legislation was halted. The PDCAC of Mr. Bogle's ministry was disbanded under Mr. Weber's ministry in 1983. As mentioned earlier, there is no documentation of the PDCAC nor an explanation for its disbandment. The only substantial change to day care policy under Mr. Weber was in 1985. This was the implementation of a recommendation that one person, with a valid first aid certificate, be on staff during the day care centre's main hours of operation. It is not clear what prompted Mr. Weber's ministry to put forth this new policy. It is true that the ASCFRC recommended a need for such a policy in 1985. It is also true that a child choked to death in an Edmonton day care centre in 1984. One possibility is that the child's death prompted the ASCFRC's recommendation, which in turn, prompted Mr. Weber to act as he did.

Mr. Weber was replaced as minister in February, 1986 by Mrs. Connie Osterman. During her time in office the department's name was changed from Social Services and Community Health to Family and Social Services. Mrs. Osterman was responsible for the publication and implementation of a

comprehensive "Day Care Licensing Policy Manual". Two main objectives of The Manual were: (1) to streamline provincial licensing procedures and inspections; and (2) to centralize the department. The Manual serves to further explain the Day Care Regulations Act. However, there is no mention of staff qualifications in this Manual because of the fact that there were no specific day care regulations regarding staff qualifications in 1987. During the fall of 1988 day care was temporarily put in the hands of the Department of Education under Mr. Jim Dinning's ministry. This was a short lived arrangement in which no substantive action took place in the development of child care policy. In April 1989 child care was back in the hands of Social Services under the newly appointed minister, Mr. John Oldring.

Substantive changes in day care regulations, along with a great deal of documented activity within the child care community of Alberta, took place during Oldring's ministry. Mr. Oldring's response to the question regarding why policy changes to staff qualifications did not occur prior to 1990 was, "It is difficult to identify why the many requests for staff qualification changes were not responded to before 1990. Much of it comes down to the particular ministry of the day"⁵². Mr. Oldring was convinced that Alberta's social agenda needed attention and as he stated "Mr. Getty placed a

⁵². Oldring, John. Minister, Family and Social Services, 1989- 1993; Personal Interview, Sept. 11, 1993.

high priority on the social agenda which is why social issues received a lot of attention from cabinet while Mr. Getty was premier."⁵³

Details of the flurry of documented activity in the child care community during Oldring's ministry are presented in the following chapter. Of major concern here is the activity within the Day Care Programs Branch of the Department of Family and Social Services. According to Oldring "The Day Care Branch was an important link between the policy community and the Department of F&SS".⁵⁴ A Staff Qualifications Committee was established in late 1989. In 1990 this committee was made up of four staff members from the Day Care Branch and one senior staff member, Ralph Workman, from the Department of Advanced Education. Having a high ranking civil servant from Advanced Education on this committee was an indication of a real commitment to staff training and education.⁵⁵

In March 1990, under the direction of John Oldring, the department published its first White Paper on day care reforms entitled, "Meeting the Need ... a fairer better system for Albertans". Through a series of written correspondence, and child care sector meetings, the initial White Paper was

⁵³. Oldring, Ibid.

⁵⁴. Oldring, Ibid.

⁵⁵. In 1994 the Staff Qualifications Committee is made up of six full-time and two part-time staff members and Ralph Workman remains involved, although less directly.

adjusted and finally published in November, 1990 as the new "Day Care Regulation". An outline of staff qualifications in the White Paper and in the Regulations are detailed in Appendix 'C' and 'D' of this thesis, respectively. Staff Qualification policy has remained constant since the 1990 regulations, however, the Day Care Programs Branch has had to design some additional policies in terms of monitoring compliance and allowing for necessary exemptions.

Highlights of the initial White Paper and the new regulations are pertinent to understanding the influence, if any, of the DCSA and the ECPAA on staff qualification policy in 1990. Both the DCSA and ECPAA were actively involved in sector meetings and correspondence before the initial white paper of March 1990 and especially between March and the final legislation of November 1990. An analysis of DCSA's and ECPAA's correspondence with the Department of Family and Social Services regarding staff qualifications takes place in the next chapter.

The 1987 "Day Care Licensing Policy Manual" of then Minister Connie Osterman was updated under Oldring in 1992. In the updating of the Policy Manual there was an effort to consult with the public. A full year of consultations with interest groups, most particularly the Day Care Parent Advisory Committee (DCPAC) took place before the new manual was finally approved. The DCPAC was made up of individuals whose children were enrolled in day care programs. Appointment

to the DCPAC was made through Mr. Oldring's office and the group stayed in operation for approximately one year while the manual was being re-written. DCPAC is now disbanded. The input of DCPAC is worthy of note, but, its input to policy discussions is not crucial to this study because it was government appointed and short lived. It was January 1, 1993 under the newly appointed and current minister, Mike Cardinal that the new Manual came into effect. The purpose of the Manual is to further define and explain the Day Care Regulations of 1990. The 1993 Manual differs from the 1987 Manual in that staff qualifications were covered in the day care regulations of 1990, whereas in 1987 staff qualifications were not included in the day care regulations. Each of the regulations regarding the required ratio of Certified Level I, II and III staff is fully explained in the 1993 Manual.

Summary:

Prior to 1978 there was no specific day care legislation in Alberta. In 1977 the government's own task force made several recommendations for day care staff training and qualifications. In 1978 the new day care regulations did not mention staff training and qualifications. The government's own review committee, established in 1980, recommended annually that there should be day care staff training and qualification legislation. In the mid 1980's day care centres

were legislated to have one staff member on duty with a first aid certificate. In early 1990 the government first presented a White Paper on day care which introduced the province's first legislation addressing qualifications for day care staff. Later in 1990, after some consultation with Alberta's day care policy community and some modifications, the White Paper became legislation.

Clearly, there has been a continuum of recommendations made to the government regarding a need to legislate day care staff qualifications. It is also clear that there have been many changes of ministers within the Department of F&SS since the mid 1970's. Consistent with the ministerial changes there has been a continuum of resistance on the part of government to implement staff qualification legislation. As will be seen, the legislation of 1990 does address an overall sectoral support for the legislation. However, it is questionable as to how responsive the government has been to the specific recommendations of the two long standing and independent child care interest groups in this study: DCSA and ECPAA. Chapter Four is a detailed analysis of the DCSA and the ECPAA and their response to the government's 1990 publication entitled, "Meeting The Need ... A fairer, better system for Albertans".

Chapter 4

THE CHILD CARE INTEREST GROUPS

Personal interviews were conducted with three members of the executive of the DCSA and with the vice president of ECPAA. These interviews consisted of questions and discussions regarding their group's position on staff training requirements and how these requirements should be implemented and monitored. Both interviews were followed-up with several telephone interviews. In addition to the interviews, the DCSA and ECPAA provided documents and copies of their correspondence with the provincial government. In every instance, representatives of both groups were very helpful in sharing whatever information was requested.

The Day Care Society of Alberta:

The Day Care Society of Alberta is a provincial support group of dedicated daycare owners/operators working collectively to pursue day care issues for the advancement of accessible, quality child care in the province of Alberta.⁵⁶

The DCSA is a registered society and has been active throughout Alberta since 1977. In recent years it has become

⁵⁶. Day Care Society of Alberta, Information Pamphlet.

more of a factor in Alberta's large urban areas such as Calgary and Edmonton than in the smaller cities and rural areas. Since the mid 1980's much of its executive has been made up of Calgarians and most of its activities have originated in the Calgary area. The DCSA has a membership of approximately 110 (mainly day care owners and operators) and it claims their membership represents 75% of Alberta's Day Care Centres and 8,000 child care spaces.

Two things which help to characterize and separate the DCSA from many of the other interest groups in Alberta's child care community are: 1) they are a day care interest group which advocates free enterprise day care, and 2) they own and operate the Early Childhood Academy (ECA) which is a privately owned training centre for child care staff. These two characteristics exemplify the society's leanings toward reduced governmental involvement in the running of child care, such as staff qualifications, and their leaning toward responsibility for their own staff training. Both of these characteristics are significant in this research of the relationship between interest groups and provincial policy as it relates to training of child care staff.

Basically, the structure of DCSA is such that they have two chapters, one in Edmonton and one in Calgary. In 1991, for the first time, the DCSA hired a full-time staff member to manage general office procedures. A five person executive along with ten directors are responsible for the overall

operation of the DCSA, including its committees (of which there are five) and related activities. In terms of this study, the focus is on the Education and Regulation Committees.

As regards the funding for the DCSA it is completely covered by membership fees, although, in 1982, the society received a provincial grant for a pilot project to operate their ECA and to train their own child care staff. This provincial grant was not received again and since 1983 the DCSA has managed to fund the ECA with student fees. Hence, the DCSA and its ECA are financially independent of government.

The DCSA does not have a written statement on child care staff training. However, when questioned regarding this, the executive agreed there "was a need for some trained staff in every child care centre"⁵⁷. They are also of the opinion that not all caregivers need to be formally trained, such as the example: "when a child needs cuddling, the person doing the cuddling does not require a college education"⁵⁸. As mentioned above, the DCSA has been operating the ECA since the early 1980's. It was not possible to attain a written statement of objectives for the training which goes on at the ECA. It was possible, however, to look at several course outlines used at the ECA. These course outlines consist of a

⁵⁷. DCSA Executive, Kori Smith, John Samaska and Vera Woodrow, Group Interview, April, 1991.

⁵⁸. DCSA, Ibid.

wide variety of day care staff responsibilities. Based on the above, it is concluded that the DCSA believes strongly that there should be some trained child care staff in every child care centre. The training should be of a quality similar to that offered at their own ECA.

In terms of the White Paper and proposed changes to staff qualifications, the executive of DCSA was most willing to be interviewed by this writer. In addition, they generously provided copies of their correspondence to the Department of Family and Social Services. The society has a broad spectrum of concerns about day care services. In the March 1990 White Paper on daycare reforms, staff qualifications are only one of a number of proposed changes. Understandably, correspondence from DCSA covers many of the areas of change, not just staff qualifications. Below is an outline of correspondence dealing with proposed changes to the day care regulations which is concerned almost exclusively with staff qualifications.

Immediately after the public announcement of the White Paper on day care reforms in March 1990, the provincial government formed a committee called The Social Service Caucus Committee (SSCC). The SSCC was made up of urban and rural MLAs from around the province. DCSA made a presentation to the SSCC in Edmonton on March 26, 1990. In this presentation, the DCSA made no mention of staff qualifications. One short quote is included here because it demonstrates the DCSA general

position on child care as it existed in the province of Alberta at the time of the White Paper.

March 26, 1990

The private day cares in this province have been part of the growth and development of one of the finest daycare systems in North America.

The following are direct quotes from the DCSA's correspondence to the SSCC regarding the issue of staff qualifications. These were in response to the provincial White Paper on day care reforms of March, 1990.

June 22, 1990

the Society has and does support training of child care staff ... strongly request that a certificate from the Early Childhood Academy [be considered as] Level I and Level II ... will be considered in the qualification process ... request further dialogue ... as you work out the equivalencies, etc. ... the 50 hour orientation course should be the total responsibility of the individual day care operators... your suggestion that perhaps the DCSA through the Early Childhood Academy provide an orientation course is being seriously considered ...

Grandfathering:

... as a minimum requirement for grandfathering in and waiver we recommend that any director currently in the job full time with one year or more [experience] and any child care giver with 6 months full time or more [experience] be grandfathered in.

Aug. 21, 1990

We are pleased that you heard from the responses that a longer implementation time was needed for ... the staff certification Mr. Oldring, ... we are most disappointed [that] ...you apparently did not hear [us] regarding grandfathering ... Now, for any director that has less than five years experience she or he must go to night school for three years to obtain the two year diploma by 1995. ... something more attainable and realistic such as requiring all current directors to have a one year certificate by 1993.

While there are many examples of correspondence from the DCSA to the government, there is only one other occasion in which reference is made to staff qualifications:

Dec. 31, 1990

The DCSA urgently requests your position on the Early Childhood Academy training program.

The DCSA's presentations to the government regarding staff qualifications indicate general support for training requirements for Alberta day care staff. They requested that day care staff with six months work experience and day care directors with one year experience be exempted from formal training requirements. In addition, they requested that the provision of the fifty hour orientation course (the equivalent of a Level I certification) be the responsibility of private day care operators and that their own Early Childhood Academy, be permitted to provide the required one year of training (the equivalent of a Level II certification). In general, the DCSA

consistently stated their support for the government's move toward training requirements of day care staff. Consistent with their stated support for training were requests to reduce the training requirements set out by the government.

Early Childhood Professional Association of Alberta:

The Early Childhood Professional Association of Alberta strives to bring together professionals from private E.C.S. programs, day care centres and other preschool programs to upgrade our profession and to promote equality childrens' services for Alberta's children and families.⁵⁹

The Early Childhood Professional Association of Alberta began in Calgary in 1976, at this time the Association was known as The Alberta Association of Day Care Professionals. By 1991 its membership totalled approximately 250 paid-up members. Approximately two-thirds of its membership are people who have been certified, or are waiting to be certified, as ECPAA child care professionals. Approximately one-third of the membership is made up of individuals with varied backgrounds and interests in child care, not all of whom work in day care centres.

The ECPAA does not take a stand on the question of private enterprise day care versus government operated day care. Clearly, they do see a role for government involvement

⁵⁹. Early Childhood Professional Association of Alberta, Orientation Handbook, p.4.

in the running of daycare at least as regards staff training standards. The objectives of ECPAA include the improvement of the quality of care for Alberta's children, but the most unique aspect of the ECPAA is its focus on child care staff in terms of their training, professional credentials, and working conditions. For the purposes of this thesis, the Association's work in the area of staff training qualifications and their efforts to influence provincial policy in this area is the main concern.

Structurally, the ECPAA has a twelve member board of directors with a four member executive committee, five standing committees and six regional branches. There are no paid employees of ECPAA, all work is carried out on a voluntary basis. Although there is not a special committee set up to deal with education and training issues there is a certification committee. The ECPAA certification process includes both the work experience and formal training of individuals being certified. The overriding purpose and function of this Association is the professionalization and certification of child care staff in the province. This being inextricably connected to training and education it is concluded that to be a member of ECPAA is to be in support of provincial policy initiatives regarding staff qualifications.

The ECPAA is independently funded through membership fees and registration fees for an annual spring conference. Funds go toward the costs of a newsletter printed quarterly, board

meetings, submissions to government, the conference (which includes a high profile speaker and several workshops) and certifying members.

Examples of correspondence from the ECPAA to the government deal, almost exclusively, with staffing concerns. Below are excerpts from their correspondence of April 25, 1990 in response to the government's White Paper on Day Care Reforms. Compared to the DCSA the frequency of correspondence is much smaller, but comparable when looking at correspondence addressing just the issue of staff qualifications. The following are direct quotes from ECPAA in response to the March, 1990 White Paper on day care reforms.

Apr. 25, 1990.

... commend the government on realizing the necessity of a trained director as an essential factor ... [at] accredited institutions ie Alberta Community Colleges.

... recommend that all directors ... be on site and directly involved in the program.

... recommend that by September 1, 1996, [that directors] ... in addition to a two year diploma ... have successfully completed a Management/Supervisory course from an accredited educational institute.

... commends the government in again recognizing the importance of trained staff working directly with children in group care.

recommend that [1] by Sept. 1, 1993 one full time primary staff per maximum group size be required to have training ... at least equivalent to a one year certificate offered by Alberta's community colleges.

by September 1, 1996 all full time primary staff ... have training ... at least equivalent to a one year certificate program offered by Alberta's community colleges. [3] designated "trained staff" be required to work at least five hours directly with children

Grandparenting:

... recommends ... that all full time directors employed in child care facilities as of Aug. 31, 1993 be given an exemption from formally completing the equivalent of a diploma program as long as they meet the following criteria: [seven distinct courses in child studies]

Conclusion

Historically, the Provincial Government has always budgeted generous amounts of money for day care. However Alberta has not been viewed as a national leader in providing regulations for professionalism and trained staff in relation to care for children in group settings. The ECPAA feels it is vital that the provincial Government advocate and support training from accredited educational institutions, ...

ECPAA followed up their correspondence with the provincial government on Feb. 9, 1991, this was after the implementation of the new regulations of November 1990.

the Association ... offer[s] their expertise and personnel in assisting the government's certification procedures.

Generally, ECPAA supports the government's efforts to implement training requirements for child care staff. Their recommendations include that regulations cover trained staff requirements on a per group basis rather than a per centre

basis. In effect this would increase the number of trained staff per day care centre⁶⁰. They support the training requirements for day care directors and, in addition, request that day care directors be required to be on-site at the day care centres. In addition to the two year ECD diploma required by day care directors, the ECPAA requested they also be required to receive management training. The ECPAA, like the DCSA suggests a "grandparenting" option, however, ECPAA's recommendation includes two years of work experience plus seven areas of formal training. They recommend several times that the training of Alberta's day care staff be done by the province's accredited educational institutions. Generally, ECPAA is either supportive of the standards set out by the government, or is interested in increasing the government's standards.

Analysis of DCSA and ECPAA Correspondence:

This section outlines the initiatives of the DCSA and ECPAA to influence Alberta's day care staff qualification policy. For the most part this has been done by comparing the recommendations of the DCSA and the ECPAA with the initial

⁶⁰. Legislation limits the size of any one group of children. Legislation regarding the required number of trained staff on a per group basis rather than a per centre basis would result in more trained staff per centre.

White Paper on Day Care Reforms of March, 1990 with the final White Paper and legislation of November 1990. Given that politics and policy analysis cannot be a pure science, the analysis is based on the relevant materials and factors available. The other interest groups which make up the child care policy community of Alberta may have been significant players in the 1990 White Paper discussions. However, this study is focused on just two groups and the access they have had to policy discussions and the influence they have or have not had on provincial policy. As mentioned in the introduction of the thesis these two groups were chosen with consideration for their differing viewpoints regarding day care legislation, their relatively large membership, their focus on the entire province and their independence of government. Some of the other child care interest groups⁶¹ may have similar points of view to that of either the DCSA or the ECPAA, but may have relatively small memberships and some are more regionally focused.

By comparing the correspondence between the DCSA and the ECPAA with the provincial government in 1990 some clear differences are evident. Generally the DCSA is recommending that the proposed changes in staff qualifications be reduced and that their own training institution, ECA, be considered a suitable program in the delivery of day care staff

⁶¹. See Appendix 'D' for a list of provincial day care interest groups.

certification. The ECPAA is generally recommending that the number of staff with one year of college training be increased and that trained personnel be available at all times and that the training of staff be done at the provincial colleges which are already accredited by the Department of Advanced Education.

Further examination of the White Paper of March 1990 and The Regulations of November, 1990 reveals some policy changes between the first and the latter. A close look at the correspondence between DCSA and ECPAA and the provincial government suggests that some of these changes are the result of interest group influence.

In terms of regulated qualifications of directors, both DCSA and ECPAA advocated a relaxation of the proposed regulation of expecting all day care directors to have a two year diploma by September 1, 1993. ECPAA, in April 1990, recommended that all full time directors in 1993 who had successfully completed course work similar to that of a one year certificate be granted a Level 3 qualification. In August, 1990 the DCSA requested relevant experience be taken into consideration and recommended that a one year certificate by 1993 would be more reasonable. Both the ECPAA, April 1990 and the DCSA, August 1990 recommendations are included in section 30 (5) (c) of the Day Care Regulations.

ECPAA recommended that regulations should state that directors be involved in the program and on site at all times.

This is covered in section 32 (1) of the regulations. The recommendation that Level II and III training take place at accredited colleges is covered in sections 30 (1) (a), 30 (4) (a), and 30 (5) (a).

ECPAA's offer to contribute their own certification process and then to participate in the Department of F&SS's "staff certification process" were both turned down by the Department. ECPAA's recommendations that all primary staff be qualified with a Level II certification, that directors be trained in management and that each group of children be supervised by a staff person with a Level II certification were not included in the legislation.

DCSA's interest in offering a recognized orientation course equivalent to a Level 1 Certification was approved by the Department. DCSA's request to have the ECA's training program recognized as being equivalent to Level II (equivalent to a one year certificate at a provincial college) remained "under consideration" for sometime but was denied at the time the regulations were finalized in November of 1990. In 1990 the Department decided to approve only Level II and Level III training attained at accredited institutions⁶².

⁶². DCSA's request to provide Level I training through their own training program, the ECA, was granted in 1990. Their request to provide the more extensive Level II training was turned down in 1990. With some minor modifications to their training program the Level II request was granted in the fall of '93.

In the final analysis it can be said that the DCSA and the ECPAA did influence the government in four aspects of the Day Care Regulations of 1990. First, both groups were influential in the area of Grandparenting of Day Care Directors. Second, ECPAA influenced legislation with their recommendation that Day Care Directors be on-site at all times. Third, the recommendation of ECPAA that only accredited colleges be permitted to offer Level II training was included in the legislation of 1990. Fourth, DCSA's request to offer Level I training was granted in 1990. DCSA's request to offer Level II training at their ECA was not granted until the fall of 1993.

At the time of the legislation in 1990, ECPAA's recommendation regarding training institutions was more influential than DCSA's. However, by 1993, the DCSA's recommendation regarding training institutions was more influential than ECPAA's. As for the other recommendations of the DCSA and the ECPAA to the Day Care Programs Branch, to date they have not been incorporated into the regulations. A policy review is scheduled for September, 1996 at which time amendments and further consultation and recommendations could take place.

The following chapter analyzes the child care policy community of Alberta. As an associational system, this policy community is made up of more than twenty interest groups (see appendix B) as well as the provincial Department of Family and

Social Services. The analysis in Chapter Five is based on the interaction and relationship between DCSA, ECPAA and the state according to Coleman and Skogstad's structural approach to policy analysis. In addition to a structural analysis is the application of the agenda control literature and how it applies to child care legislation in Alberta. In Chapter Six the CFIB is analyzed and compared to the DCSA and ECPAA in terms of organization and access to the government and the political agenda.

Chapter 5

ALBERTA'S CHILD CARE POLICY COMMUNITY

In this chapter, the type of network which best describes the child care community of Alberta is identified. Skogstad and Coleman's meso approach to policy analysis presented in chapter two is applied to the evidence laid out in Chapters Three and Four. The fundamental question regarding the influence of the DCSA and the ECPAA on child care staff qualification policy is answered.

In identifying the type of policy network which best describes the child care community of Alberta the findings reveal a community made up of many individuals and groups. The community has been in existence for more than fifteen years and it has witnessed some changes in make-up and influence during its history. The data for this investigation begins with a Task Force in 1976 and a Task Force Review Committee in 1977 which was composed of representatives from several different groups within the community. Contributions to policy discourse by the DCSA and the ECPAA began with their inception in the late 1970's. The Social Care Facilities Review Committee (SCFRC), which was set up by Ministerial Order in 1980, commented in 1983 on the DCSA's Training Program and in

1984 on the advocacy work of the ECPAA⁶³ (known prior to 1984 as the Early Childhood Professional Workers of Alberta). In addition, the DCSA and the ECPAA remained actively involved in policy discourse throughout the 1980's. Examples of their efforts to influence policy decisions set out in the March, 1990 White Paper were presented in Chapter Four.

To begin with, the government's own Task Force Review Committee of 1977 recommended several times the importance of qualified day care staff. This committee was not representative of any one segment of the child care community but of many disparate groups. The short lived Provincial Day Care Advisory Committee (PDCAC) of 1980 is significant as is the fact that every report of the Social Care Facilities Review Committee from 1981 to 1990 emphasized the importance of qualified day care staff. In 1983 DCSA began its own training program with money from the provincial government as start-up funding and since then the DCSA has been running its own program without government support. ECPAA established a professional certification procedure for day care staff in 1984. The samples of correspondence in this study from the DCSA and the ECPAA regarding staff qualifications since the White Paper of March 1990 are important data. This forms the basis for analysing the type of network which best describes Alberta's child care community.

⁶³. Department of F&SS, Ibid, Alberta Social Care Facilities Review Committee Annual Report(s), 1983 p. 7 and 1984 p. 7.

Although there were new Day Care Regulations in 1978 and 1981 and a new "Day Care Licensing and Policy Manual" in 1986, there had been no mention of specific staff qualifications. It was not until November 1990 that day care regulations addressed staff qualifications and it was not until January 1993 that the Licensing and Policy Manual was revised to cover staff qualifications. The data for 1990 and 1991 indicates a high degree of activity and consistency of assertions within the community, certainly enough for some reasonable assumptions to be made about the relations between DCSA, ECPAA and the Department of Family and Social Services. As will be shown, this 1990 -'91 period is an interesting and unusual period in the child care network of Alberta.

Coleman and Skogstad identify six distinct types of policy networks: 1. pressure pluralism; 2. clientele pluralism; 3. parentela pluralism; 4. closed corporatism; 5. closed concertation; and 6. state-directed. The type of network which best describes the child care community of Alberta is state-directed. The activities which took place during the years of 1990 to 1992 call into some question the assertion of a state directed community. There is some proof of more openness and responsiveness with the child care community by the province during these years. However this is a relatively short period in the history of the child care policy community of Alberta. For most of its history, it has been a state directed network.

Based on the literature on policy communities and policy networks the Department of Family and Social Services, in terms of child care policy, is best described as highly autonomous. Efforts by the government to maintain a state-directed network is evidenced by the Task Force of 1977, the government appointed SCFRC in the 1980, the abolition of the PDCAC in 1983, and the DCPAC of 1991. The fact that there was so much emphasis on staff qualifications from so many directions and never any response by government (until 1990) is clearly indicative of an autonomous state and falls in line with Coleman and Skogstad's definition of a state-directed network.

One of the six networks that can be said to partially describe the child care community of Alberta is that of pressure pluralism because the groups within the network assume mainly a policy advocacy role and for the most part the state has remained autonomous. Clientele and parentela pluralism can be discounted, the former because the state is too well organized and its power over child care policy is highly concentrated, and the latter because, to date, none of the interest groups have attained a position of influence within the bureaucracy.

In a closed policy network, state decision making is concentrated and well coordinated through, for example, a single department such as the Department of Family and Social Services. Two types of closed networks are described by

Coleman and Skogstad: corporatist and concertation. Closed concertation is not applicable because a closed concertation network is a policy sector made up of a single associational system which corresponds with a single government agency. This does not describe the child care community of Alberta.

In a corporatist closed-network the sectoral groups find their very survival depends on their ability to unify and form a highly integrated associational system. The child care community in Alberta is made up, largely, of disparate groups despite their agreement about the elimination of poor day care programs and a desire to provide good child care in the province of Alberta. Their definitions regarding "poor" and "good" differ among the groups. Beyond this area of discrepancy is the difference between the groups regarding their approach to policy issues and more importantly in their end goals, as evidenced here in Chapter Four. Periodically, the Alberta day care community meets as an associational system, this group is commonly referred to as "The Network". "The Network" does not adhere to the Coleman and Skogstad definition of a "policy network". "The Network" attempts to keep members informed about each other's activities, it does not, as in the Coleman and Skogstad definition, attempt to integrate the members' interests. In light of the events described in Chapters Three and Four, the child care community of Alberta, over the last fifteen years, for the most part,

cannot be described as a closed corporatist community because it is generally much more disparate than integrated.

A trend toward closed corporatism seemed to be developing in early 1980 when Bob Bogle was minister. This trend appeared again, between the years of 1990 and 1992, with John Oldring as minister. The DCSA and the ECPAA saw their interest in the future of child care in Alberta directly affected by the proposed legislation of March 1990. The government responded by drawing them inside the policy arena over a period of eight months in 1990 to help formulate some policy compromises. By the time some modifications were made to the proposed policy and the new policy became legislation in November of 1990 the interest groups were able to work with the government and the new legislation. This is evidenced by the community's cooperation in implementing the staff qualification legislation and by the government's response to the request of the community for a temporary staff qualification exemption policy in 1992⁶⁴. These trends were short lived, relative to the overall history of the policy community and at this point in time there is no evidence to suggest a trend toward closed corporatism is likely to be revived. In fact, if this was a trend, it appears to have ended with the change of premiers from Don Getty to Ralph Klein in December, 1992 and with the change of ministry from John Oldring to Mike Cardinal in

⁶⁴. Some day care centres, in small and rural locations, were unable to meet the required ratio of trained staff. These centres were given temporary exemptions.

January, 1993. Since the change in leadership in the government there have been policies within the Department of Family and Social Services which convey less consultation with the child care community generally.

The sixth and final network described by Skogstad and Coleman is the state directed network. For the most part, a state directed network has characterized the child care policy community of Alberta. In a state directed network the government agency is highly autonomous and coordinated with a very weak associational system. The term "very weak" is not clearly defined by Coleman and Skogstad, but since there is evidence of a disparate associational system which is not well integrated one can assume that Alberta's child care community is an example of a "very weak" associational system. The government acted autonomously in its day care regulations of 1978 and 1981 and it was consistently non-responsive to the many requests for staff qualification legislation during the 1980's. There had been no real consultation with the policy community prior to the publication of the White Paper in March 1990 by the Department of Family and Social Services. Some exceptions to the pattern of a solely state-directed network took place during the early 1980's and the early 1990's, otherwise, the community has been clearly and consistently a state directed network.

Table 2 Policy Networks

	Pressure Pluralism	Co-optive [parentela] Pluralism	Clientele Pluralism	[closed] Corporatism	[closed] Concertation	State- Directed
Properties						
State autonomy from sectoral interests	HIGH	LOW	LOW	MODERATE	HIGH	HIGH
Concentratio n of state authority	LOW	LOW	LOW	MODERATE	HIGH	HIGH
Mode of intervention by societal interests	FIRM OR ASSOCIATION	ASSOCIATION/ MONOPOLY FIRM	ASSOCIATION/ MONOPOLY FIRM	ASSOCIATION	ASSOCIATION	FIRM OR ASSOCIATION
Role of Organized Interests	ADVOCATE	PARTICIPANT IN DESIGN AND FORMULATION	PARTICIPANT IN IMPLEMENTATI ON	PARTICIPANT IN ALL PHASES	PARTICIPANT IN ALL PHASES	NO ADVOCACY OR PARTICIPATI ON ROLE
Number of groups	MANY (BILATERAL)	ONE	ONE	SEVERAL (MULTILATERA L)	ONE	SEVERAL
Integration of associationa l system	LOW	LOW	LOW	HIGH	HIGH	LOW
Control of associations over their membership	WEAK	MODERATE	MODERATE	STRONG	STRONG	WEAK
Dominant type of policy	ALLOCATIVE/ DISTRIBUTIVE	REGULATORY/ SELF- REGULATORY	REGULATORY/ SELF- REGULATORY	REDISTRIBUTI VE	REGULATORY	ALLOCATIVE/ DISTRIBUTIV E

Source: Laureen G. Whyte, Policy Networks in Canadian Telecommunications: Collective Action in Business-Government Relations. M.A. Thesis U. of C. June, 1992. p. 69, citing Coleman, 1988; Atkinson & Coleman, 1989.

In the final analysis of Alberta's child care policy network it has to be concluded that it is best characterized as state-directed. The answer to the question: "who is influencing whom?" is that the government has more influence on the DCSA and ECPAA than either of them have on the government. With the establishment of the Provincial Day Care Advisory Committee in 1980 it looked like the government was interested in a consultation process with the child care policy community, however there is no documentation of PDCAC's work and it was disbanded in 1983. There was the appearance of a trend toward a closed corporatist network during 1990-'92 when the community was invited to participate in policy compromises in the state directed legislation proposed in March 1990. We can speculate that the government's attempt to consult with the public in the early 1980's and in the years between 1990 and 1992, were serious attempts, but relatively ineffective in their final analysis. There is also evidence of pressure pluralism in which the interest groups were involved in policy more as advocates rather than as real participants in policy discussions. Throughout this period, the state remained autonomous. In the end, the overriding analysis is that of a state-directed network.

There are many child care interest groups in Alberta, as shown in appendix 'B'. This thesis has demonstrated that there has been strong support for the implementation of staff qualifications over a long period of time by different

stakeholders in the community. The government's 1990 legislation which addressed staff qualifications was done initially without community consultation. The approximate eight months of consultation before it became law, is evidence that the government listened to the DCSA and the ECPAA, largely as advocates. This is not enough to state that the interest groups influenced the policy discussions in any sense other than as advocates for their own cause. By-and-large, the government's action influenced interest groups and the interest groups reacted.

It is too early in the term of the Klein government and the Cardinal ministry to state with certainty how the child care policy sector will change or continue under the new administration. In November, 1993 under Cardinal's leadership there were thirty-two changes to the Child Welfare Act of Alberta and only one public statement regarding the administration of child care regulations in the province. This dealt with Mr. Cardinal's belief that Day Home providers should not require government licensing. This statement appears to be contrary to the direction of the Department prior to Cardinal's appointment. However, nothing legal nor binding regarding any aspect of child care staff qualifications in licensed child care centres has been announced during the first year of Mr. Cardinal's ministry.

It is clear that the Klein government's overriding agenda is a desire to balance the provincial budget. Looking at the

actions at the Department of Family and Social Services in particular, it is clear that "policy decisions are being fiscally driven"⁶⁵. This, along with an apparent lack of consultation between the government and the child care policy community, indicates that the policy community has returned to a state-directed network. The future of this community will be influenced by the government of the new premier, the reaction of the child care associational system and those in charge of setting the political agenda. In the meantime, the community is likely to stay state-directed at least as long as the present government is in power, and the DCSA and the ECPAA will continue to work with the 1990 legislation and the 1993 policy manual.

Access to the Political Agenda:

The foregoing meso-level analysis has looked at the objectives, organization and funding of the DCSA and ECPAA and the correspondence of each with the government. It is evident that the DCSA and ECPAA have clearly defined organizational structures, they each represent relatively different perspectives on the delivery of child care in Alberta, in particular, legislation addressing child care staff qualifications. Based on the findings here it is concluded that the child care community has had little direct affect on

⁶⁵. Oldring, Ibid.

staff qualification legislation in Alberta. By extension, it is assumed that in other child care policy decisions (ie. child/staff ratio's), the community's participation and influence in policy discussions is the same.

In a micro-level analysis factors such as leadership personalities and the internal cohesion of the interest groups would be revealed. This could be important information in the study of interest group politics and perhaps indicate why the government has been largely aloof to the child care community in Alberta. To do such an analysis would require a certain amount of familiarity with the day-to-day functioning of the groups. A decision not to examine these organizations seeking information of such a personal nature was made early in the research plans for this study. A 'macro' approach to analysing Alberta's child care policy community was deemed appropriate and necessary since, "meso-level phenomena cannot be explained in isolation from broader political institutions"⁶⁶.

Generally, a macro-level analysis is a study of the broader political system and the factors which direct the overall political agenda. This involves many areas of study such as national and international trends and various ideological leanings and routes of access to political agendas and policy discussions.

⁶⁶. Atkinson and Coleman, Ibid, p.67.

The literature on agenda setting suggests that there are interests (usually business interests) outside the child care community which influence the effect of interest groups within the child care community. In this investigation the Canadian Federation of Independent Business (CFIB) is used as an example of this type of group. The analysis compares the DCSA and the ECPAA with the CFIB in terms of organization and access to the political process. The point is to assess the influence of the CFIB in government decisions and whether the CFIB is able to influence directly or indirectly the DCSA or the ECPAA.

According to the agenda setting literature referred to in chapter two, the strong and influential interest groups are those which have wealth, internal cohesion, access to decision makers and strong leadership. These strong and influential groups dominate the political agenda and serve to further weaken the affect of less well organized groups. Here, the discussion revolves around a larger political arena than the child care community of Alberta. In particular the agenda setting literature points to business organizations as groups which wield the most power and influence in terms of political agenda setting. The following chapter looks at the CFIB as an interest group which, when compared to the DCSA and the ECPAA, looks much stronger and has more influence on government policy.

Chapter 6

ALBERTA'S CHILD CARE POLICY AND THE CANADIAN FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS

The findings in this study demonstrate that the provincial government has remained largely aloof from the child care policy community. The result being that the child care policy community has had little direct influence over day care staff qualification policy in Alberta. Further to this is the conclusion that child care interest groups in Alberta have had relatively little influence over the setting of the political agenda as well. A logical question at this point is why have child care interest groups had so little affect on agenda setting? The focus turns now to a macro analysis of child care policy in Alberta. The issues regarding who sets the political agenda and who influences whether day care becomes part of the policy agenda is addressed. Specifically, what or who are the factors that influence the political agenda and how does the agenda setting affect the effectiveness of groups like DCSA and ECPAA?

The Canadian Federation of Independent Business (CFIB) is an example of an interest group which operates outside the child care policy community. As an interest group the CFIB is a good example of one which appears to exercise considerable influence in political agenda setting. In this section of the

owners who pay a membership fee in the range of \$100.00 to \$1,000.00 per annum. This is the only source of funding for CFIB.

Basically, the CFIB exists to achieve the objective of its founder, John Bulloch, which is to present the interests of independent Canadian businesses to governments. "We are not a vested interest group like the Chambers of Commerce and the Manufacturers Association. We track and record members' positions on a variety of issues"⁶⁹ Examples of issues include the Goods and Services Tax, Workers Compensation, The Edmonton Municipal Airport and Profit-Making Versus Universal Child Care.⁷⁰ All voting members are asked to respond to the tracking question and the results are recorded and presented exactly as they are received. In this way "direction from the membership determines CFIB's regional priorities and action programs"⁷¹.

Results of the tracking are presented by CFIB senior legislative representatives⁷² to "Members of Parliament, Members of Provincial legislatures, Senators, Daily and Weekly Newspapers, Radio and Television, Educational institutions,

⁶⁹. Wright, Brad, Personal Interview. Calgary, Nov. 1993.

⁷⁰. See Appendix E for samples of tracking and recording of the Child Care Issue.

⁷¹. CFIB Pamphlet, Ibid.

⁷². CFIB Pamphlet, Ibid.

Senior Civil Servants and Trade Associations⁷³. This is done to assure "political representatives know the views of independent business before they vote on legislation"⁷⁴.

CFIB has demonstrated an ability to organize itself in terms of structure, leadership, funding and objectives. It has also demonstrated an ability to organize its membership's interest and an ability to influence government decision making. The method of presenting member views to government varies in terms of lag time and level of formality. Normally there is "at least a month or more between attaining members' views and presenting them to government"⁷⁵. In the case of an "immediate and quickly unfolding issue, direct contact with the pertinent cabinet minister or the premier will be made"⁷⁶. Informal presentations take place because CFIB representatives "often cross paths at Roundtables and airports with executive assistants to the premier and the ministers. This can lead to a productive half hour coffee"⁷⁷. "Formal position presentations to the premier and the cabinet are made by way of a letter with an offer to track and evaluate for the membership. "It is usually better to see the top bureaucrats

⁷³. CFIB Pamphlet, Ibid.

⁷⁴. CFIB Pamphlet, Ibid.

⁷⁵. Wright, Ibid.

⁷⁶. Wright, Ibid.

⁷⁷. Wright, Ibid.

than the ministers. It may take longer, but can be more effective"⁷⁸.

One of CFIB's important mandates is informing the media of their tracking results⁷⁹. The media is very receptive to news items put together in such a way as to attract an audience. Although the media do not decide on policy issues or policy decisions "they do play a major role in shaping the composition of the policy-making agenda"⁸⁰. Furthermore, CFIB has demonstrated a preference for portraying their policy interests in "crises" language⁸¹. The use of "crises" is helpful in obtaining public action on particular issues⁸².

Network Type:

By reviewing the CFIB literature and conducting interviews with the provincial director, Brad Wright, it is apparent that the style and function of CFIB differs dramatically from both the DCSA and the ECPAA. As a policy network in Alberta, the CFIB has some characteristics of a parentela (co-optive) pluralism. However it differs from a

⁷⁸. Wright, Ibid.

⁷⁹. Stanbury, William T., Business Government Relations in Canada. Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1993, p. 332.

⁸⁰. Stanbury, Ibid, p.170.

⁸¹. CFIB, Action Report, "Federal Report", 1993.

⁸². Stanbury, Ibid, p.171.

typical parentela pluralism network as described in Table 2 in terms of its integration. In this aspect it is more like a closed concertation network.

Closed concertation networks rely on organized interests for expertise in policy decisions. It is evident by the literature and the interview with Mr. Brad Wright that CFIB is well organized and well financed. CFIB's ability to survey its membership regarding a variety of policy areas is indicative of good organization and stable financing. "It is obvious ... that only the very largest corporations (or trade associations) can afford to perform the scanning function in-house"⁸³. In this way CFIB has been able to inform government officials of public opinion before political decisions are voted on in cabinet. In some instances it is clear that CFIB has initiated government interest in certain political issues, a clear example of this is the decreased usage of the Edmonton Municipal Airport⁸⁴.

As a network, the CFIB enjoys relatively easy access to government officials. During its' history of twenty-two years it has evolved from an issue-oriented group into a mature

⁸³. Stanbury, Ibid, p.174.

⁸⁴. The CFIB surveyed its membership and was instrumental in reducing the amount of air-traffic at the Edmonton Municipal Airport. Some other examples of the CFIB's influence in government decisions include their survey regarding Unemployment Insurance Reform, the \$500,000 capital gains exemption for small business and interprovincial free trade.

institutional group^{85,86}. It is organized efficiently in terms of tracking its membership, and communicating with the media and the public. CFIB surveyed its membership regarding the provincial budget and the need for a balanced provincial budget. The results of this tracking were conveyed to the provincial government and to the press. The current emphasis of the provincial government to balance the budget was clearly influenced by the CFIB⁸⁷. As an interest group, the government views CFIB as reliable experts in public policy issues, discussions and decisions. Again, this is very typical of a closed concertation network.

CFIB and Government Relations:

According to T. Dye, "the influence of groups is determined by their numbers, wealth, organizational strength, leadership, access to decision makers and internal

⁸⁵. Stanbury, *ibid*, p.134.

⁸⁶. Stanbury distinguishes between an issue oriented group and an institutional group. Basically the institutional group is well organized, stable, has clear operational objectives, rules for reaching and implementing decisions, knowledgeable about government and easy communication with members. The issue oriented group has limited continuity, cohesion and organization, can generate immediate public reactions to government action and can behave more radically than the institutional group.
(Stanbury, p. 133)

⁸⁷. Wright, *Ibid*.

cohesion"⁸⁸. CFIB is strong in all of these areas and it is clear they have gone beyond policy advocacy to policy participation. According to the literature cited in Chapter Two of this thesis, CFIB fits well with what is said about business groups. That is "the business community is by a wide margin the most highly organized segment of society"⁸⁹ and that "business interest associations possess a "privileged" position in the policy process"⁹⁰

The relationship between CFIB and the government appears to be one of mutual respect. CFIB's well developed organizational structure and its cohesive nature has ensured its strength and respectability among political representatives. This is typical of closed concertation. Many examples are provided to justify CFIB's claim of being influential in the political agenda and political decisions⁹¹. In short, CFIB appears to have as good a relationship with the provincial government as is possible for a non-governmental agency.

Child care policy has not been a priority of the CFIB, rather, it has focused its energy and interests on fiscal issues. Fiscal issues have been turned into priorities by the provincial government. As Mr. Oldring stated, the provincial

⁸⁸. Dye, Ibid, p.26.

⁸⁹. Schattschneider, Ibid, p. 30.

⁹⁰. Coleman and Skogstad, Ibid, p.11.

⁹¹. CFIB, Action Report, Ibid.

government's political decisions are being fiscally driven.⁹² Fiscal issues have overshadowed social issues in Alberta for a long time and since the fall of 1993 fiscal issues have been of the highest priority for the government.

In addition, the fiscal issues are portrayed as something of interest to all. A useful technique in achieving public support is "cloaking ... self-interest in the language of the public interest".⁹³ As discussed in Chapter Two, dominating elites, particularly those with business interests are often well connected with the political system. Many interests of CFIB have been portrayed as public interests. One of many examples of CFIB's use of public interest language in promoting their members' interest is in the federal arena of Unemployment Insurance Benefits. "The U.I. benefit rate was reduced, for new beneficiaries, from 60 per cent to 57 per cent starting April, 1993"⁹⁴. This has resulted in a cost saving for independent businesses in Canada and has been promoted as a benefit to all Canadian tax payers.

Through the use of crises language and arguments which portray fiscal concerns as public crises, the CFIB has effectively helped set the political agenda of Alberta and furthermore, is affecting government policy decisions. "The term "crises" heralds instability; it usually means that

⁹². Oldring, Ibid.

⁹³. Stanbury, Ibid, p.167.

⁹⁴. CFIB, Action Report, Ibid.

people's burdens will be increased"⁹⁵. Since the fall of 1993, Albertans have been subjected to continuous announcements from the government and the business community about fiscal concerns. Accompanying these announcements are recommendations for making financial cut-backs in many of the province's social programs. In Alberta, a sizable part of the public appears to have accepted the government and business's view of fiscal issues being public, and potentially crises, issues.

The results of the CFIB's federal tracking of "universal child care vs. for-profit child care" (see appendix E) coincides with their goal of free and competitive Canadian enterprise. In Alberta we have not seen a move toward advancing public day care.⁹⁶ On the contrary, in some parts of the province the future of public day care is very uncertain. An example of this exists in the city of Medicine Hat, where the municipality is under pressure to reduce expenditures and to decrease the ratio of higher qualified staff⁹⁷. In the past year the administrative child care staff in public child care in Medicine Hat has been cut in half, full-time staff have been replaced with part-time staff, and

⁹⁵. Stanbury, Ibid, p.171

⁹⁶. The province of Alberta has the second largest proportion of privately owned and operated day centres in the country.

⁹⁷. Charlton, Karen. Director of Children's Services, City of Medicine Hat, Personal Interview, February, 1994.

certain centres are threatened with closure if new fiscal objectives are not met. Verbal support exists on the part of the government as well as provincial Chambers of Commerce⁹⁸ for privately owned child care businesses over public child care. Provincially, the only formal incentive to encourage privately owned child care businesses has been a lifting of a freeze on new child care spaces through the later part of the 1980's.

In effect, Alberta's political climate is based on fiscal objectives and wide spread free enterprise has resulted in a reduction of social objectives on the political agenda. This is shown by the fact, as mentioned earlier, that the new Minister of F&SS, Mike Cardinal, has done very little with the 1990 Day Care Regulations Act. In fact all that has been done with this Act under Cardinal is that it continues to be enacted. It seems that the objectives of the provincial government and the CFIB are remarkably alike. This is typical of a closed concertation network.

DCSA, ECPAA and CFIB Compared

It is clear that the DCSA, ECPAA and CFIB differ substantially. Their differences include such important characteristics as their objectives, size, financial

⁹⁸. Couillerd, Craig, General Manager, Medicine Hat Chamber of Commerce, Telephone Interview, Oct. 1993.

stability, access to the political agenda and to policy discourse. The following section highlights these important differences.

The purpose of the DCSA is to focus on and to serve the interests of private day care owners and operators. It represents approximately 110 day care operators in the province who own one or more private day care operations. The DCSA has a membership of approximately 100 and a membership fee of \$100.00 per year for the first centre owned by the member and \$10.00 for each additional centre, plus the DCSA receives revenue from the Calgary based Early Childhood Academy. It is assumed that the financial base of DCSA is secure but relatively small compared to the CFIB. As demonstrated here with staff qualification policy, the DCSA has had limited and largely one-sided access to policy discourse and the political agenda.

ECPAA exists to improve the working condition of people employed in early childhood programs in Alberta. It had a membership of approximately 250 in the spring of 1991. With membership fees of between \$25.00 and \$50.00 and revenue derived from their annual conference, the funding base is assumed to be small and relatively weak in terms of its stability. Indeed, all of the work of the ECPAA is carried out on a voluntary basis by its members. As demonstrated here, the access to the political agenda and policy discourse has been limited and one-sided during most of its history. It did,

however, meet with some success in staff qualification policy during the March to November 1990 consultative talks with the SSCC.

The goal of the CFIB is to protect and strengthen free enterprise and to provide a greater voice to independent Canadian businesses. With such a large membership and large fees of between \$100.00 and \$1,000.00 it is safe to assume that the financial base of CFIB is strong and stable. Financial stability is an important criteria for any interest group which wants to track opinions and influence decisions. The financial security enjoyed by CFIB is also an important characteristic in comparison to the smaller and less stable financial base of DCSA and ECPAA. As pointed out above, the access to the political agenda and policy discourse enjoyed by CFIB is strong and stable.

This cannot be said of the child care policy community. Despite a demonstrated trend in the early 1990's toward more consultation with the child care community, the Department of F&SS, indeed the entire provincial government of Alberta, is operating in isolation from child care interest groups. This is due, in part, to the inherent weaknesses of the child care community which "leaves the state with considerable independence when formulating day care policy"⁹⁹.

There appears to be no movement toward a more cohesive child care network. The fragmented and weakened nature of the

⁹⁹. Coleman and Skogstad, Ibid, p. 6.

child care community in Alberta appears to have further deteriorated since the research for this study began. The DCSA's membership has decreased slightly in the past three years from approximately 110 to 100¹⁰⁰. ECPAA's membership has decreased by almost two-thirds, from 250 to less than 100¹⁰¹. In some regions of the province, Medicine Hat for example, ECPAA membership has gone from twenty-five in 1992 to no members at all in 1994¹⁰².

There may be several reasons for the decrease in ECPAA's membership. One possible reason for the current low membership in ECPAA is its role of certifying the profession is perceived to have been usurped by the Qualifications Committee of the Day Care Branch of the Department of F&SS. A possible reason for a slightly lower membership in the DCSA is that more of its members have joined forces with CFIB¹⁰³. This cannot be confirmed as the CFIB Membership List is strictly confidential and therefore impossible to research. However, the provincial director for CFIB has confirmed verbally that private day care operators are members of CFIB¹⁰⁴. In addition, the DCSA

¹⁰⁰. Plummer, Elaine, DCSA President, Telephone Interview, January, 1994.

¹⁰¹. Anderson, Noreen ECPAA President, and Shelly Aubrey, ECPAA Representative, Telephone Interviews, Jan. 1994.

¹⁰². Catterson, Diane, Chairperson Medicine Hat Chapter of ECPAA 1992, Telephone Interview, Feb. 1994.

¹⁰³. Plummer, Ibid.

¹⁰⁴. Wright, Interview, Nov. 1993.

director, Elaine Plummer is "aware of some Edmonton DCSA members who have become members of CFIB"¹⁰⁵. The number of membership holders for CFIB has not changed during the period from 1991 to 1994. This, according to the provincial director of CFIB, is a sign of strength¹⁰⁶. In the past three years there has been a substantial reduction in the membership of ECPAA, a minor reduction in DCSA's membership yet the membership of CFIB has remained constant.¹⁰⁷ Regardless of the reasons for the changes in the ECPAA's and DCSA's membership, the fact remains that the child care community, at present, has fewer members and is in a weaker and more fragmented condition. If the state chose to consult with the child care community at this time, the state would, indeed, experience "considerable independence when formulating day care policy"¹⁰⁸. In contrast, the CFIB has maintained its membership (which to begin with was substantially larger).

These three interest groups differ in their organization and presumably in their leadership and internal cohesion as well. Leadership and internal cohesion are areas for "micro"

¹⁰⁵. Plummer, Ibid.

¹⁰⁶. Wright, Brad, Telephone Interview, Jan 1994.

¹⁰⁷. A recession such as the one Alberta has experienced over the past three years, might normally cause a decrease in memberships in organizations generally. The CFIB's steady membership can be seen as a sign of strength in the organization.

¹⁰⁸. Coleman and Skogstad, Ibid, p.6.

analysis and beyond the scope of the present study. Clearly though, the DCSA, ECPAA and CFIB are diverse interest groups in their make-up and their functioning. CFIB is the most well organized and well developed of the three and enjoys the most access and influence in provincial policy decisions.

Provincial Population and Network Representation:

A democratic government is elected to listen to all of its constituents. In the case of child care in Alberta there are exactly 31,350 licensed child care spaces in Day Care Centres plus approximately 11,000¹⁰⁹ monitored or approved child care spaces in Day Homes¹¹⁰. It is estimated that approximately 15%¹¹¹ of children in need of care outside their home (while their parents work or go to school) are enrolled in licensed or monitored child care settings. This means that in addition to the approximate forty thousand children in licensed and monitored child care in Alberta,

¹⁰⁹. Guenette, Joanne. Department of Family and Social Services, Day Care Branch. Telephone Interview, Feb., 1994.

¹¹⁰. Day Homes are private homes which are either approved by the province or monitored by private agencies. Day Homes are usually operated by a female homemaker who is at home with her own children and is legally caring for other people's children as well.

¹¹¹. Department of Health and Welfare, Status of Day Care in Canada. p.12.

there is an additional 85% of children in need of care outside their home. These children are not accounted for in the provincial child care system. These children are assumed to be cared for in non-monitored arrangements by siblings, other relatives, neighbours, or left on their own. In a province with a population of 2,545,553¹¹² these children account for approximately 10% of the population. In total, the children and families requiring care outside the home accounts for a large sector of Alberta's population, albeit a sector lacking a cohesive and unified structure.

CFIB is an example of an organization which has used its resources effectively in establishing itself as a cohesive and influential interest group. Its history of a clear mandate, and secure financial backing have served the CFIB well. It now stands as an often cited organization, by both the government and the media, to represent public opinion. In fact, its provincial membership of 7,200, represents less than .3% of the total population of the province. Its members must own a Canadian business which means that their membership does not represent a cross section of Albertans. However, the skill of CFIB in delivering its message to government and the media takes on the air of a wide spectrum of Canadian and Albertan society.

¹¹². Statistics Canada, Canada Census 1991. CD ROM "E-Stat"
CD ROM, Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1993.

Comparing the number of Albertans directly affected by the child care community with those directly affected by the Canadian business community shows two very large provincial policy communities. The influence of these two policy communities as presented here, weighs heavily on the side of business. This calls into some question the democratic process used in formulating public policy in Alberta.

Access to the Political Agenda:

The provincial Roundtables on Education during the fall of 1993 are a good example of the difference in access and influence between the child care and the business community of Alberta. Arguably, education is a social issue of concern to all policy communities. During the fall of 1993, the CFIB was involved in all of the provincial Roundtables on education. Yet, the government made no attempt to consult with the child care policy community for their input or advice. Moreover, CFIB has been able to access the government through established, informal avenues. An example of this is one such as that given by Mr. Wright of sharing a coffee with government officials in a waiting area of an Airport¹¹³. Clearly, the business community has better access to the political agenda and is better represented in policy discussions than is the child care community.

¹¹³. Wright, Ibid, personal interview.

At the present time Alberta's child care policy community is state-directed. This has been the case for most of its history and appears to be the way of the future. The following chapter projects the likely direction of a state-directed policy network in the delivery of child care in Alberta. Chapter Seven also includes a discussion of the impact of the current political climate on the future of child care policy in the province.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

The Conservative Government of Alberta has been in power for twenty-three years. Its survival is the result of many factors, a major one being the balance maintained between the state and dominant policy communities. As has been demonstrated in this thesis the relationship in Alberta between business and government is stronger than the relationship between government and the child care policy community. This finding is a basis for projecting the future of child care policy in the province. Two other important factors must be included in a discussion of the future of child care policy in Alberta. These are the impact of Alberta's political climate and the role of Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Alberta's Political Climate:

Historically the province of Alberta has supported an ideology of individualism and free enterprise. "The wealth and power ... and ... large corporations, were accepted without question, since the resentment of the masses was diverted to external scapegoats"¹¹⁴. Conscious or not, the fact is that

¹¹⁴. Stevenson, Garth, Canadian Forum. "Quasi-democracy in Alberta", LXII, 725, Feb. 1983, pp.14-15 & 24, p.24

Alberta's history of blaming road blocks in the way of individualism and free enterprise on the federal government has served to rally the province around the provincial government of the day. An historical example of this is the National Energy Program of the 1980's.¹¹⁵ To Albertans, who hold dear the overriding ideology of the province, the governing party in Alberta signifies what is good and stable about the province. Child care interest groups in Alberta have to come to terms with the overriding ideology and political history of the province.

The current political culture of Alberta is focused around the objective of balancing the provincial budget. The provincial government has been successful in achieving public support for this objective due, at least in part, to the use of crises language. In an article on "Canadian neo-conservatism" in the Globe and Mail: Miro Cernetig quotes Roger Gibbins as saying, "The right will exploit fears about the debt for a "broad neo-conservative assault" on liberal

¹¹⁵. A current example of this is that as the research for this thesis comes to an end the Federal Government, under the direction of Lloyd Axworthy, is implementing talks on a National Child Care Strategy. A factor the national organizers have to take into account is that correspondence to Alberta must be void of any phrases which make reference to "national standards". The position of the Alberta Government is that Alberta's system of child care is better than the rest of Canada's (Karen Charlton; National Child Care Strategy Committee Member, Feb. 1994.)

ideals ..."¹¹⁶ The current Government of Alberta is pushing forth neo-conservative ideals and the supporters of government regulated child care are aligned with liberal ideals.

The Conservative government of Alberta's objective of a balanced budget in three years has received substantial public support. "Public policy may be in accord with mass opinion but we can never be sure whether mass opinion shaped public policy or public policy shaped mass opinion"¹¹⁷. The initiatives of the child care community are very much overshadowed by the emphasis on fiscal restraint. Given the ideological and majority government history of Alberta it is safe to conclude that mass opinion which supports fiscal restraint has been shaped, at least partially by the government's use of crises language and the exploitation of fears. The current political objective and ideology of the Conservative Government of Alberta are in step with the political history of the province.

The Charter:

The interaction between government and interest groups is increasingly more complex partly because of The Charter. Since its inception, various interest groups have sought to have their legal, democratic and equality rights recognized.

¹¹⁶. Cernetig, Miro, Quoting Roger Gibbins in the Globe and Mail. Feb. 05, 1994, p.D1.

¹¹⁷. Dye, Ibid, p. 319.

Women's groups have accessed the Charter in their fight for many "women's equality rights" of which day care is one.

Taken one way, the Charter assures equality and democratic values for all Canadian citizens. Taken another way, the accessing of the Charter by women's groups with differing goals has created a "plurality of political authorities [which] has reinforced the pluralism of the policy networks within these communities"¹¹⁸. Thus the pluralist nature of interest groups sets them in competition with each other which, theoretically, this can negatively offset the efforts of each. Nevertheless, the abundance of Charter Rights cases in Canada affects all Canadians' awareness of their basic rights. The use of the Charter by various groups and individuals is expected to continue.

The low priority of child care with the government of Alberta is not likely to change. Child care interest groups in Alberta have the option of focusing on their Charter rights. However, child care interest groups will have to place a "premium on the possession of political skills, organizational power, financial resources and insider knowledge".¹¹⁹ The literature in this study and the evidence presented here suggest that it is the interests with the most cohesiveness, stable funding and political savvy that do access the political agenda and influence policy decisions.

¹¹⁸. Coleman and Skogstad, Ibid. p. 323.

¹¹⁹. Cairns, "The Embedded State", Ibid, p.83.

In order to remain viable and retain credibility, pressure groups must make the transition from the placard-carrying stage to the collegial and consultative relationship favoured by government"¹²⁰

Groups and individuals who have accessed the Charter have established financial support, have been focused in their goals and have demonstrated political and legal awareness. As Alan Cairns is quoted on page 8 of this thesis, we live in a political era. All Canadians have equal rights under the Charter and hence it "defines Canadians as a single community of rights-bearers"¹²¹. Although child care interest groups in Alberta have yet to access the Charter, as Canadians, they have the right to do so.

Changes in Government:

Research for this thesis began in 1991. Since this time there have been two important personality changes in the child care policy community, these include the government leader and the department minister. Ralph Klein is known to be less interested in the provincial social agenda than was Don Getty¹²². Mike Cardinal is driven more by a fiscal agenda than was his predecessor, John Oldring. These facts are

¹²⁰. Pross, Ibid, p.297.

¹²¹. Cairns, Alan, Charter versus Federalism, Montreal: McGill-Queens press, 1992. p.7.

¹²². Oldring, Ibid.

important in understanding the current state of the policy community now and for the future. Certainly, under these conditions there will be more difficulty having any social issue such as child care placed on the political agenda. It has been shown that the community has been state-directed for most of its history. There is no reason to believe this will change during the Klein government's term in office.

The Future of Child Care Policy in Alberta:

Progressive government policies depend on a governments' ability to work with associational systems while at the same time not relinquishing the collective responsibility of the Cabinet¹²³. In the worst case scenario, a government which simply implemented the demands of the strongest pressure group within a pluralist framework would be a very weak government. At best it could implement only incremental type policies designed at great expense and with a short life expectancy. In order to survive politically, the Conservative Government of Alberta cannot manage entirely autonomously. The government of Alberta, as with all modern democratic governments, must maintain a balance between effective consultation and autonomy.

A change which would benefit the child care community of Alberta is the expertise of child development specialists and public policy specialists. The community is comprised of many

¹²³. Pross, Ibid. p.273.

individuals with experience and expertise in the delivery of child care, their contribution to policy outcome could be enhanced by child development specialists. Public policy experts are versed in skills of policy development and analysis and can recognize necessary trade-offs in policy discussions. A concept such as the regulation of child care has to include the balancing of what aspects of the child care environment are best regulated by government, staff and parents. Child development and public policy specialists are best prepared to objectively determine the "mix of regulatory and nonregulatory actions [which] ... will result in improved quality."¹²⁴

Perhaps it is the case that child care for most Albertans has been adequate. Politicians have little incentive to move an issue up on the agenda unless they perceive a potential political problem arising from the issue. At present, child care is not a major issue in Alberta and the Department of F&SS is only concerned with lowering its social service expenses.

The initiative to balance the budget will mean reduced incomes and possibly job loss for many Albertans. However, the need for child care by all types of Alberta families is not expected to go away. Child care professionals will be working

¹²⁴. Schweinhart, L and D.P. Weikart, (ed.). Quality in Early Childhood Programs: Four Perspectives. Michigan: High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, 1985. p. 31.

with families under more financial duress than is currently the case. If what has been adequate in the past is going to be maintained in the future, child care staff qualifications will have to at least be maintained and possibly be increased.

It is widely expected that before the year is out, Day Home providers will not be required to be approved nor monitored by the government¹²⁵. Informally, there have been rumblings from the Department about social programs, such as day care centres, being less regulated. There is reason to believe that the provincial government would maintain a role of monitoring these day care centres, but the extent to which they would monitor beyond custodial conditions is unclear. Further to this is the appearance of a move to close municipal day care centres¹²⁶. Private day care entrepreneurs would be expected to meet the need of families requiring child care outside their homes. This type of thinking is consistent with the government's interest in decreasing public enterprise in favour of increased private enterprise.

At present, the Department of Education is reducing its financial support of Early Childhood Services (ECS). There is a connection between day care policy and ECS policy because of the overlapping nature of the two services. Given the apparent lack of support by government for children during the first

¹²⁵. Kipta, Sharon, Board Member of Alberta Association for Young Children, Feb. 1994.

¹²⁶. Couillard, Ibid.

year of formal schooling, training for caregivers of preschool age children is not likely to be a priority. If the child care community can survive this era of reduced social spending and reduced taxation without any reduction in staff qualification policy, or other changes to its regulations and monitoring, it will be considered a success for the community.

Finally, the jurisdiction for child care in Canada is a provincial matter. There is much talk, on a national level, of reforming Canada's social programs including child care. A national strategy on child care is likely to incorporate a diversity of child care options across the country with some overriding standards connected to federal funding. This will be an accomplishment for the national child care policy community. Although the Alberta government has kept its distance from the child care community this is not the case in all political jurisdictions of the country. Indeed, other jurisdictions are enthusiastic about a national child care strategy¹²⁷.

A national child care strategy will require diversity and flexibility for the provinces. How Alberta receives and responds to a national strategy on child care will depend on its ability to maintain control and authority over its own constitutional areas of jurisdiction. Given the province's history, and the priority of the current provincial

¹²⁷. Charlton, Karen, National Child Care Strategy Committee Member; Feb. 1994.

government, it is likely that Alberta will be inclined to resist a national trend. In effect this continues a precedent of Albertans sticking together, opposing the federal government and holding strong its ideals of individualism and free enterprise.

Conclusion:

The fragmented nature of the child care policy community of Alberta, combined with the ideological distance between the community and the state, make for extremely tough barriers for the child care policy community in this province. In the near future, the child care interest groups will continue to advocate their interests to the provincial government and the child care community of Alberta will continue to be state-directed.

The form of the national child care strategy is unknown, but it is certain that the current government of Alberta will not promote the cause of a national child care strategy in the province. The government may even consider opting out of a national strategy under the conditions as defined in the constitution. Eventually however, with pressure from the child care community and from other political jurisdictions, it is possible that the government of Alberta will be convinced to take part in a national child care program.

If it is true that a democratic government needs to be "clearly ... embedded in, or tied down to, the society it

serves and has a responsibility to lead"¹²⁸ then long gone are the days when governments can govern in an elitist fashion, in isolation from the people. In the future, successful democratic governments will have to maintain contact with all sectors and assure they are represented in cabinet discussions and policy decisions.¹²⁹ A future of effective consultation between government and the child care policy community, will lead to a more corporatist policy network. Hence, a combination of a more cohesive policy community and better consultation between the government and the child care policy community will result in a stronger and higher quality system of child care delivery in the province of Alberta.

¹²⁸. Pross, Ibid, p.57.

¹²⁹. Whyte, Kenneth, The Globe and Mail, "The West", Quoting Neil Nevitte, Feb. 19, 1994, p. D2.

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Appendix A

Table 3

Staff Qualification Standards
for Child Care Centres Across Canada

In the following table, 1 year refers to training equivalent to an ECD Certificate available at one of Alberta's Community Colleges.

	less than 1 yr.	1 year	more than 1 yr.
BC			X
AB		X*1 (1:5)	
SK	X		
MA		X*2 (2:3)	
ON			X
PQ		X*3 (1:3)	
NB	X		
NS		X*4 (2:3)	
PE		X*5 (1 on staff)	
NF	X		
YK	X		
NW	X		

*1 Alberta requires 1/5 staff have 1 yr.

*2 Manitoba requires 2/3 have 1 yr.

*3 Quebec requires 1/3 have 1 yr.

*4 Nova Scotia requires 2/3 have 1 yr.

*5 Prince Edward Island requires 1 person on staff have 1 yr.

Compiled from: Maxwell, Anne and Jennifer Murphy-Hupe Child Care in Canada Background Papers,
Ottawa: Canadian Child Day Care Federation, 1993.

Appendix B

Alberta's Child Care Interest Groups

1. Alberta Association for Young Children
2. Alberta Association of Family Day Home Services
3. Alberta Colleges ECD Coordinators
4. Alberta Federation of Women United for Families
5. Calgary Out-Of-School Care Directors Committee
6. Calgary Regional Association for Quality Child Care
7. Canadian Child Day Care Federation
8. Canadian Council for Children and Youth
9. Central Alberta Day Care Directors Association
10. Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada
11. Child Care Network
12. Day Care Society of Alberta
13. Early Childhood Professional Association of Alberta
14. Edmonton Coalition for Quality Child Care
15. Edmonton Non-Profit Directors Association
16. Heritage Child Development Institute
17. Independent Day Care Association of Alberta
18. Kids First Parent's Association of Canada
19. Lethbridge and District Private Day Care Directors Association.
20. Medicine Hat and District Independent Day Care Operators Association.
21. Parents for Quality Child Care
22. Southern Regional Day Care Directors Association
23. United Child Care Association of Alberta

Appendix C

White Paper on Day Care Reforms, March 1990

Meeting the need ... A fairer, better system for Albertans;
Alberta Family and Social Services, March, 1990, pp.24-26.

STAFF QUALIFICATIONS;

Day Care Centre Director: Effective September 1, 1993, all directors will be required to have training in early childhood development ... which is at least equivalent to a two year diploma offered by Alberta's community colleges.

Day Care Centre Worker: Effective September 1, 1991, one in six day care workers in each centre will be required to have training in early childhood development ... which is at least equivalent to a one year certificate offered by Alberta's community colleges. Effective September 1, 1992, that ratio will increase to one in five day care workers. Effective September 1, 1993, that ratio will further increase to one in four day care workers.

All day care staff excluding those who have met the minimum standard of a one year early childhood education certificate, will be required to have taken a mandatory 50 hour Orientation

Course or provide evidence of equivalent course work.

Appendix D

Day Care Regulations, November, 1990

The White Paper on day care reforms introduced new staff training requirements, which are being phased in over a five year period. By September 1, 1995, qualification certificates will be required for all day care centre primary staff (i.e. persons whose duty is child care and who are included in the child/staff ratio requirements). Qualification certificates are issued by Alberta Family and social services, Day Care Programs and are based on early childhood development training. Specific training is offered by accredited institutions, assessment of credentials or equivalencies is conducted by the staff of the Day Care Staff Qualification Project.¹³⁰

Province of Alberta, Social Care Facilities Licensing Act Day Care Regulation; Alberta Regulation 333/90. Extract from the Alberta Gazette. Filed Nov. 7, 1990.

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30(1) In this section "college" means
 (a) a public college as define in the Colleges Act, or
 (b) an Alberta vocational college continued as a
 provincially administered institution by the
 Provincially Administered Institution Regulation

...

(2) A person may apply to the Director ["Director" means Director of Social Care Facilities] for a qualification certificate at level 1, 2 or 3.

(3) The director shall issue a level 1 qualification certificate to an applicant who

- (a) has completed an orientation course for day care centre staff that is approved by the Director, or
- (b) has completed course work that the Director considers to be equivalent to an orientation course referred to in clause (a).

¹³⁰. Maxwell, Anne, CCDCF "Background Paper" 1991, p. 13.

(4) The Director shall issue a level II qualification certificate to an applicant who

- (a) has received a one year certificate in early childhood development or education from a college, or
- (b) has completed course work that the Director considers to be equivalent to the course work required for a certificate referred to in clause (a).

(5) The Director shall issue a level 3 qualification certificate to an applicant who

- (a) has received a two year diploma in early childhood development or education from a college,
- (b) has completed course work that the Director considers to be equivalent to the course work required for a diploma referred to in clause (a), or
- (c) had five years relevant experience before December 1, 1990, held a relevant position at anytime during the period from November 30, 1985 to November 30, 1990 and received a one year certificate in early child hood development or education from a college before September 1, 1993.

(6) In subsection (5)(c), "relevant experience" and "a relevant position" mean experience and a position, respectively,

- (a) as a program director, or
- (b) in any other capacity that the Director considers to be equivalent to that of a program director and specifies in writing.

...

Program Director

32(1) A licence holder for a day care centre shall ensure that a full time adult program director who holds a level 3 qualification certificate is on the staff of the day care centre at all times

...

the program director need not have a level 3 qualification certificate until September 1, 1995 but must have the qualifications necessary for a level 2 qualification by September 1, 1993.

...

34(2) In the case of a day care centre referred to in section 32(2), subsection (1) does not apply from December 1, 1990 to August 31, 1995, but the licence holder shall ensure that, of the primary staff referred to in subsection (1),

(a) between September 1, 1992 and August 31, 1994,

(i) at all times between 8:00 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. at least one in every 6 holds a level 2 or level 3 qualification certificate and all the others hold a level 1 ...

(ii) at all other times of the day, everyone holds at least a level 1 qualification certificate,
and

(b) between September 1, 1994 and August 31, 1995,

(i) at all times between 8:00 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. at least one in every 5 holds a level 2 or a level 3 ... and all the others hold a level 1 ..., and

(ii) at all other times of the day, everyone holds at least a level 1 ...

The reforms are being implemented over a 5-year period (to Sept. 1995).

Appendix E

CFIB Child Care Tracking Question

Issue: Child Care
Health Care

Date: January 1988

Question 2:

Are you for or against profit-making businesses offering services such as health and child care?

Background:

Profit-making businesses operating in markets that are dominated by public or non-profit services have recently come under attack by advocacy groups and others. Some groups are promoting the elimination of for-profit organizations providing health-related and other quasi-public services such as care for the elderly and child care.

Arguments For profit-making businesses offering services such as health and child care: permitting the operation of profit-making companies in areas such as health care and child care reduces the government expenditures needed to finance these services and increases their supply in the marketplace. The provision of these services by for-profit companies would be more efficient and require less bureaucracy than if they were provided by the government.

Arguments Against profit-making businesses offering services such as health and child care: the existence of the profit motive in the provision of these services detracts from the humanitarian aspect of the services provided and may base access of the services on the ability to pay. Public funding is usually available for providers of these services, and public funding should not be going toward profit-making operations.

National Results:

For: 65% Against: 25% Undecided: 10%

Issue: Child Care

Date: May 1986

Question 3 :

Are you for or against a universal system of free child care?

Background:

The area of child care currently falls within provincial jurisdiction. A federal task force has recently recommended that free child care should eventually be provided to everyone regardless of family income. This would be done through cost-sharing agreements between the federal government and the provinces. Only licensed centres and family home child care programs operated or supervised by government or non-profit agencies would be included in this system. State presents some assistance is available in the form of subsidies for the needy and the child-care expense deduction, which are provided through cost-sharing agreements between the two levels of government.

Arguments For a universal system of free child care: there is no control on the quality of services provided to the 80% of children receiving unlicensed care. There is a severe shortage of subsidized spaces. Services are inadequate in rural areas and for those not working standard hours. Child care must take priority over other non-social issues.

Arguments Against a universal system of free child care: it would increase the deficit, eventually costing \$121-billion a year by 2001. A large public system could not achieve the flexibility of a system of private care. Instead private sector involvement should be encouraged through tax incentives, and support should be targeted more directly to the needy.

National Results:

For: 8% Against: 87% Undecided: 5%