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A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF CHILD CARE ADVOCACY MESSAGES COMMUNICATED BY THE CHILD CARE ADVOCACY ASSOCIATION OF CANADA FROM 2005-2010

by

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Bachelor of Arts, Ryerson University, Toronto, 2010

A Major Research Paper

Presented to Ryerson University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

In the Program of

Early Childhood Education

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2012

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Author's Declaration

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A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF CHILD CARE ADVOCACY MESSAGES COMMUNICATED BY THE CHILD CARE ADVOCACY ASSOCIATION OF CANADA FROM 2005-2010

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Master of Arts

Early Childhood Studies

Ryerson University

Abstract

This research project used a content analysis to examine advocacy messages in documents released by a social movement organization, the Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada, from 2005-2010. Of particular interest were advocacy messages that focused on national child care system issues (accessibility, affordability, quality, universality, publicly funded, delivery, governance, ECEC staffing issues and market approach) and policy frames (child development, equity for disadvantaged groups, poverty reduction, labour force participation, business case-human capital and rights of children, women and families) used to justify the need for system changes. Findings indicate that CCAAC's advocacy messages remained consistent from 2005-2010 with slight increases in 2005, 2008, and 2009 when the political climate at the federal level offered opportunities for CCAAC to play up certain messages to their audiences.

Keywords: social movement organizations, Canadian child care movement, advocacy, policy frames

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To My Family and Friends - Thank you for always believing in me and being there when I needed you the most. A special thank you to my family: Peter, Mary, Leigh, Kimberly, Thomas and Nana, thank you for never giving up on me and always pushing me to the next level. A special note to my closest friends: Thank you for distracting me when I needed distracting, encouraging me when I needed encouraging and motivating me when I needed motivating. This process has shown me that I have surrounded myself with caring, supportive and loving people. This project would not have been possible without you and I will never forget your endless belief in my abilities.

Dedication

To my parents, Peter, Mary and Leigh,

Thank you for never giving up on me and always reminding me how proud you are.

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Introduction

Canada is known for its success in the 2010 Winter Olympics, its beautiful landscape, and universal health care. Unfortunately, Canada is also known internationally for its weak early childhood education and care (ECEC) system. In 2010, Helen Penn, a British early childhood policy expert, visited Canada and spent an evening with child care advocates. Penn describes her experience with the Canadian child care movement.

> How do you keep pushing for what you believe in early education and care, when the outlook is bleak and the likelihood of change is minimal? To my surprise, there is a vigorous advocacy movement for early education and care in Canada, full of optimism and energy…I recently attended the national policy forum of the Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada (CCAAC) in Ottawa to hear discussions on tactics and strategies for the coming government elections (Penn, 2010, para. 8).

Concluding the article, Penn sends a message to fellow British advocates, "we could have had a much better and fairer system had we tried to campaign like the Canadian advocacy groups" (Penn, 2010, para. 21). Organizations and individuals have been advocating for a comprehensive child care system in Canada since World War II. This study is based on the advocacy work of one of these organizations, the Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada (CCAAC), from 2005 to 2010.

Brief Overview of Advocacy and Policy in Early Childhood Education and Care

According to Prentice (2001), "the very existence of a child care movement is a direct result of political neglect-certainly advocates' efforts would be unneeded had governments implemented progressive policy and comprehensive services" (p. 15). Continuing, Prentice states,

> The child care movement, slowly, sometimes almost imperceptibly, helps to shape how parents, politicians, decision makers, bureaucrats, researchers, social justice groups and not least of all, "the public" think about child care. Advocacy contributes to how child care is conceptualized, developed and delivered. However…the movement does not always make the impact that advocates intend (Prentice, 2001, p. 17).

In Canada ECEC began on a grand scale with the need to have women in the labour force during World War II. At that time the government established a program that funded 50% of child care centres' start up and operating costs in Quebec and Ontario (the only provinces to utilize the program). The aim was to initially fund programs for women assisting in the war initiative; however, it was eventually opened to all families, with the exception of farming families. The agreement and funding ended with the end of Second World War, and the return of men to the labour force. "Thus Canada's first – and to date only – national childcare program lasted thirty-six months, from 1942 to 1945" (Friendly & Prentice, 2009, p. 73).

However, starting in the 1960s an increasing number of women began to work outside of the home. The increasing need for women to have care for their children pushed the need for the establishment and growth of child care centres. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s a Canadian child care movement grew with the involvement of the women's movement, unions, communities and non-government organizations who shared a common goal for a national child care program.

In the 1980s child care advocates took an 'all or nothing' approach to a comprehensive publicly funded child care system. But by the 1990s, advocates shifted their approach to 'every little bit counts' (White, 2001) and began to negotiate and communicate with politicians differently. This shift influenced the way advocates measured success in policy development.

However, there was a policy development stall in ECEC, beginning in the 1990s (Tyyska, 2001). Tyyska (2001) and White (2001) state that child care advocacy strategies also stalled when it came to influencing policy changes. At the same time, divisions occurred between organizations when it came to advocating issues such as not-for-profit versus for-profit child care, and supporting particular political parties.

According to White (2001), between the 1980s and 1990s, there was also a shift in advocates' reasons for *why* Canada needs a national child care program. Prior to the 1990s, advocates focused their efforts on fighting for women's equality. They used a woman's right to participate in the labour force as the primary reason for why child care was needed. Women's equality fueled the early Canadian child care movement. In the 1990s the fight for a national ECEC system shifted from a focus solely on women's rights to an additional focus on children's rights. This new emphasis was sparked by Canada's signing of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). The UNCRC was signed in 1989 and "declared children to be citizens of the world with rights – the rights to protection, provision and participation" (Penn, 2008, p. 133).

In the early 2000s a national child care strategy became a part of the political agenda of the Liberal government. Liberal Prime Ministers (Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin) from 1993 to 2006 made child care policy a priority. During Paul Martin's election campaign in 2004, the Liberals made a national child care program a primary focus of their platform. The Liberals promised to create a program that would provide a universal, high-quality ECEC system in Canada through the Foundations program. The program consisted of $1 billion in federal spending in the first phase to support provincial and territorial ECEC programs. The Foundations program was structured around four core principles: quality, universality, accessibility and

developmental programming. The four principles, known as QUAD, were based on measurable outcomes and public funding for only not-for-profit child care (CRRU, 2012; Cool, 2007). Advocates were excited about the development and potential of the Foundations program but continued to push for the program to include key components, for example, the implementation of not-for-profit community programs over commercial for-profit child care).

However, with the election of Stephen Harper and a Conservative government in 2006 the Foundations program was immediately cancelled (Friendly & Prentice, 2009). The Conservative government replaced the near national ECEC program with a "$1,200 taxable annual allowance ($100 a month) for all children 0-5 years" (Friendly & Prentice, 2009, p. 85). The Harper government argued that Universal Child Care Benefit (UCCB)—which gave parents $100 a month to spend as they saw fit—offered parents more choice when it came to deciding on the type of care their children needed. The UCCB is still being implemented to this day. Advocates were devastated with the cancelation of the Foundation program. In the 2005-2006 Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada (CCAAC) Annual Report, the Board Chair Debra Mayer stated, "this turn of events has been heart-wrenching and discouraging. At the same time, it's impossible not to be encouraged by the incredible size and strength of the child care movement in Canada today" (CCAAC, 2006, p.1).

The child care movement continued to push for policy changes through the 2008 economic crisis. CCAAC released a brief on August 10, 2011 stating, "Canada entered the recent recession with deep poverty and inequality, and exacerbated the problem by ignoring the opportunity to reap the social and economic benefits of stimulus spending on child care" (CCAAC, Briefs, August 10, 2011). Child care advocates pushed for the federal government to support those most affected by the recession.

In 2009, Canada was led by a minority Conservative government (re-elected in 2008). Near the end of 2008 the opposition parties – the Liberal, New Democratic Party and the Bloc Quebecois – reached an accord to form a minority coalition government. Child care advocates were excited with the potential of a coalition government to stand up against, from their perspective, an anti-child care Conservative government. However, in 2009, the Liberals elected a new leader and distanced themselves from the coalition (CBC News, 2008; Whittington, Campion-Smith & MacCharles, 2008).

Child care advocates continue to fight for the national child care movement amidst the ups and downs of the 2000's. During the first decade of the new millennium, Canada has been ranked last on international measures of ECEC (OECD, 2006; UNICEF, 2008; Friendly & Prentice, 2009; Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives for Policy Alternatives, 2009). For example:

> A 2006 report by the Organizations for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) ranked Canada last out of 14 countries in terms of public investment in early childhood education and care services and last out of 20 countries in terms of access. Most recently, UNICEF ranked Canada last out of 25 countries in terms of meeting suggested standards of early learning and care, along with other family policy benchmarks related to parental leave, child poverty and universal access to essential health services (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives for Policy Alternatives, 2009, p. 28)

Although the federal government has yet to establish a child care system that would increase Canada's international ranking, several provinces have taken the initiative to develop a better child care system for their families. In Quebec, for example, child care costs parents $7 a day,

and more than 70% of children have access to child care spaces (Friendly & Prentice, 2009). Similarly, Manitoba has developed and implemented two five-year plans (ten-years) to improve child care for children, families and professionals (Friendly & Prentice, 2009). Ontario is implementing full-day kindergarten for four-and-five year olds (Pascal, 2009). Although these provinces have taken steps forward it is clearly not enough for child care advocates. According to many (Prentice, 2001; OECD, 2006; UNICEF, 2008; Friendly & Prentice, 2009), Canada is still not meeting the needs of children and families. In 2004, the Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada (CCAAC), released *From Patchwork to Framework: A Child Care Strategy for Canada*. The policy paper was a blueprint for what child care should look like in Canada. According to CCAAC (2004),

> The blueprint incorporates policy lessons of comparative studies, including those by the OECD, and of successful early care and learning systems in several jurisdictions. But first and foremost, it is grounded in the voices and views of parents, early childhood educators and other community members who continue to advocate for governments to build a system that supports children's healthy development while meeting the diverse needs of Canada's families, the majority of whom participate in the paid labour force (p. 12).

The core components of the blueprint are grounded in child care advocates' vision for a national child care program today.

Personal background. I was guided towards this topic through my passion for child care advocacy. From my experience working for non-profit organizations in the Canadian child care movement, I have learned firsthand about the demands and hardships of advocacy work. I hope to contribute in a modest way to literature on the Canadian child care movement by

providing a better understanding of the advocacy work carried out by Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada from 2005 to 2010. This has led to my research question: how has the Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada's (CCAAC) approach to advocacy for a national early childhood education and care (ECEC) system changed between 2005 and 2010?

This research project is part of a larger project funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada which investigates professionalism as a Canadian child care movement strategy in an era of neoliberalism (Langford, Albanese & Prentice, 2012). For my project, I have used documents collected for the larger project. I selected one, organization, the Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada that the team is analyzing and chose specific types of documents released by the organization during the late 2000s. I examined the CCAAC's advocacy messages used with subscribers through advocacy updates, with the public through media releases and with politicians through open letters. I have also examined the advocacy messages in relation to what was happening politically at the national level.

Literature Review

This review draws on the following literature; social movements, social movement organizations, Canadian child care movement and policy frames. CCAAC can be considered a social movement organization and part of a particular social movement, the Canadian child care movement. There is some debate within the literature on the definition of a social movement, however, most agree that social movements involve a network of individuals with a shared collective identity engaged in political or cultural conflict (Staggenborg, 1998; Diani, 2002; Mariel Lemonik Arthur, 2008). Further, Tilly describes social movements as "a sustained challenge to state authorities in the name of a population that has little formal power with respect to the state" (Tilly, 1988, p.1 as cited in Prentice, 2001, p. 19).

The Canadian child care movement fits the social movement definition identified above. According to Prentice (2001), "there has been a child care movement in Canada for over half a century – yet surprisingly little has been written about how and by whom child care advocacy has been organized, what the movement has done and tried to do, or what effects it has had on social policy and social change" (Prentice, 2001, p. 15). However, we know that a network exists of child care social movement organizations, at the provincial and federal level that have challenged governments on child care issues. Social movement organizations like the Ontario Coalition for Better Child Care have engaged in political conflict by organizing and attending rallies, speaking up against government decisions and making their position known to the media, public and government.

According to Mariel Lemonik Arthur (2008), there are four core questions that researchers need to ask when studying social movements. First, researchers should ask when and why movements emerge. Second, researchers should ask who gets involved with movements and why they take this step. Third, researchers should ask what particular strategies or tactics movements choose and what the effects of these choices are. And finally, researchers should ask what the outcomes of social movements are and what factors enable movements to have these impacts (Mariel Lemonik Arthur, 2008, p. 1017). My project focuses on the third question and specifically looks at advocacy messages as particular strategies or tactics used by CCAAC from 2005 to 2010.

Social movement communities consist of networks of activists and social movement organizations and are not necessarily based on their locations but instead are based on common beliefs. Social movement organizations "consist of organized contention undertaken by a group or collectivity that shares some sort of common goal, and that this contention is engaged in by

those who are in some sense excluded from 'politics as usual'" (Mariel Lemonik Arthur, 2008, p. 1014). A social movement organization works within a broader social movement. For example, within the child care movement there are several organizations working at the national and provincial/territorial levels including, Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada, the Ontario Coalition for Better Child Care and the Coalition for Child Care Advocates of BC. Each organization shares goals with and works within the Canadian child care movement.

According to Staggenborg (1998) movements with strong social movement organizations have the advantage of the organizations being able to recruit and mobilize advocacy efforts. This also means that strong social movement organizations can maintain coalitions and long-term campaigns because they have the ability to mobilize resources. According to Staggenborg (1998), "movement organizations may also promote dialogue among different groups in a movement community regarding divisive issues" (Staggenborg, 1998, p. 186). Prentice (2001) states,

> Further, social movement theory posits that conventional understanding of how policy is made and implemented has historically been too narrowly conceived. Social movement theory attends to both how and why movements form and act. Some social movement analysts focus on resource mobilization, past and present (Prentice, 2001, p. 18).

According to Prentice (2001), child care advocates have influenced political developments without being a part of the policy process. For example the Coalition for Child Care Advocates of BC (CCCAB), a social movement organization, has had influence on the policy process and politics in one province but is not a political party or political organization.

Some social movement scholars are particularly interested in the range of resources social movement organizations draw upon. Research mobilization theory (RMT) examines how human and material resources are utilized through extensive planning and coordination to meet shared

goals (Prentice, 2001). Social movement organizations differ in targets, types of resources, availability of resources and ability to effectively utilize those resources (Klandermans & Staggenborg, 2002). Differing targets depend on the goals of the social movement organization and the broader social movement. For this project, I have focused on publicly available documents (communication resources) issued from 2005 to 2010 by CCAAC to different audiences.

There is little research on the child care movement in Canada and their use of a range of human and material resources. As stated earlier, the child care movement has existed for half a century yet minimal literature is available "about how and by whom child care advocacy has been organized, what the movement has done and tried to do, or what effects it has had on social policy or social change" (Prentice, 2001, p. 15). We do know from the Prentice's (2001) edited collection on the Canadian child care movement that the movement's organizations seem to struggle with the following issues movement goals, use of policy frames and fragmentation of the movement. After the edited collection in 2001, most Canadian ECEC literature has focused extensively on the state of ECEC in Canada and recommendations for what should be done.

Canadian child care movement goals

Affordability, accessibility and universality

ECEC in Canada has limited public funding, high parent fees and not enough child care spaces. According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), "national and provincial policy for the ECEC of young children in Canada is still in its initial stages. Care and education are still treated separately and coverage is low compared to other OECD countries" (OECD, 2004, p. 6).

Advocacy organizations, like the Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada, strive to improve affordability and accessibility by working with other child care social movement organizations, parents, advocates, early childhood educators, subscribers (fellow advocates) and the public. There has been an ongoing battle against the "unavailability of affordable, consistent, and appropriate child care" (Palley & Shdaimah, 2011, p. 1160) for children and families. Only a minority of children have access to child care in Canada (approximately 20%) (Food Bank Canada, 2011). As a result, Dallaire and Anderson (2009) report:

> Canada has, in fact, a triple market failure. We have the lowest child care access rates in the industrialized world with regulated spaces for fewer than 20% of children. Parent fees are among the highest anywhere, often exceeding the annual cost of university. And quality is constantly undermined by low wages or poor retention rates for early childhood educators (p. 26).

Social movement organizations have faced many obstacles when advocating for improved affordability, accessibility and universal child care. For example, advocates have documented several popular myths, beliefs, or misconceptions about child care including: child care is bad for children or 'anti-family; families should pay for their own children; and mothers should stay home and raise their children (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives for Policy Alternatives, 2009). The beliefs add to the difficulty that advocates face when fighting for affordable, accessible and universal child care.

Supply side public funding

Another goal of the child care movement has been the establishment of supply side public funding for an ECEC system in much the same way as education is publicly funded in Canada. Child care social movement organizations have had to contend with two models of financing,

supply side (money is given directly to services) and demand side (money is given to parents to 'buy child care') (Cleveland & Krashinsky, 1998; Penn, 2012). In a supply side model, state provisions are modified or expanded to accommodate the needs of working parents by providing funding directly to service providers or voluntary organizations which have been granted funding to provide services. In a demand side model, low-income parents are given the money, directly, as subsidies, in order to buy child care at market prices, and it is up to entrepreneurs to provide the service. Neo-liberal countries, like Canada, have almost all adopted a demand led model, since it is based on the primacy of personal choice within a market approach (Penn, 2012, p. 4). Currently under the Stephen Harper Conservative government, Canada operates with a demand side model, which gives parents money directly, to spend as they see fit, and which claims to give parents 'choice' of child care [although in reality, $100, before taxes, per month per child under age 6 is not enough to buy a week of child care in most jurisdictions in Canada].

Child care advocates have fought for not-for-profit publicly funded programs along side supply-side funding approaches to ECEC. Through this fight advocates have struggled with parents' lack of awareness of what are the possibilities for child care in Canada. Parents have become accustomed to the current state of ECEC in Canada. Most parents have no sense of child care as an entitlement, much like the entitlement that exists for education (Friendly & Prentice, 2009). Child care advocates have utilized the failing demand side funding approaches and for-profit commercial child care to emphasis the importance of public funding. For example, the Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada advocated for publicly funded, not-for-profit community-run child care programs during the Martin Liberal government and the near implementation of the Foundations program in 2005.

Quality

Quality child care promotes healthy child development, supports families, increases social inclusion, has economic benefits and increases labour force participation. According to CCAAC and CCABC (2011),

> All of Canada's children deserve to be in quality environments: nurturing spaces where they share diverse experiences with new friends; where they are included, appreciated, celebrated, supported, respected and encouraged to have fun; where they are guided in a caring way to bring out their creativity, to learn new concepts, and to understand routine (para. 6).

Research shows that parents do not understand the value of high quality early childhood environments. Parents are content with an environment that is safe and ECEs who provide custodial care for their children. Child care advocates struggle with parents' lack of knowledge and awareness of what constitutes high quality child care (Friendly & Prentice, 2009). Advocates have utilized Canada's poor quality ratings in international reports in the 2000s to bring awareness of the value of quality ECEC.

Early Childhood Educators issues

The third goal of the child care movement is to fight for improved early childhood educator training and wages in Canada. Penn (2012) has remarked,

> In some countries, most notably Denmark, there is a requirement that a majority of staff will be trained to postgraduate level, and undertake regular in-service training. In others, again the neo-liberal English speaking group of countries, staff qualifications are set low, at two years post-16 vocational training or lower, and there are no mandatory requirements for in-service training (p. 17).

In contrast, Canada's early childhood educator qualifications vary by province and territory from no required training to a two-year diploma.

In addition, child care advocates have fought for higher wages for early childhood educators. According to Friendly and Prentice (2009), the individual program (centre) typically sets wages for their early childhood educators based on revenue collected from parent fees. A wide salary range exists in Canada. However, generally wages for early childhood educators are low. Child care advocates have attempted to seek recognition and respect for early childhood educators.

Use of Policy frames

Advocates' reasons for why Canada's need for a national child care program can be explained through their use of frames. White (2009) broadly defines frames as "the crucial levers to introduce policy change, within extant norms, that can transform parts of norms but leave other parts intact" (p. 390). The goal in framing is to use linguistic cues to frame ideas "in the right way" to influence perceptions (White, 2009 According to White (2009), "framing has the power to shift policies even while not fundamentally challenging the underlying logic of appropriateness; this can account for why policy changes can occur incrementally" (p. 391).

White (2011) draws upon Payne's specific definition of a policy frame and notes that frames, "fix meanings, organize experience, alert others that their interests and possibly their identities are at stake, and propose solutions to ongoing problems" (Payne, 2001, p. 39 as citied in White, 2011, p. 287). According to Prentice (2009), "frames serve as accentuating devices that can redefine conditions and practices while inspiring and legitimating social movement activities and campaigns" (p. 689). White (2011) outlines four policy frames used by child care organizations to make their case for a comprehensive child care policy to governments. These

frames are commonly referred to as: 1) the human capital investment approach or business case; 2) the social pedagogical approach or the child development case; 3) the children's rights argument and 4) the labour force participation argument.

Human capital investment is the argument for developing individual skills and knowledge as a way of increasing each member of society's lifelong success (White, 2011). Business case, as it is more often referred to, emphasizes the return on investing in early childhood education. For example some economists argue that for every $1 spent there is up to an $8 return (Cleveland & Krashinsky, 1998; Prentice, 2009). According to McCain, Mustard and Shanker (2007), "focused public spending on young children provides returns that outstrip any other type of human capital investment" (p. 135). Cleveland and Krashinsky (1998) argue:

> If Canada is to maintain and improve its competitive position internationally, it must invest in the human capital of today's children. Dollars spent on education for young children are far more effective than dollars spent at any other time in a person's life. Thus any reasonable industrial and educational strategy requires high quality child care (Cleveland & Krashinsky, 1998, no page #).

The human capital investment approach argues that the success of a country is based on investing in its people through educating children to increase levels of human capital later in life. An important component of this policy frame is the development of social infrastructure, which would include child care services to support the development of human capital (Cleveland & Krashinsky, 1998).

White (2011) describes the second frame as the social pedagogical approach. I use the term, child development, instead, which involves "the promotion of children's overall developmental needs: their health and physical development, emotional well-being and social

competence, positive attitude toward learning, good communication skills, and cognition and general knowledge" (p. 292). Children with opportunities to maximize their development develop stronger social skills, self-regulation and have an increased readiness for school. Strong ties exist between the child development case and the human capital investment approach.

The third frame, identified by White (2011) is a children's rights argument that claims that children have the right to high quality education. According to Penn (2008) the UNCRC is the most widely endorsed treaty in history (192 governments). Those who signed it, including Canada, "promise to implement it in law, policy and practice, and to report regularly to the UN on progress in so doing" (Penn, 2008, p. 133). This frame became more relevant with the signing of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (in 1989) that lead to "a re-assessment of the value of children" (White, 2011, p. 296).

Lastly, White (2011) identifies the use of the labour market participation argument as a policy frame. The frame involves parents' ability to participate in work or education through the availability and access to child care. This frame makes specific reference to women's labour force participation and the lack of child care policies that allow women equal opportunities to work (Moss, 2006; Penn, 2012). In 2006, the employment rate of Canadians over the age of 15 was 62.4% of which 67.6% were males and 57.5% females. The census data collected in 2006 also determined that 49% of couples (married or common law) have at least one child under the age of 25. The 2011 census found an increase in the population of children ages 4 and under. This was the highest growth rate for this age group in the last 50 years and the increase was in all provinces and territories in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2012). Research indicates that there is a direct relationship between the availability of affordable child care and parents' participation in the workforce. For example, 70% of children in Quebec now have access to affordable child care.

The province of Quebec has documented a related increase in parental participation in the workforce and education, especially among women (Friendly & Prentice, 2009).

This project explores CCAAC's use of White's (2011) policy frames. But other researchers have identified additional policy frames at work in advocacy messages, beyond the four emphasized by White (2011). Poverty reduction and equity for disadvantaged groups are other policy frames used to justify the need for improvements in child care services.

According to Campaign 2000 (2010), children living in poverty are more likely to have asthma, type 2 diabetes, low-birth weight, and experience malnutrition. In addition, low-income children are more likely to battle with learning disabilities, behaviour and emotion problems, experience addictions and have mental health issues. Children from low-income families are also less likely to access medical and community supports when needed. Lastly, Campaign 2000 (2010) states that children living in poverty have a "higher rate of death due to unintentional injuries than other children" (p. 3). Therefore, children living below the low-income line have a higher risk of developing severe health issues that are detrimental to their overall well-being.

The poverty reduction policy frame highlights the need for child care services to remediate the health and education problems that low-income children experience. Poverty reduction strategies often highlight the need for disadvantaged groups to have access to high-quality child care services. Disadvantaged groups identified include Aboriginal parents, parents who have a child with a disability and single parents. Child care social movement organizations have advocated specifically on behalf of these disadvantaged groups because there are gaps or holes in child care policies that make this group particularly vulnerable (Rothman, 2009, Mayer, 2009).

In sum, policy frames are used to work towards achieving child care social movement organizations' goals, which ultimately are aimed at the betterment of children's and families lives and society in general. These policy frames, as used by one child care social movement organization, the Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada (CCAAC), will be analyzed in detail for this study.

Fragmentation of the movement

Literature describes how the child care movement in Canada is fragmented. However, scholars differ in opinions on solutions to the fragmentation. According to Prentice (2001), "from a bird's eye view, the "Canadian daycare movement" appears as a singular, cohesive social movement; yet on the ground and close-up, what often takes precedence is a dizzying range of groups, mandates and campaigns within and between cities, provinces and regions of this country" (Prentice, 2001, p. 21). The "dizzying range of groups, mandates and campaigns" refers the fragmentation of the child care social movement, due to the differing organizational focuses and policy priorities (Campbell, 2001). For example, a professional ECE association may advocate for early childhood educators and the creation of high-quality spaces. In contrast, a coalition of grassroots organizations may focus on advocating of the creation of spaces with a focus on non-profit community run programs. These social movement organizations may emphasize one issue over another, which creates a divide within the movement. Furthermore, advocates raise questions about who their allies should be. Langford (2001) believes social movement organizations should broaden their support base to involve other groups and organizations such as churches with nothing to gain from particular policies on child care but who are concerned about broader social justice issues. Scholars are also divided on how social movement organizations should message. They disagree on whether organizations should have a

common message distributed to the public, media and government and whether the message should be simple or complex (White, 2001). Scholars debate whether child care social movement organizations should tailor conciliatory messages to politicians and government (in power) or remain oppositional (Collier, 2001; Langford, 2001; Martin, 2001).

Another challenge faced by social movement organizations within the child care movement in Canada is a divide between levels of government and differences in policy initiatives between the federal government and provinces/territories (Friendly & Prentice, 2009, p. 31). As noted above, in 2010, Helen Penn, a British early childhood policy expert, visited Canada and described the differences between provincial/territorial approaches to ECEC in Canada,

> Canada is a federal country, so one of the difficulties has always been the financial and legal relationships between the government and the different provinces of Canada. The provinces are very different from one another in their attitudes and policies. For instance, oil-rich Alberta has a very right-wing administration, and a thriving private sector childcare market. Ontario, which includes the buzzing city of Toronto, is traditionally more liberal, and is trying to extend its school system downwards to provide care and education for all children from the age three.
>
> French-speaking Quebec has a more universal-type childcare system. It publicly funds services so parents pay only C$7 (£4.50) a day. Childcare in Quebec has expanded very rapidly, and women have returned to work in large numbers. But much of the care is provided by childminders, and all the research suggests that quality is far from optimal, partly because the funds haven't gone into the kinds of training and development programmes that raise quality. Quality has not matched quantity.

> In the prairie provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba, the large, disaffected indigenous population is especially vulnerable. This is the generation that, as in Australia, was taken away from their families and brought up in residential or boarding schools, with the result that they no longer speak their native language, and are culturally disorientated. For them and their children, compensatory policies are a big issue (Penn, 2010, para. 2-4).

Penn's description of Canada's different provinces/territories sums up well the fragmentation and challenges for the child care movement. In Canada, funding for ECEC comes from the federal government and is funneled to individual provinces/territories. Each province/territory has control over ECEC, including how funding is spent, what the system looks like and how children and families are supported. This makes advocating for a national child care system extremely difficult. Child care advocates have found a lack of engagement between levels of government (federal and provincial) and the provinces/territories (provinces/territories inability to work with other provinces/territories) (Collier, 2001).

Methodology

There are a number of different ways including case studies and critical discourse analysis that the advocacy messages of a child care social movement organization can be examined.. My choice for a method has been a content analysis of documents released by CCAAC to different audiences. My aim was to determine which advocacy messages were present and which were absent in a range of documents from 2005 to 2010. Specifically, I chose to analyze three types of documents: advocacy updates, media releases and open letters released by CCAAC between 2005-2010[1]. "Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents – both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted)

[1]A larger project, the study on the Canadian child care movement and social movement organizations, is investigating eight organizations at both the national level and provincially.

material" (Bowen, 2009, p. 27). For this project, a collection and analysis of documents was used to track changes or development over time in advocacy messages (Bowen, 2009). Bowen (2009) suggests that a "researcher may also examine periodic and final reports (where available) to get a clear picture of how an organization or a program fared over time" (p. 30), which is exactly what I intended to do. Written messages represent concrete tangible examples of the advocacy efforts of a particular child care social movement organization.

A content analysis is "an approach to the analysis of documents and texts that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories in a systematic and replicable manner" (Bryman, Bell & Teevan, 2012, p. 367). For this project, I have made use of preexisting codes. The preexisting codes are linked to the Canadian child care movement goals and policy frames outlined in the literature review. In addition, as participants in organizations within the child care movement, we (the researchers working on the larger project) were aware of messages used by child care advocates. These messages are also represented in the preexisting codes. I have used reference counts from coding to quantify which messages were played up (referenced more often) and down (referenced less) within CCAAC documents.

There is also an element of qualitative research in this project in that I have analyzed to a certain extent the nature of advocacy messages and their meanings. I sought to understand the way in which CCAAC alters its usage of messages for different audiences, the subscribers, the public and politicians, as well as over a period of time (Bowen, 2009). Overall, I am interested in assessing how the CCAAC's approach to advocacy—aimed at different audiences—for a national early childhood education and care (ECEC) system changed between 2005 and 2010.

Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada Profile

This study investigated a national grassroots social movement organization, the Child

Care Advocacy Association of Canada (CCAAC). According to Smith (2000), grassroots organizations are "locally based, significantly autonomous, volunteer-run formal nonprofit (i.e., voluntary) groups that manifest substantial voluntary altruism and use the associational form of organization" (Smith, 2000, p.7 as cited in Andrews & Edwards, 2004, p. 485).

CCAAC has a history of advocacy in the Canadian child care movement. The CCAAC was founded in 1983 following a national child care conference in Winnipeg (under the name Canadian Daycare Advocacy Association). Advocates at the conference called for an organization to pursue issues of child care at the federal level. According to its website,

> CCAAC works for the rights of all children and promotes the development of an accessible, affordable, high-quality, inclusive, publicly-funded, non-profit child care system in Canada. CCAAC represents the voices of parents, caregivers, child care workers, early childhood educators, students, researchers and organizations for women's equality, anti-poverty, labour, social justice, disability and rural areas (CCAAC, n.d.)

From 2000-2005, CCAAC was involved in many initiatives and had several paid staff members, including an executive director. In 2001, CCAAC commissioned the creation of an edited collection on the Canadian child care movement called *Changing child care: five decades of child care advocacy & policy in Canada* (Prentice, 2001). During this time, members of CCAAC sat on a number of committees including: Campaign 2000, Rural Voices, Community Indicators Project, Child Care Human Resources Round Table (CCHRRT) and Coordinating Group, Council for Child Care Advocates and the Canadian Child Care Federation. CCAAC completed several projects funded by the federal government through Status of Women Canada, Social Development Directorate and Government of Canada's Social Development Partnerships.

CCAAC also participated in and helped organize the following campaigns: Advance Women's Equality Rights, Vote for Child Care and Building Blocks Campaign.

After 2005, CCAAC began to struggle due to political changes in Canada. Advocacy work became more challenging with the election of the Conservatives in 2006. In addition to the Conservative government cancelling the Foundations program, a plan for national child care, there were also cuts to advocacy groups and special interest groups funding. These cuts affected the organizational funding of CCAAC. In 2006, with the election of the Conservative government, CCAAC several board members left the organization. As well, according to CCAAC's 2007-2008 annual report, the organization completed three funded projects that fiscal year. Due to the financial hardships, CCAAC had to become voluntary-based only and could no longer keep paid staff. In its2009-2010 annual report CCAAC makes reference to 'limited financial resources'. During this time, there were changes to the funding structures of grants that made it difficult to obtain federal funding.

Population/Sample

The sample, for this project, consists of all advocacy updates, media releases and open letters released by CCAAC from 2005-2010. Initially I wanted to investigate the time period from 2000-2010, however, the advocacy updates, media releases and open letters available on CCAAC website begin in 2005. Materials were publicly available through CCAAC website. However, a 2005-2010 timeline did allow me to capture sufficient changes in advocacy messages and explore these changes in relation to a shifting political climate. In total there are 108 documents, 51 advocacy updates, 37 media releases and 20 open letters. See Table 1 for the distribution of documents per year.

Table 1: Distribution of advocacy updates, media releases and open letters from CCAAC between 2005- 2010

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
Advocacy Updates	0	2	5	13	14	17	51
Media Releases	11	14	0	5	5	2	37
Open Letters	11	1	0	3	4	1	20
Total	22	17	5	21	23	20	108

According to Table 1, there are differences in the collection of documents by year and by document type. For example, in 2005, there are 11 media releases and open letters but advocacy updates did not begin until 2006. It is important to point out that all documents were obtained through CCAAC website and I must assume that all advocacy updates, media releases and open letters released during 2005-2010 have been uploaded. It should also be noted that in 2007 the website links to the open letters and media releases were broken and I was unable to obtain the missing documentation. Another limitation I encountered is that I am not sure who wrote the documents. However, the most documents are listed under CCAAC name and thus it can be assumed that paid employees or volunteers wrote them.

I decided to examine three types of documents: advocacy updates, media releases and open letters from 2005 to 2010 for two reasons. The first is the sheer number of documents. For example, if I were to use annual reports as opposed to media releases there would only be one document per year. The increased number of documents has added to the overall validity and reliability of the study's findings. Second, the intended audience of advocacy updates, media releases and open letters are different. I found it valuable to examine differences in the advocacy messages based on intended audience. For example, does CCAAC use different messaging when communication with the public versus politicians or subscribers?

Data Collection Tools

NVivo 9, a data organization program, was used to organize documents and content. The benefits of using a program like NVivo is that it helps manage data, , is useful for coding and developing themes, and lastly, has software that enables researchers to run computerized searches that assist with data analysis. One limitation of using NVivo is that some researchers may feel disconnected from their documents. Hard copies of coded material are useful and may still be required. The use of a computerized program may also increase the user error rate due to the potential for technological difficulties. Documents used in this project were organized with NVivo 9 by type of document (advocacy update, media release or open letter) and categorized in chronological order (Check & Schutt, 2012; QSR International, 2010a; QSR International, 2010b; Siccama & Penna, 2008; Bazeley, 2007).

Within NVivo 9 researchers have the ability to create nodes. Nodes are frequent themes, subjects, topics and ideas. For this project, categories were predetermined in the larger project on the Canadian child care movement explained earlier. In total, 18 parent nodes and 16 child nodes were created. A parent node is the overarching theme, topic, or idea and a child node isa subtheme within the parent node (Check & Schutt, 2012; QSR International, 2010a; QSR International, 2010b; Siccama & Penna, 2008; Bazeley, 2007). See Table 2 for a complete list of nodes. The nodes in Table 2 are in alphabetical order, although the nodes represent three categories; systems issues, policy frames and communication strategies. Nodes in messages about systems issues include: accessibility, affordability, quality, universality, publicly funded, delivery, governance, ECEC staffing issues and market approach. Policy frame nodes include: child development, equity for disadvantaged groups, poverty reduction, labour force participation, business case (human capital) and rights of children, women and families.

Communication strategies are strategies used by CCAAC to heighten the urgency of the state of child care in Canada, in other words, the system issues. Strategies used are comparisons, crisis language and action recommendations, and can be found embedded in advocacy messages. For example a comparison to Quebec could be part of an advocacy message but not a message itself. CCAAC's uses the comparison communication strategy to heighten the importance of the message.

The larger project identified earlier, of which I am a part of, collectively developed the nodes prior to my own content analysis of CCAAC documents. The team evaluated the predetermined categories by looking at sample documents and ensuring a shared understanding of the meaning of each node. . The team shared thoughts and perspectives regarding the node list and discussed the addition, subtraction and combination of nodes. This preparatory work on the nodes led to a final draft of the node list. Dr. Rachel Langford then created a draft of a node codebook to assist with the coding process. The node codebook has since been updated as the team worked on the coding.

Table 2: Complete list of Nodes (17 parent nodes and 16 child nodes)

Node List	
1. Accessibility	10. Equity for Disadvantaged Groups a. Aboriginal b. Disability c. Immigration d. Single Parent
2. Action Recommendations a. Not To Do b. To Do	11. Governance
3. Affordability	12. Labour Force Participation a. Family b. Women
4. Business Case	13. Market Approach
5. Child Development	14. Poverty Reduction
6. Comparisons	15. Public Funding
7. Crisis	16. Quality

a. Lost Ground b. No Change	
8. ECEC Staffing Issues	17. Rights a. Child b. Families c. Women
9. Delivery	18. Universal

With the use of NVivo 9 I organized the documents chronologically and coded each document using the nodes. I used the coding reference number calculated by NVivo 9 to determine how frequently or infrequently a node is represented within the documents (Check & Schutt, 2012; QSR International, 2010a; QSR International, 2010b; Siccama & Penna, 2008; Bazeley, 2007). Every time a piece of content was coded it was considered one reference. Each reference was a sentence to a paragraph in length. After completing the initial coding, I exported all nodes into word documents organized by node and document type in chronological order. Upon printing my coding, I reviewed each node to ensure that the coding was done properly. For example, under the node "affordability," I highlighted each reference to affordable child care to ensure I had captured the data correctly. I entered all findings into charts and examples can be seen in Table 3 and Table 4. Table 3 was filled out for each type of document individually. My intent was to capture the data on the large scale and then more specifically.

Table 3: Charting Document Analysis

Nodes	Document	Year	Number of Documents	References	Notes
Accessibility	Media Releases	2005	5	15	The majority of references use accessibility with quality and affordability
		2006	8	17	
		2007	0	0	
		2008	5	9	
		2009	3	10	
		2010	0	0	
		Total	21	51	

Table 4 was filled out for each parent and child node. The table shows the distribution of references by document over time. Table 4 allowed me to compare the type of documents, year of documents (allowing for comparisons and contrasts between time periods) and the nodes themselves.

Table 4: Charting Coding References

Labour Force Participation							
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
Advocacy Updates	0	0	0	6	5	3	14
Media Releases	6	4	0	2	7	1	20
Open Letters	3	0	0	2	6	0	11
Total	9	4	0	10	18	4	45

Next my supervisor, Dr. Rachel Langford, and I compared my coding (using the charts above) with some overlapping coding that had been completed for a presentation at the Canadian Sociological Association conference in Waterloo, Ontario[2]Lastly, I met with another researcher on the team to discuss my coding. By analyzing the data holistically (initial coding), looking at the particular references and reviewing coding processes with the research team, I was able to ensure the interrater reliability of my research.

Findings

I examined advocacy updates, media releases and open letters issued from 2005 to 2010 by a social movement organization, CCAAC, which functions at the federal level. I anticipated that some advocacy messages would be more present than others, some would be absent and that similarities and difference would emerge, I have grouped the findings by: messages about systems issues, CCAAC's use of policy frames and communication strategies.

[2] For that, the research team analyzed 2008 annual reports and media releases by eight social movement organizations. We compared media releases for 2008 by node.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of documents by year. It indicates that most years, except 2007, have the same percentage of documents. There were fewer documents to code for 2007 due to unavailable content on CCAAC's website. Figure 2 shows the distribution by type of document−advocacy updates, media releases and open letters. These results show that CCAAC talks to subscribers the most and politicians the least.

Figure 1: Distribution of Documents Issues by CCAAC by Year

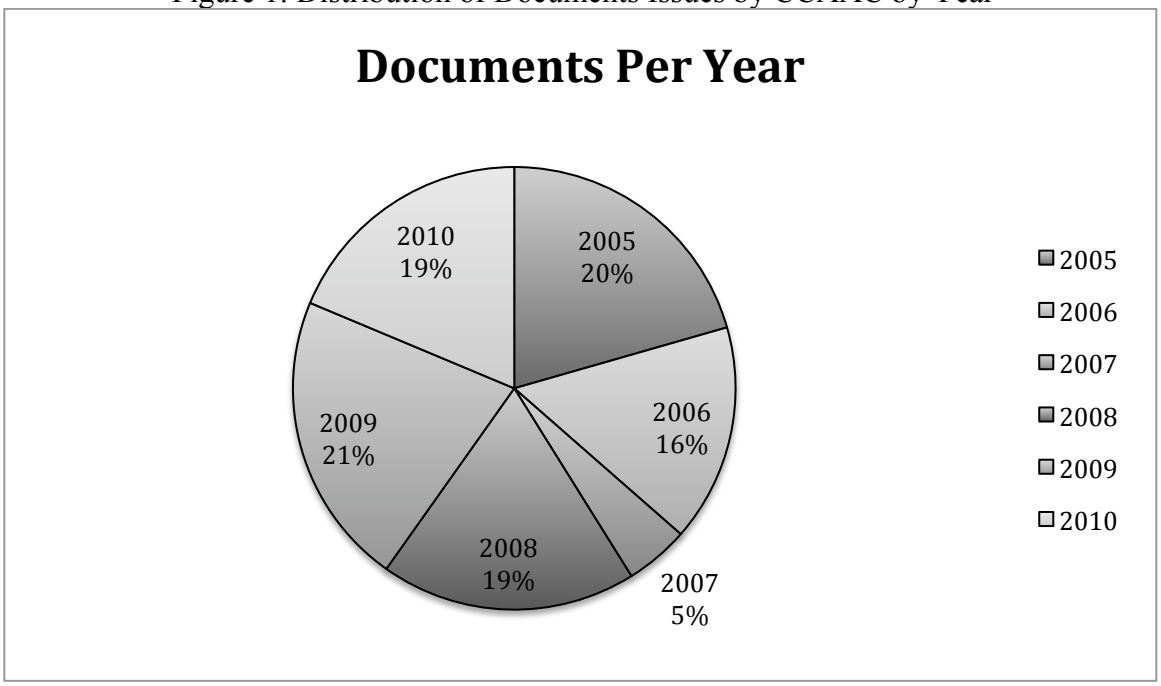
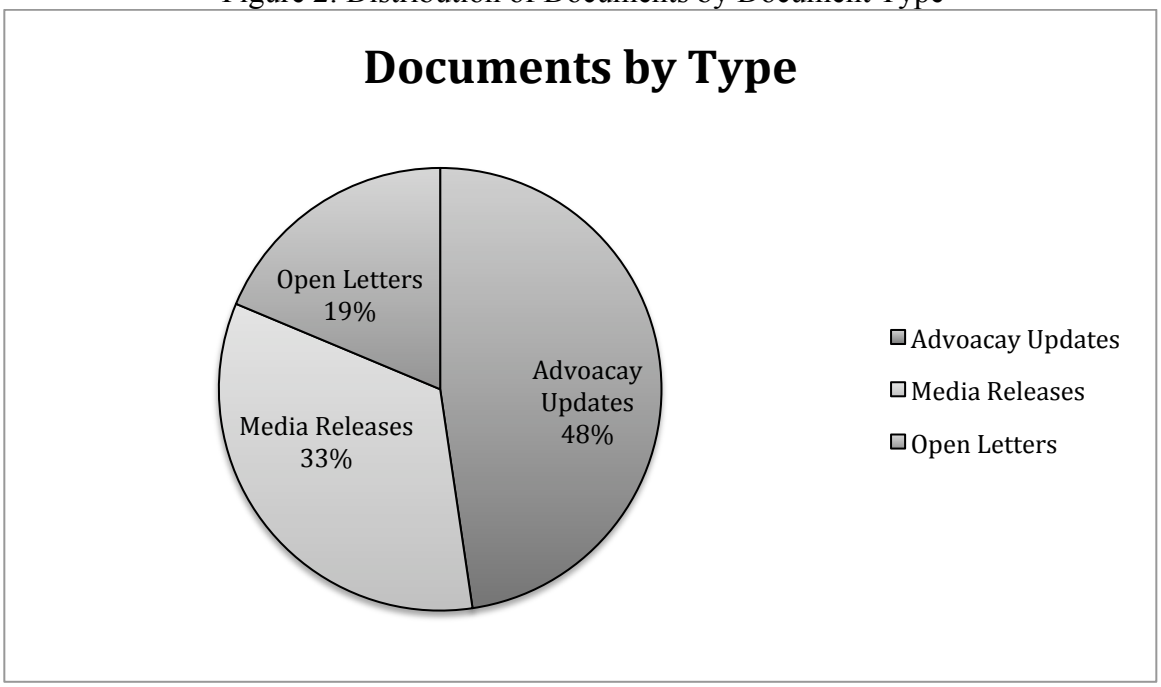


Figure 2: Distribution of Documents by Document Type



Throughout the findings section I will make reference to communication strategies used by CCAAC to heighten the urgency of the ECEC situation in Canada. These strategies include using crisis language (ie. there have been no changes; there has been lost ground), making comparisons with other countries' successful child care systems and action recommendations that communicate what the government should do immediately. Throughout the findings section, I will report on trends in the use of these strategies for different audiences.

Messages about System Issues

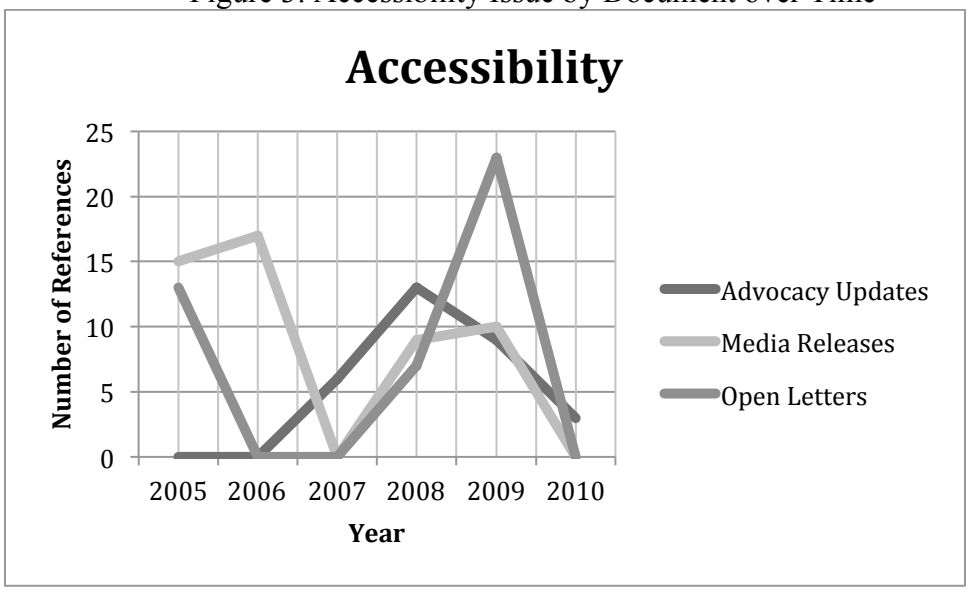
I looked for references to a range of system issues: accessibility, affordability, quality, universality, publicly funded, delivery, governance, ECEC staffing issues and a market approach. These references were quantified.

Accessibility. The issue of accessibility addresses the following questions: How many children and parents have access to ECEC programs and subsidies in Canada? When and where are services available and who needs them? In total I found 125 references from 53 documents

that made reference to both the lack of access and the need for access to child care spaces in Canada. Of these 53 documents, 13 were open letters, 20 were media releases and 20 were advocacy updates. The vast majority of references to accessibility use the term access as a descriptor regarding the state of child care in Canada. For example, in media releases 19 of the 31 references to accessibility were in conjunction with "affordable, quality and/or publicly funded child care". An advocacy update released on March 23, 2007, CCAAC included the following statement, "at the end of the day, eight out of ten children outside of Quebec do not have access to quality, affordable child care spaces" (CCAAC, Advocacy Updates, March 23, 2007). This example also shows how CCAAC used the communication strategy of comparison (with Quebec) to heighten the issue of accessibility.

I found 75% of the references to accessibility were intended for the public and politicians through media releases and open letters. Figure 3 shows the presence of the accessibility message by document over time and indicates an increase in accessibility as an issue in 2009 in both media releases and open letters. Access to child care as an advocacy message is used from 2005 to 2010 in all documents with sharp spikes in 2008-2009, around the time of elections and international critiques of child care.

Figure 3: Accessibility Issue by Document over Time

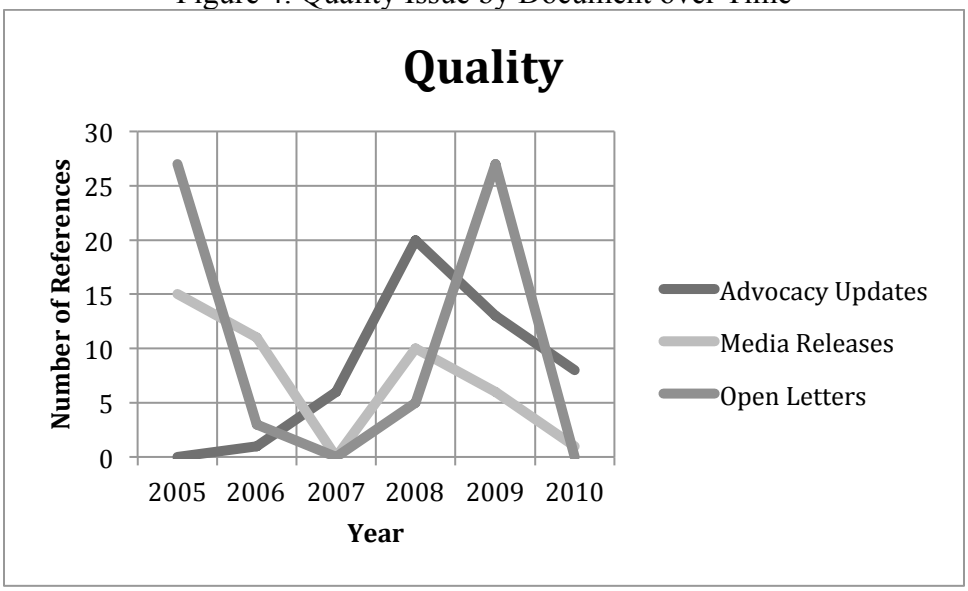


Affordability. Issues of affordability refer to high fees parents pay for child care and the availability of subsidies. I found 114 references in 55 documents to issues of affordability. For example in an open letter released on February 14, 2005 CCAAC states "parents shouldn't be paying more than 20 percent of actual cost of child care, and the reality is that for many families, child care costs more than their mortgage or their rent" (CCAAC, Open Letter, February 14, 2005). Of the 38 references to affordable child care in advocacy updates almost 80% used a single word in a series of descriptors about the state of child care in Canada. I found an almost equal number of references to affordability, averaging 35-40, among all the types of documents with spikes of usage in 2008 and 2009.

Quality. References to quality were also counted. Penn (2012) states, "Quality regulations usually include requirements for health and safety, space, staff training, staff-child ratios and curricula, although these may vary considerably between countries" (p. 17). Quality is also understood as process elements in ECEC such as teacher-child interactions and curriculum planning and implementation. I found 153 (second highest among all nodes) references to the need for high quality child care, in 66 documents, of which most−40%−of references were in

open letters. Figure 4 shows the number of references to quality by document type between 2005 and 2010. I found an increase in references to quality as a systems issue in open letters in 2005 and 2009. The significant decline in references in 2007 can be attributed to the lack of open letters that year.

Figure 4: Quality Issue by Document over Time



There was also a steady increase in references to quality in advocacy updates, which peaked in 2008. Not surprising, references to the quality issue in media releases spiked in 2005, at a time when plans for the Foundations program were in full swing. References to the quality issue slowed in 2008 to 2010 in media releases and advocacy updates. Similar to references to affordable and accessible child care, quality is almost always used as a descriptive term, undefined and typically part of a string of terms, in a recommendation to the government. For example, the January 21, 2009 CCAAC media release included the following quote "Canadian families need the federal government to invest in solutions that will actually improve access to quality, affordable child care services in their communities" (CCAAC, Media Releases, January 21, 2009).

Universality. The use of the term universal was also counted. Universal refers to the need for all citizens (families and children) to participate in or have access to services. The notion of universality is also closely tied to a sufficient number of child care spots, lower parent fees and supply side funding. Universality is contrasted with targeted programs aimed for poor and disadvantaged groups. While universality tends to be the desired goal of ECEC advocates, at times, they will argue that there should be targeted programs within a universal program.

Surprisingly, the goal of universality is not a common advocacy message in CCAAC documents. In total there were 28 references to universal child care from 24 documents. References to the goal of universality increased in advocacy updates from 1 reference in 2007 to 7 references in 2008. In the open letters and media releases there were more references to universality in 2005.

All references to universality were in conjunction with references to systems issues of accessibility, affordability and quality. For example, the following was communicated to Prime Minister Martin and Minister Dryden of Social Development on February 9, 2005: "Canadians expectations are high for an agreement that transforms the current patchwork of services into a universal, high-quality, public early learning and child care system" (CCAAC, Open Letters, February 9, 2005).

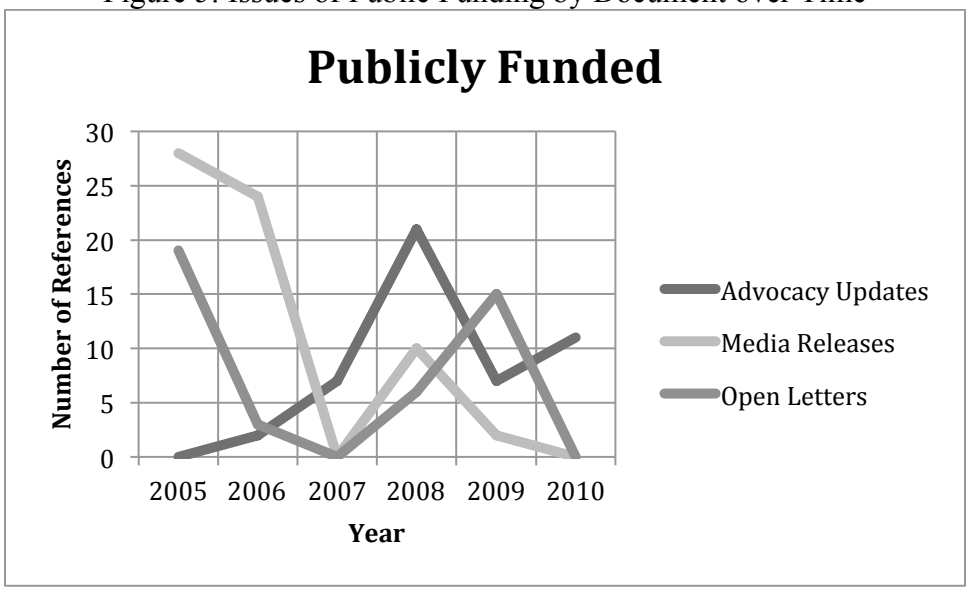
Publicly-funded. The issue of public funding relates to government spending through social transfers from the federal to provincial governments, and from provincial/territorial funding (capital, subsidies) to municipalities. Funding can be either demand side (for example, vouchers to families which is linked to the market approach) or supply side (where funding goes directly to centres). CCAAC documents typically take positions against demand side funding and advocate for the supply-side.

The system issue of public funding had the most references compared to all other nodes analyzed. I found 155 references to a publicly funded child care system in 66 of 108 documents. The issue of public funding was evident in more than 60% of CCAAC's documents, specifically half of the advocacy updates, almost two-thirds of the open letters and almost three-quarters of the media releases. In addition, the issue of public funding was used as an adjective with other systems issues, like affordability and accessibility. For example in the February 27, 2009 open letter entitled *Not in the Public Interest* CCAAC states, "Child care public policy is already on government's books, and public funding is already in place. You have an obligation to ensure that child care policy and funding are accountable for advancing the public goals of quality, access and affordability" (CCAAC, Open Letters, February 27, 2009).

CCAAC often heighten the need for public funding with urgent government action recommendation. For example, on February, 9 2005, CCAAC wrote an open letter addressed to Prime Minister Martin and Minister Dryden of Social Development, "we urge you to hold firm and move forward with the provinces and territories that are willing to negotiate a child care agreement that contains legislation, adequate public funding, concrete accountability measures and future expansion in the non-profit sector" (CCAAC, Open Letter, February 9, 2005).

Figure 5 shows the breakdown of the use of public funding by document type and over time. I found a steady increase in references in advocacy updates from 2005 to 2008 with a rapid decrease in 2009 and an increase in 2010. Unlike advocacy updates, open letters peaked in 2005, declined from 2006-2007 and then increased during 2008-2009. Media releases, which had the most references to public funding, peaked in 2005-2006 and had a significant decrease in 2007-2010.

Figure 5: Issues of Public Funding by Document over Time



Delivery. Descriptions of how child care is delivered at the provincial, municipal and local levels are included within the broader issue of delivery. At the provincial level the integration of the child care and education sectors within a Ministry of Education may be described. ECEC may also be delivered and administered at the school board and community level.

There were minimal references to the issue of delivery within CCAAC documents; the exception is in 2005 open letters. CCAAC frequently used issues of delivery when talking to politicians about the planned national child care system in 2005. CCAAC emphasized its belief that the proposed Liberal child care program in 2005 be centered on community-based "public and non-profit delivery" (CCAAC, Open Letters, February 9, 2005).

CCAAC frequently combined the issue of delivery with recommendations for government action. After the election of the Conservative government in 2006 the issue of delivery is largely out of CCAAC messaging other than references to public delivery as a single word in a series of descriptors about the state of child care in Canada.

Governance. The issue of governance refers to how child care services are owned, administered, or controlled. This could include community controlled (not-for-profit) centres or owner controlled (for-profit) centres. CCAAC typically supports not-for-profit governance and is critical of for-profit governance of child care services. Despite its support for not-for-profit governance, there are only a modest number of references to not-for-profit, and often it was couched with other descriptive terms, as in the following example: child care should "include a national, accessible, affordable, high-quality, publicly funded, publicly regulated, not-for-profit child care system" (CCAAC, Open Letters, January 2005). In only a handful of documents— mostly open letters— there is text devoted to outlining the problems with for-profit child care and explanations for why child care should be not-for-profit.

CCAAC used the issue of governance when talking to politicians about the planned national child care system in 2005. CCAAC emphasized its belief that "federal and provincial/territorial funding for expansion of new services must be restricted to the non-profit sector" (Open Letters, January 2005). Typically, CCAAC heightened the issue of governance by recommending that the government act immediately. After 2005, the issue of governance is largely absent in CCAAC documents, other than when making reference to not-for-profit in connection to accessible, affordable child care.

ECEC Staffing Issues. The ECEC staffing issues node involved counting references to low wages, poor working conditions, lack of career mobility, lack of respect, low levels of recruitment and retention (may be compared to teachers) of early childhood educators in Canada. There were minimal references to ECEC staffing issues among all CCAAC documents (35 references in 23 documents of 108). I found a slight increase in references to ECEC staffing issues in 2009. Most references were to early childhood educators' low wages across Canada.

Market Approach. According to Anderson (2008), "when it comes to child care, we're still depending on an approach best suited for selling clock radios" (para. 1). Anderson (2008) maintains that the market-approach,

> Equates child care with clock radios. It assumes that families can pick the mix of quality and affordability that they desire for their young children's education and care, and that there are a range of community-based services that meet family needs. A little public funding is provided to lower-income families to compete in the high-priced marketplace, but most families are left to fend for themselves (para. 4)

The market-approach is related to demand side funding whereby the government provides vouchers that parents use to offset "market prices" for a child care spot. It was anticipated that CCAAC's documents would say that this approach does not work and would recommend public delivery of child care services instead.

I found limited references to a market-approach in CCAAC documents from 2006-2009. In 2008-2009 the market-approach was referenced in four advocacy updates, five media releases and six open letters. References to a market-approach often compared the Conservative government's Universal Child Care Benefit to the Conservative government's ' failed market approach in Ontario during the 1990s and to Australia's corporatization of child care.

In sum, all of the system issues identified above accounts for the majority of references within all three types of CCAAC documents analyzed. Interestingly, this was in part due to the fact that many of the messages identified above were used as descriptors, often together, in a string of adjectives outlining the state of (or the desired state of) child care in Canada. The following example illustrates this type of advocacy message: , "the Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada works to provide public education, to monitor child care public policy

and to promote the right of all children and families to access high-quality, affordable child care services in Canada" (CCAAC, Advocacy Updates, January 18, 2008). Another example of this reference type is:

> As we move forward to build a system, CCAAC wants to be clear about its position. Our organization believes that all existing licenses service providers-including family child care, commercial, non-profit, and public operators-should receive increased public funding and supports under the new program and be accountable for providing quality, accessible and inclusive child care (CCAAC, Open Letter, January 2005).

Within the messages about system issues there is no evidence of definitions or explanations for what the terms or concepts actually mean or should involve. This is particularly evident in the references within media releases for the public and open letters for politicians.

CCAAC's Use of Policy Frames

My analysis of CCAAC's use of policy frames included a search for references to child development, equity for disadvantaged groups, poverty reduction, labour force participation, the business case (human capital) and the rights of children, women and families. Overall, I found that policy frames are minimally referenced in all three types of CCAAC documents from 2005 to 2010.

Child Development Policy Frame. The child development policy frame includes the argument that early learning and child care enhances or benefits young children's growth and development, their well-being, and readiness to begin school. ECEC is considered the foundation for later academic success, and life-long learning. Some documents may refer to ECEC as good for children, particularly during the critical years of brain development. CCAAC used the child development policy frame minimally from 2005 to 2010 across all documents (20 references). In

advocacy updates, most references state the need to provide for or support healthy child development or children's development. There is a single reference to development of children,

> Research, development of progressive provincial/territorial policy (in some provinces and territories), and testimonials profoundly indicate that quality early care and learning programs support economic stimulus, healthy outcomes, increased cognitive skills, school readiness, positive social development, participation in the work force and post secondary education for parents (CCAAC, Advocacy Update, June 30, 2009).

In contrast, in open letters there were more references to the need for "developmental programming" than to "healthy child development". For example CCAAC wrote in its open letter to members of parliament on January 31, 2005,

> We urge you to ensure that Parliament, in consultation with the child care community, helps Canada meet that commitment by supporting a new system built on these widely-accepted principles: … 3. A Child Care Act that guarantees standards and the principles of quality, universality, accessibility, developmental programming and inclusiveness (CCAAC, Open Letters, January 31, 2005).

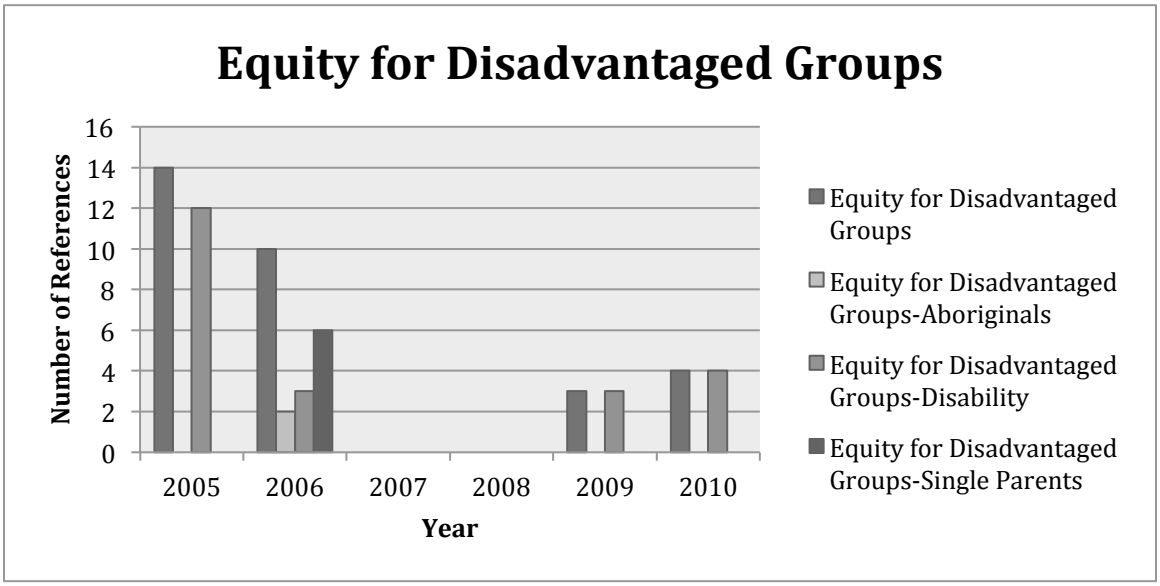
Overall, the use of the child development policy frame is absent from advocacy updates, media releases and open letters from 2005-2010.

Equity for Disadvantaged Groups Frame - Aboriginals, Disability, Single Parents. References to this policy frame may identify particular disadvantaged groups (Aboriginals, disability and/or single parents) or may use more indirect language such as inclusion of all or access for all.

The equity for disadvantaged groups frame was largely absent from CCAAC documents. Figure 6 shows the breakdown of the number of references by parent node (equity for

disadvantaged groups) and child node (Aboriginal, disability and single parents) over time. The parent node is represented the most; however, it is due to the aggregated function within NVivo 9. This means that all coding within child nodes (Aboriginals, disability and single parents) are automatically coded in a parent node (equity for disadvantaged groups). There is an increase in references to single parents and Aboriginals in 2006. As Figure 6 shows disability as a child node was referenced the most; however, the majority of references used 'inclusive' as a term (along with affordable, high-quality child care). For example, CCAAC writes in an advocacy update to subscribers, "today, we are launching a campaign that provides opportunities for your stories to be more broadly shared, in the hope that they will inspire action across the country to build quality, affordable, accessible and inclusive child care services" (CCAAC, Advocacy Updates, May 6, 2010). No definition or explanation is given for the term inclusive. Therefore this figure may misrepresent the actual number of references to disability among the documents.

Figure 6: Equity for Disadvantaged Groups Frame by Node over Time
(including parent and child nodes)



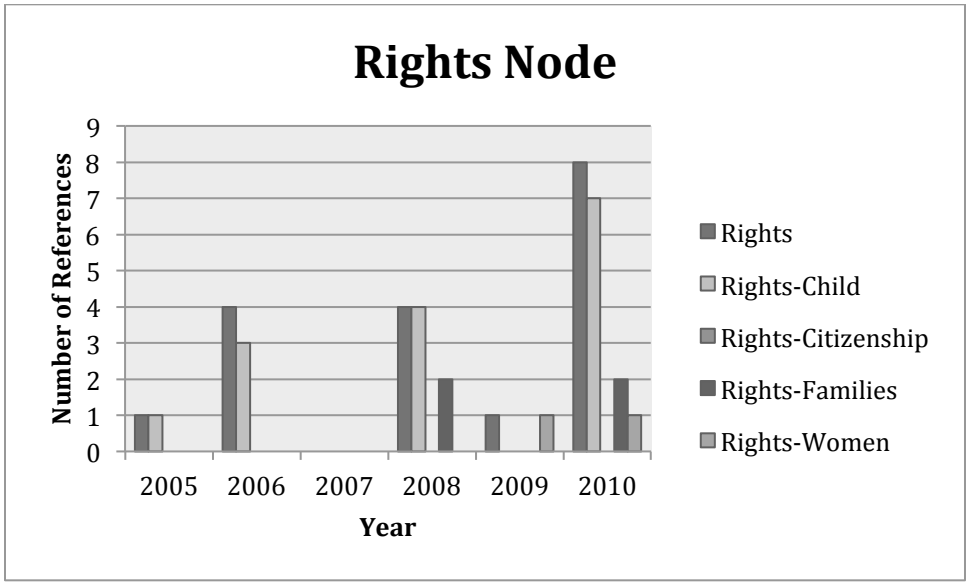
Business Case Policy Frame. This is the human capital and economic argument that claims that ECEC generates significant short and long-term returns on investments. In the short-term, spending on childcare has multiplier effects that are competitive with many other economic developments, holding their own against retail, tourism and education (Prentice, 2009). Figures such as "$8 for every $1 invested" signal the use of the business case in the long term. Words and phrases such as "prosperity" and "high returns" indicate the business case is being employed. Within the business case policy frame there are two child nodes: short term and long term (social investment).

I found the business case policy frame was referenced 44 times in 22 documents. The majority of references were made in 2008 with 15 references and 2009 with 25 references. There were 17 references from both advocacy updates and open letters. In a few cases, CCAAC made references to both short and long term business case in the same statement. For example, CCAAC wrote in a media release to the public, "the plan also recognized that we don't need to choose between social and economic benefits, between short and long-term impacts, between meeting the needs of child or their working parents" (CCAAC, Media Releases, June 15, 2009).

Rights Policy Frame –Child, Families, Women. The rights policy frame includes references to the rights of the child, families and women. The children's rights frame emphasizes the importance of childhood as a phase of life. All children including those who are poor, disadvantaged and with disabilities are entitled to high quality programs that enhance their well-being. Often the argument for children's rights includes links to child development. Families' rights focus on their entitlement to services. The women's rights frame argues for an ECEC system because women cannot participate in "social, civic and economic life without child care" (Friendly & Prentice, 2009, p.26).

Figure 7 shows that the rights of families and women to have affordable, accessible child care is referenced infrequently across all documents and years (families with 4 references and women with 2). Most references to the rights policy frame focused on the rights of all children to have access to high-quality child care (15 references). To illustrate, CCAAC wrote, "indeed, although child care is a right for young children and their families, the evidence continues to show that access is low, parent fees are high, and wages for trained caregivers – mainly women – are inadequate" (CCAAC, Advocacy Updates, November 19, 2010). Figure 7 shows an increase in rights policy frame in the late 2000s. This can be attributed to the 2010 Child Care is a Right campaign that CCAAC launched. However, even with this campaign, the rights policy frame was largely absent from CCAAC advocacy documents.

Figure 7: Rights Policy Frame by Node over Time
(including parent and child nodes)



Poverty Reduction Frame. According to the poverty reduction frame, ECEC reduces family poverty because parents are able to participate in training, education and employment. Without ECEC services, families cannot take advantage of opportunities that can potentially lift them out of poverty. This frame notes that high quality ECE services can contribute to breaking

the poverty cycle whereby poor children become well-educated and later employed (thus there are links to child development and children's rights policy frames).

The poverty reduction frame is largely absent from CCAAC documents (19 references). In open letters and media releases CCAAC makes only two references (in each type of document) from 2005-2010. Two of those references are part of CCAAC statement, "the Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada represents more than 140,000 parents, caregivers, union members, researchers and students; and women's, anti-poverty, social justice, disability and rural organizations" (CCAAC, Media Releases; CCAAC, Open Letters).

Not surprising given the economic recession, there were more references to the poverty reduction frame in advocacy updates than in other documents and all references are after 2008 and increase each year with one reference in 2008, six references in 2009 and nine references in 2010. For example on November 19, 2010 CCAAC released an advocacy update that had five references to poverty reduction, including both broad and specific examples of the realities of poverty in Canada.

Labour Force Participation Policy Frame – Families, Women. The labour force participation policy frame for both families and women is used more often in CCAAC messaging. According to this frame, the ECEC system in Canada should support families in employment, education and training as well as in their role as parents. Without ECEC services, families may remain unemployed and marginalized, working low-paid part-time jobs. This frame argues that women need ECEC services to participate in the labour force. Without these services, women may be forced out of the labour force, or forced take part-time positions to accommodate caregiving. These jobs are typically poorly paid with few benefits and low job security. Some women in Canada depend on social assistance because they cannot access ECEC services.

The labour force participation policy frame had the most references (46 references in 33 documents) in comparison to all other policy frames. This policy frame is referenced more in media releases than advocacy updates and open letters. For example, CCAAC wrote in a April 28, 2006 media release after the Conservatives cancelled the Foundations program that, "the decision ignores the reality of Canadian families who need flexible quality child care whether they are in the workforce, at home or in school" (CCAAC, Media Release, April 28, 2006). Figure 8 shows the distribution of the labour force participation policy frame (parent node) by document type over time. The labour force participation policy frame is used more often in the later 2000s peaking in media releases and open letters in 2009 and in 2010 advocacy updates.

Figure 8: Labour Force Participation Policy Frame by Document over Time
(parent node only)

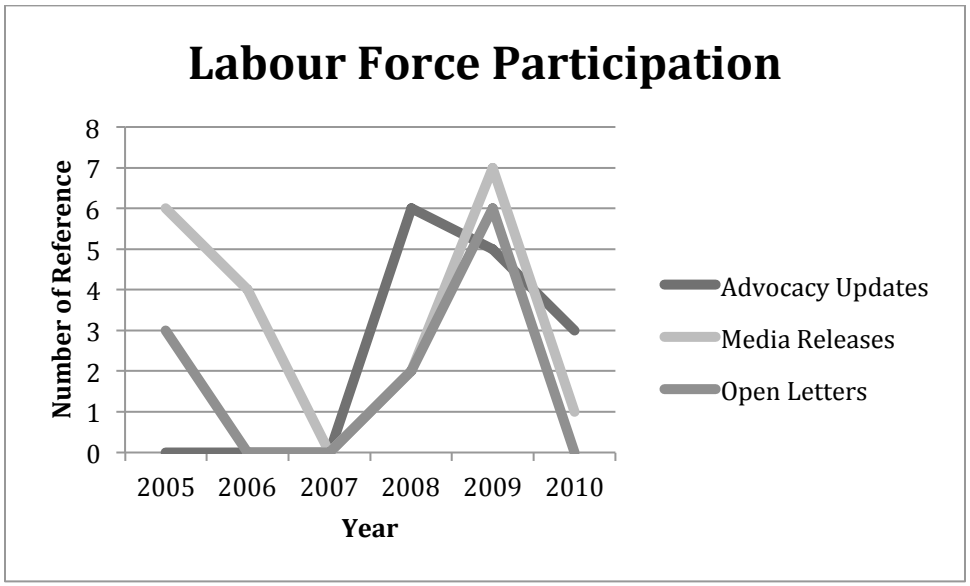


Figure 9: Labour Force Participation Policy Frame Child Nodes over Time

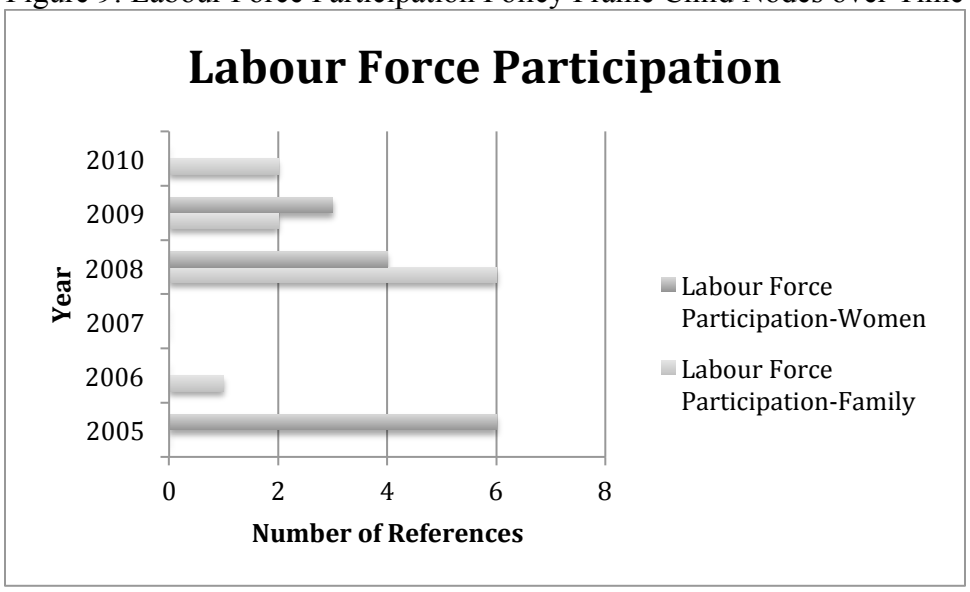


Figure 9 shows the distribution of references to the labour force participation policy frame child nodes (families and women) from 2005 to 2010. Interestingly, references to women specifically, are minimal. Figure 9 shows that references to families were more evident in 2008-2010 than in 2005-2007. To illustrate, on November 24, 2008 CCAAC released an advocacy update with the following statement, "in good economic times and bad, Canada needs child care. Now more than ever, we need to build a stable, high quality child care system for our children that will also support families to find and maintain work, upgrade skills and achieve work/life balance" (CCAAC, Advocacy Update, November 24, 2008). However, references to women's labour force participation were more evident in 2005 than any other year. On February 9, 2005, CCAAC wrote an open letter to the federal, provincial and territorial meetings with the following statement, "it really is a scandal that we have the second highest rate in the industrialized world of women in the paid labour force and we don't have a national child care system" (CCAAC, Open Letter, February 9, 2005).

In sum, there is little evidence of the use of policy frames in CCAAC advocacy updates, media releases and open letters from 2005 to 2010. The labour force participation policy frame (families over women) was referenced the most out of all other frames.

I found CCAAC used selected policy frames most in documents produced in 2005, 2008 and 2009

Communication Strategies for Heightening Messages

CCAAC used three key communication strategies to heighten the urgency of the state of ECEC in Canada. First, CCAAC frequently compared Canada's system to ECEC systems in other countries. Almost half of the messages analyzed compared Canada to other countries. Of those comparisons almost half specifically referred to Australia. References to Australia focused on what Canada should not do. For example, "lessons from elsewhere - particularly Australia – make clear that we should call on governments to protect our children from being used as publicly-traded commodities" (CCAAC, Advocacy Updates, November 7, 2007).

The other half of the comparison messages made reference to the differences across ECEC systems within Canada, and specifically between the rest of Canada and Quebec. Approximately 70% of the references to inside Canada identify Quebec as having a successful child care system. CCAAC frequently made reference to how provinces/territories could achieve the same ECEC program as Quebec. In December 5, 2008 open letter to Bloc Quebecois, Liberal Party and New Democrats political parties (the potential coalition government), CCAAC wrote, "we recognize Quebec's leadership role in child care. Outside of Quebec, a strong majority of Canadians view the lack of affordable child care as a serious problem for which government has a role to play in helping parents meet their child care needs" (CCAAC, Open Letter, December 5, 2008).

An additional, communication strategy used by CCAAC was to heighten the urgency of government action. For example, in a December 11, 2008 media release the CCAAC states, "First, the federal government must admit that the problem exists... Second, the federal government must work with Opposition parties and provinces and territories to develop and implement a child care plan for Canada" (CCAAC, Media Release, December 11, 2008). Another communication strategy used by CCAAC was to reference the state of ECEC in Canada as being in crisis. CCAAC described ECEC as having lost ground, as the following example illustrates, "yet the conservatives have dramatically reduced spending on early childhood education and care to about $600 million a year, down from $950 million in 2006" (CCAAC, Media Releases, September 30, 2009). CCAAC also made references to no change as a crisis and the following is an example,

> With more than 70% of mothers with young child in the labour force, access to quality child care in licensed family homes and centres, which plays a centre role within our communities, is essential. Yet currently, outside of Quebec, Canada lacks the framework and resources necessary to ensure that these services exist (CCAAC, Open Letters, January 2005).

The quote illustrates how crisis language is frequently used in tandem with messages for why Canada needs a national child care program. References are made to for example to no change in relation to system issues (quality, accessibility, delivery) and to the policy frame of labour force participation of women. To heighten the urgency of this crisis even more a comparison to Quebec is used.

Discussion

The research question for this project was "how has the Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada's (CCAAC) approach to advocacy for a national early childhood education and care (ECEC) system changed between 2005 and 2010?" Overall, based on findings outlined in the previous section, I found that CCAAC's released the same advocacy messages each year. The issue of accessibility, for example, was referenced in every year. However, for each system issue and policy frame there were spikes in the number of references. I found that CCAAC targeted advocacy messages to politicians in open letters more than to the public in media releases and to subscribers in advocacy updates. This discussion section will examine in further detail these overall finding and offer some preliminary observations about what this may mean for CCAAC's advocacy work.

I suggest that CCAAC used political opportunities when messaging about systems issues and policy frames between 2005 and 2010. A political opportunity allows a social movement organization to shift focus based on changes in the political situation (Meyer & Staggenborg, 1996). According to McAdam (1982), "the concept of political opportunities referred mainly to the opening and closing of the political system, depending, in particular, on available alliances and the strength of opponents" (as cited in Della Porta, 2002, p. 305). When a social movement organization uses a political opportunity, the organization is basing their advocacy decisions on political strategies as opposed to being "objective" about strategies (Klandermans, Staggenborg & Tarrow, 2002).

I think the findings indicate that CCAAC utilized political opportunities for framing particular systems issues and policy frame messages to the public, politicians and subscribers, especially in 2005, 2008 and 2009. Figure 10 shows political party leadership in Canada from

2004 to 2011 and will serve to further explain, CCAAC's advocacy messages in 2005, 2008 and 2009.

System Issues

The findings suggest that CCAAC disseminated the same messages about systems issues from 2005 to 2010, although some messages were emphasized in specific years. In 2005, CCAAC focused on the following messages about systems issues: accessibility, delivery, governance, public funding, quality and universality. Then in 2008, accessibility, affordability, public funding and market approach were more evident in messages about systems issues. Lastly, in 2009, CCAAC played up accessibility, affordability, ECEC staffing issues and quality. It is noteworthy that issues of accessibility stand out in all three years.

Figure 10: Canadian Political Party Leadership from 2000 to 2012

As Figure 10 shows, in 2005, a minority Liberal government led Canada. The Liberal government had promised a national child care program which was structured around four core principles known as QUAD (quality, universality, accessibility and developmental programming). The program was based on QUAD measurable outcomes and public funding for only not-for-profit child care (CRRU, 2012; Cool, 2007). In 2005, CCAAC played up issues of quality, universality, accessibility, delivery, governance and public funding which were

compatible with the QUAD principles. CCAAC, thus, appeared to use the governments intended child care program as a political opportunity to reinforce their consistent advocacy messages. In addition, CCAAC targeted politicians on issues of delivery, governance and quality and targeted the public of the issue of public funding. For CCAAC the year 2005 was an opening of the political system and the availability of alliances (McAdam, 1982).

In 2008, Canadians were faced with another federal election resulting in a Conservative minority government (as shown in Figure 10), a global economic recession, the release of international critiques of Canadian child care (UNICEF Report Card 8) and the third year of the Universal Child Care Benefit (UCCB). CCAAC played up issues of accessibility, affordability, public funding and market approach that year. I suggest that again CCAAC saw a political opportunity to highlight issues of public funding and market approach because the global market had failed. And Canada's continued use of the market-approach, through the UCCB (gives parents $100 a month), was not only not meeting the needs of children and families but also resulted in a poor rating in international reports (UNICEF, 2008). Although CCAAC faced a closed political system other political situations offered an opportunity to hammer home advocacy messages.

In 2009, CCAAC for increasingly closed political system. Canadians were faced with a minority government in 2009, as well as, the global economic recession of the previous year and had witnessed a failed opposition party coalition. Prentice (2009) cites Goar (2009) to summarize the struggles child care advocates face in a changing political climate.

> A sympathetic Canadian newspaper editorial recently observed that one of the hardest-learned lessons for childcare advocates is that, when the political winds turn against them, they have to tack. "Zigzagging into a headwind is slow, exhausting work. Sometimes the

> goal doesn't seem to be getting any closer. But compared with the alternatives— standing still, slipping back or capsizing—it's not a bad choice" (Goar, 2009 as cited in Prentice, 2009, p. 703).

Interestingly, in 2009, CCAAC released fourteen advocacy updates, five more than open letters and media releases combined. The increased number of advocacy updates suggests that CCAAC turned their efforts inward, to subscribers, to keep the movement going at a time when nothing was happening politically for child care. Perhaps CCAAC released messages to fellow advocates, knowing advocates were listening, rather than to a government with an ideologically entrenched anti-child care perspective. In 2009, CCAAC reinforced internal messages about Canada's need for a publicly funded, accessible, affordable, high-quality child care program. For example, on June 30, 2009, CCAAC tried to motivate subscribers, "let's pledge to talk to 5 people about CCAAC's vision where every child is entitled to a space in a publicly funded, inclusive, quality, non-profit child care system! Let's help people begin to visualize the potential!" (CCAAC, Advocacy Update). This kind of statement suggests that 2009 was not a political opportunity directed to politicians rather an opportunity to strengthen the movement.

Policy Frames

The findings suggest that the CCAAC used the same policy frames from 2005 to 2010. However, some messages were played up in particular years generally similar to those years in which system issues were emphasized. In 2005, CCAAC played up the child development and equity for disadvantaged groups policy frames. Not surprising, the business case and labour force participation policy frames were more evident in CCAAC messages in 2008 and 2009 during economic crisis. In 2010, the poverty reduction and rights frames were played up. Despite this,

overall, CCAAC did not reference policy frames to any great extent in advocacy updates, media releases and open letters from 2005 to 2010.

As stated above, CCAAC utilized a political opportunity in 2005. The Liberal Foundations plan drew on child development literature and was based on universal access for all children. CCAAC used equity for disadvantaged groups policy frame most when communicating to politicians in 2005. CCAAC's use of the child development and equity for disadvantaged groups policy frames aligned with the core principles of the Foundations program.

I suggest that the political opportunity coupled with the economic crisis, of 2008 motivated CCAAC to use a business case policy frame in their advocacy updates and open letters. 2008 was the year of the global economic recession, and yet another international critique of child care. While using a business case policy frame for a national child care program could be seen as a political opportunity in 2008, it could also have limitations. According to Prentice (2009),

> Advocates are struggling to maximize the opportunities afforded by the social investment paradigm yet are also struggling to minimize its risks, including the enhanced space for corporatized services. While programs and policies for children appear to open up under the business case, the space for challenging gender inequality appears to be closing down. Taken on balance, the economization of childcare is a high-stakes gamble for women (p. 703-704).

In light of Prentice's remarks or comments, it's interesting that labour force participation policy frame also spiked that year. There was a broader focus on families over women. CCAAC states in a 2009 media release entitled *Minister Finley's Fiction will not save Child Care*, "In these harsh economic times families need child care services; people can't work or re-train without it.

With thousands of parents facing unemployment in the next year the loss of a child care space or subsidy is an enormous economic blow" (CCAAC, Media Releases, February 5, 2009). I suggest that, in 2009, CCAAC continued the business case and labour force participation policy frames especially to the public and politicians as the economic recession continued.

In 2010, CCAAC utilized another political opportunities when they launched a campaign called *Child Care is a Right*. The purpose of the campaign was, initially, "to engage in the UN [United Nations] review process of Canada's obligations under the CRC [Convention on the Rights of the Child] – scheduled for 2011" (CCAAC & CCCABC, 2010, p. 1). Thus, in 2010, CCAAC referenced children's rights (7 references in 2010 advocacy updates) and poverty reduction (9 references in 2010 advocacy updates) policy frames consistent with the *Child Care is a Right* campaign and in light of the UN review.

However, overall as findings indicate, policy frames were minimally used by CCAAC from 2005 to 2010. Prentice (2009) states;

> Frame analysts have suggested that the success or failure of a frame is largely conditioned by the degree to which the proffered frame aligns with the current life situation and experience of the potential constituents (Snow et al. 1986). When the frame suggests remedies that resonate with the way in which troubles are experienced, the frame and its prescriptive action are likely to be taken up (p. 689).

Based on the political situations today, it is clear that the policy frames used by CCAAC have been aligned with political situations but have not resonated with the goals of the government.

Fragmentation

From 2005-2010, not only did CCAAC struggle with their advocacy messages but they struggled with the fragmentation of the Canadian child care movement. An earlier literature

review highlighted areas in which the child care movement is fragmented: organizations have different priorities for advocacy messaging and alliances; messages differ in their delivery (complex, simplistic, oppositional or conciliatory); and targets for advocacy differ (Campbell, 2001; Collier, 2001; Langford, 2001; Martin, 2001; White, 2001). In addition, the child care movement has been divided in its focus on policy change between national and provincial/territorial levels (Collier, 2001; Friendly & Prentice, 2009; Penn, 2010). For example, with no policy development at the national level, provinces/territories are taking steps to improve child care services. The divide and gap between federal and provincial/territorial policies on child care is widening.

My examination of CCAAC advocacy messages can only point to two areas of fragmentation. First, CCAAC's advocacy messages adopt a confrontational tone, particularly evident when communication strategies are used (crisis language, action recommendations and comparisons). For example, in the January 27, 2006 media release, CCAAC states, "the child care crisis will deepen, the quality of under funded programs will continue to be a problem and access will remain restricted to the lucky few" (CCAAC, Media Release, January 27, 2006). While the confrontational tone of CCAAC's advocacy messages is likely a result of policy inaction by the federal Conservative government, other advocates may question the effectiveness of such an approach. Advocates may question, CCAAC's use of a more simplistic rather than complex approach to advocacy messaging.

Second, the child care movement remains divided in its focus on national and provincial/territorial politics. As this study found, CCAAC continued to battle how to effectively message to create change at the national level. The policy inaction at the federal level has led to provinces and territories going ahead with plans for ECEC systems without the involvement of

the federal government. However, advocacy messages in three types of documents examined for this study did not mention to any great extent these provincial/territorial successes. Thus, the federal and provincial/territorial divide appears to persist.

Recommendations

The discussion of these studies findings in the last section provides some guidance for recommendations to CCAAC about their advocacy messages.

CCAAC could target advocacy messages when communicating with different audiences (the public, politicians and subscribers). Scholars debate whether social movement organizations, like CCAAC, should keep advocacy messaging simplistic or complex. One feature of CCAAC advocacy messages that stood out for me in the analysis was the underlying assumption that the public and politicians would understand what is know by concepts such as accessibility or public funding. So while the messages need to be simple there needs to be a degree of complexity so that the public and politicians have a better understanding of what the problems are and what needs to be done.

Further, CCAAC should expand messages to include policy frames. I found CCAAC makes minimal reference to policy frames in messaging and based on White's arguments I suggest policy frames could enhance advocacy messaging.

Between 2005 and 2010, CCAAC's made limited reference to provincial policy successes. I suggest CCAAC use the provincial successes as a political opportunity to show the inaction at the federal level, especially when communicating to the public.

These recommendations are particularly important with CCAAC limited financial and human resources. Targeting advocacy messages will allow CCAAC to be more effective and efficient with the resources available to them.

Limitations and Future Research

Overall, I think this studies research design was effective although I have two suggestions for modifications. First, the study would have benefited from contact with CCAAC to allow the option to acquire missing documentation. Specifically, it would have been helpful to have the missing 2007 media releases and open letters (as the links were broken on the website) and 2008-2009 annual reports for background information. Second, I would have liked to check the number of documents per year with their files to ensure a complete sample.

Potential future research on the Canadian child care movement should continue analyzing the messages used by social movement organizations. A study comparing provincial/territorial and federal social movement organizations use of advocacy messages from 2005 to 2010 would add a further level to my analysis. Further analysis could provide insight where social movement organizations can and are having an impact on the policy process, politicians and the government.

Conclusion

This project began with my personal interest in and passion for the Canadian child care movement. As the project moved along I was discouraged to see the changes in CCAAC advocacy efforts. Before starting the project, I was aware of two keys factors: the current political leadership in Canada and the lack of national child care program. Therefore I knew CCAAC messages were not achieving their intended goals.

I analyzed documents chronologically. In 2005, the messages were hopeful as the possibility for a national child care system grew nearer. By 2006, I could see the lost hope and discouraging tones from the messaging. I started to note the recycling of messages. I felt discouraged for the future of the movement.

From an insiders perspective the state of child care in Canada at the national level does not look promising; some would say a Canadian child care movement is dead. However, this project began with Penn's observations of Canadian child care advocates. Penn notes that advocates are "full of optimism and energy" although it is hard to find and maintain hope in what appears to be a hopeless situation. However, child care advocates likely agree that, the promise of a national child care system in Canada is worth fighting for and communicating to fellow advocates, the public and politicians.

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