

# Babysitter or professional? Perceptions of professionalism narrated by Ontario early childhood educators

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#### **Abstract**

Self-constructed perceptions of early childhood educator professionalism were explored in a small-scale mixed-method survey using convenience sampling. Fifty-four educators in Ontario, Canada participated in the study and shared their views related to professionalism. A mixed-methodology was employed using an electronic questionnaire composed of closed- and open-ended questions on ideas related to professionalism. The results of the study demonstrated that all the educators held a strong self-perception of professionalism regardless of their level of education, reporting high levels of job satisfaction, competence, recognition as a professional from others, and self-recognition as a professional. Participants' notions of professionalism focused on the qualities of an individual considered a professional (e.g., good listener, patient, and understanding) whereas discussions of criticality, authority, or the historical, gendered, cultural, racial, and social practices of early childhood education were noticeably absent.

**Keywords:** Early childhood educator, professionalism, mixed methods study.

#### Introduction

Who is the modern-day early childhood educator? Multiple labels have been utilized to describe early childhood educators (ECEs), ranging from specialists to child-minders or babysitters. Thus, it is not surprising that a consistent and well-identified professional identity within this field has yet to materialize. Historically, early childhood education and care services (ECEC) for children aged birth to age 6 years in many Western nations have been housed within a health and social care sector and under the directive of providing 'care' (Kamerman, 2006; Murphy, 2015). Early in the 19th century a clear distinction was made between 'kindergartens' providing education and 'day nurseries' providing care (Kamerman, 2006, p. 3). Even today "divisions between childcare facilities and those that had an educational mandate [are] not always clear" (Prochner, 2000, p. 20) with many 'day nurseries' offering educative components as a complement to providing care. Here, the authors use the term early childhood education and care to reflect a growing trend within Canada to bridge the philosophical divide between kindergartens and childcare.

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The concept of professionalism within ECEC remains a somewhat contested idea; imbued with historical and contextual meanings as well as reconceptualization discourses that aim to challenge notions of professionalism as static and linear (Pacini-Ketchabaw, Nxumalo, Kocher, Elliot, & Sanchez, 2015). Thus, this study sought to gain a greater understanding of professionalism from educators themselves. How do educators of young children negotiate this seemingly increasingly complex and shifting system of early education and care? Given the Canadian context and historical significance of the evolution of care and education within the country, how does the contemporary educator define professionalism?

## The Canadian Context

The Canadian context of ECEC is somewhat complex, with 10 provinces and three territories each charged with the authority to legislate in the area of childcare (educational authority is also the responsibility of provinces and territories). Thus, the federal government of the country plays no direct legislative role in regulating childcare with the exception of providing social services for Aboriginal peoples and the Armed Forces. Indirectly, the federal government can impact the childcare system of individual provinces through constitutional spending powers, that is, the Government of Canada can divert federal monies to provinces to support specific childcare policies or direct tax credits to families. In 2006, the federal government of Canada initiated the universal childcare taxable benefit, a direct payment to parents of \$100 per month per child (Government of Canada, 2016). Some critics have argued that the lack of a federal policy and direction on a national childcare system, as well as the grossly inadequate \$100 benefit, contributes to the fragmented childcare system that exists within the country (Amoroso, 2010). Each of the provinces and territories' childcare systems is unique with only the province of Quebec offering universal access to childcare. The legislative and administrative oversight within each province and territory is still largely fragmented with some provinces maintaining oversight for kindergarten with Ministry or Departments of Education and childcare housed within social services departments (e.g., Manitoba's Department of Family Services and Community Affairs). However, shifts are occurring and "eight jurisdictions within Canada now have a lead department responsible for early childhood services (Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Ontario, Saskatchewan, North West Territories, Nunavut, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland" (Akbari & McCuaig, 2014, p. 6).

In 2010, Ontario (the province where the study was conducted) began implementing fullday early learning kindergarten program (ELKP) model within the formal education system through a shift in jurisdiction from the Ministry of Children and Youth Services to the Ministry of Education. Currently the jurisdiction for early learning services resides within the Ministry of Education, and services for children aged 3 years 8 months to 5 are provided within the kindergarten schooling system (the provision of regulated child care services for children aged 0-3.8 is delivered by the private sector). The success of the new ELKP model relies on the collaboration and professionalism of both a primary school teacher and early childhood educator within the same classroom (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2010). To date, little research is available that examines if and how these two separate ideological systems of education and care can successfully merge within this Ontario ELKP model. Moreover, the divisive nature of educator roles, educational qualifications, compensation, and licensure of early childhood educators and teachers presents both obstacles and challenges to the model. Within the Ontario context, early childhood educators' roles can be complex as some educators act as frontline practitioners and/or directors within childcare, assuming administrative responsibilities and leadership duties in addition to working directly with children. Additionally, early childhood educators require a 2-year tertiary college diploma and kindergarten teachers require a 4year University-level degree. Moreover within Canada, an early childhood educator's annual average salary is less than half that of an elementary or kindergarten teacher's annual salary (Statistics Canada, 2011), and two separate entities are responsible for governance and licensure of these professions. Thus, understanding who early childhood educators think they are appears as a logical first step in navigating the new terrain inherent with the Ministry of Education's integration of services for young learners.

# Historical Evolution of Two Distinct Sectors

The 200-year history of programs of care and education for young children within Canada contributes to both the diversity and complexity of the services provided for youngsters and their families (Prochner & Howe, 2000). The discipline of early childhood education (birth to age 6) has largely evolved from a health and social care sector orientation within many Westernized nations, including Canada (Kamerman, 2006; Murphy, 2015). Historically within North America, the evolution of kindergarten found a home primarily with the education sector (Prochner, 2000). Initially started as private organizations in Canada, by 1887 Ontario kindergartens were incorporated into the public school system while early childhood education continued to be delivered within a market-based system (Varga, 2000). The market-based system relies on a fee for services model and programs are made available when financial viability can be clearly demonstrated. Beach and Ferns (2015) argue that a market-based system can negatively impact every aspect of the early childhood educational system, including regulations, programming, educator wages, access, and quality. Borrowing a phrase coined by Sawyer (1999) in reference to the Australian context, perhaps the distinct historical paths within Ontario also contributes to the 'difference and separateness' of the fields of care and education (Clare & Jennifer, 2003; Sawyer, 2000). The distinct training and qualification processes provide two additional prospects for further exploration into how these practices may perpetuate differences and separateness. (For a complete discussion on the relationship between the field of early childhood education and public education see Moss, 2013b).

In Canada's evolution of ECEC (i.e., kindergarten and childcare), women have played a dominant role (Prochner, 2000). Up until the 1960s day nurseries (the precursor to childcare centers) were most often operated by private charitable organizations. Women or matrons with "experience and ability in managing a household (including the children of the household), a reputation for honesty, skill in dealing with people, and tolerance for the hard work involved" (Varga, 2000, p. 78) were employed to head and operate day nursery organizations. The first laboratory preschools in Canada were compensatory education programs for 'disadvantaged' children and families. These laboratory preschools were also largely the result of dedicated women (Mayfield, 2001). For example, in the Maritimes compensatory programs were initiated and sponsored by the National Council of Jewish Women (Ryan, 1972). Resultant from the foresight of Dr. Mary J. Wright, the University of Western Ontario Laboratory Preschool was also started and described as "the Rolls-Royce of University-affiliated schools in Canada" (Howe, 1994, p. 17). Additionally, the development of kindergartens in Canada was fuelled by the efforts of Adaline Agusta Marean, the head teacher of Toronto's first public-school kindergarten (established in 1883), which also served as a model for other kindergarten classrooms in Southern Ontario (Mayfield, 2001).

Historically, education and training within ECEC has followed two distinct routes: (1) teacher education and university degree-level credentials for individuals working within the education sector; and (2) college diplomas/certificates and training institutes for those intending to work in the childcare field (Varga, 2000). Unlike the long-standing tradition of teacher education, formal training requirements for early childhood educators did not appear until well into the 20th Century (Varga, 2000). Early childhood educators within

nursery schools and childcare were individuals who received minimal training and little compensation. Educators were considered appropriate for the role if they demonstrated 'motherly' type characteristics. Until the 1930s, nurses were also employed to administer care to the youngest groups of children (Varga, 2000); most often this 'care' role was fulfilled by women with minimal formal health care training (Mayfield, 2001). The idea of specialized training for early childhood educators firmly took root in the 1920's and was influenced by 'ages and stages' developmental theories (Gesell & Ilg, 1949), and research focused on early experiences and personality development (Ainsworth, 1978; Bowlby, 1979, 2004; Gesell & Ilg, 1949; Sroufe, 1979; Weber, 1984; Wright, 2000).

# Contemporary Educators

The position of the early childhood educator is complex and requires a diversity of skills in "knowing, being, experiencing, and acting" (Goodfellow, 2001, p. 17; Miller, Dalli, & Urban, 2012). The role requires an educator to be a keen observer of children's needs as well as a teacher of skills and knowledge in literacy and numeracy (a common purpose shared with the public elementary school system), as well as social and self-care management (Varga, 2000). Yet, despite the domain-specific knowledge, pedagogical, and theoretical understanding required of an early childhood educator, regulations governing educational levels and certification processes have been slow to materialize. And given the historical roots that conceptualized early childhood education as a caring vocation, perceptions of professionalism of the workforce have been fraught with tension (Moyles, 2001). Teaching of young children is largely dominated by women in Westernized countries (UNESCO, 2006) and some researchers question whether the feminization of teaching "result in a reduction in the professional status of teaching" (Drudy, 2008, p. 309). The level of care and 'passion' educators themselves describe as central to their role (Moyles, 2001) has traditionally acted 'to disempower early childhood practitioners from claiming professional status' (Dalli, 2002). The societal marginalization of the predominantly female workforce has negatively impacted wages, typically low in comparison to their counterparts in the elementary school system, as well as limited educational and career opportunities (Doherty, Lero, Goelman, LaGrange, & Tougas, 2000).

In general, society tends to de-value the role of early childhood educators (Noddings, 2001). Educators, themselves, have been reluctant to actively participate in the construction of a professional identity and critique of the taken-for-granted 'good' ECE (Langford, 2006). As Langford explains, early childhood educators are enculturated into a field that appears to perpetuate marginalization through their training and educational experiences. She contends that what appears to be lacking are opportunities for the "practice of criticality", that is, opportunities for educators to explore the role of identity, subjectivity, and social positioning in relation to the discourses "within which they are constituted and controlled" (Langford, 2006, p. 115). However, the last decade has seen unprecedented international interest in ideas and concepts of professionalism in ECEC (Harwood, Klopper, Osanyin, & Vanderlee, 2012; Harwood & Tukonic, 2015; Miller & Cable, 2011). A growing number of national frameworks and regulatory practices have emerged (Miller, Dalli, & Urban, 2012), as well as materialization of new degree programs (Miller & Cable, 2011), and spaces for educators to engage in discourse about their practice and sense of professionalism have also flourished. The international project, 'A Day in the Life of an Early Years Practitioner' is just one example of this keen interest in professionalism. The Day in the Life study involved researchers from six different countries (Australia, England, Finland, Germany, New Zealand and Sweden) exploring situated concepts of the meaning of professionalism (Dalli, 2011). A 'critical ecology' of early childhood educator professionalism appears to be emerging. As Dalli (2010) explains: A critical ecology as involving alertness to the challenges in its settings and to the strengths that can be brought to bear to make the present better... the term 'critical ecology of the profession' carries with it the idea that members of a profession would be critical of themselves as a community. (p. 70) Integral to this orientation of professionalism is a view of educators as change agents, reflective and self-critical, both advocates and leaders (Dalli, 2007; Miller et al., 2012). It is not clear how educators would manage to construct a sense of professionalism within a profession that is "fluid, contentious and constantly under reconstruction" (Dalli & Urban, 2010, p. 151). Moreover, given the state of flux within Ontario when this study was conducted (in the second year of the 5-year implementation of the ELKP model), how an early childhood educator would achieve this level of criticality is unclear.

# The Study (method)

The purpose of the study was to explore self-constructed perceptions of early childhood educator (ECE) professionalism. A mixed-method research study using an electronic questionnaire was carried out to explore 54 early childhood educators' ideas related to professionalism. These educators were recruited using a convenience sampling method. Potential participants were contacted via email and a letter of invitation and consent materials were distributed on behalf of the researchers by a regional professional development agency. Informed by previous research on ECE professionalism (Dalli, 2008; Harwood & Tukonic, 2015; Martin, Meyer, Jones, Nelson, & Ling, 2010; Rodgers & Raider-Roth, 2006), the main purpose of the study was explored, that is how does early childhood educators define professionalism?

Quantitative and qualitative data sets were collected concurrently using an electronic survey composed of closed- and open-ended questions. Quantitative data collection relied on Likert scale responses to eleven closed-ended questions used to describe the professionalism. For example, participants were asked to rate their (a) level of commitment to their role as an ECE, (b) levels of enjoyment of their profession, and (c) how qualified they felt in a mentorship role for others entering the field. Qualitative data collection relied on written responses to two open-ended questions related to professional qualities and acting/behaving professionally. In addition to the mixed methods design, a transformative data model (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007) was adopted to collect and analyze quantitative and qualitative data sets separately. Specific to this model, after the initial analysis of each data set, one of the data sets is transformed into the other type. This is accomplished by quantifying the qualitative results or qualifying the quantitative results in which case the "transformation allows that data to be mixed during the analysis stage and facilitates the comparison, interrelation, and further analysis of the two data sets" (p. 65). For the purpose of this study, the qualitative data set was transformed into quantitative data and used to describe the impact of education and experience on perceptions of professionalism.

## Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis

The quantitative data statistical treatment included descriptive analysis and limited inferential statistical examination. Descriptive statistics were calculated for the frequency of each response, mean and standard deviation. In addition, there were several nonparametric tests of analysis conducted to evaluate the perceptions of professionalism of early childhood educators and answer the determined research questions using SPSS 19.0 statistics program. All inferential tests were conducted with a confidence interval of 95%. A Spearman rho correlation was used to determine if relationships existed between the perceptions of professionalism amongst early childhood educators. The independent variables in the study were identified as (a) previous roles as an early childhood educator, (b) level of education attained, and (c) number of years of experience. The previous roles

as an early childhood educator were defined in three levels – ECE, ECE and Director/Manager, and Director/Manager. The level of education attained was defined in two levels – two years and more than two years of tertiary education. The number of years of experience was defined in three levels – less than 10 years; between 10 and 20 years; and more than 20 years of experience.

A Mann -Whitney U was used to determine if a difference existed between the level of education attained and the perceptions of professionalism of the early childhood educators. A Kruskal-Wallis test of one-way variance analysis was used to determine if a difference existed in the years of experience and previous roles as an early childhood educator, and the perceptions of professionalism of early childhood educators. Finally, a Chi Square test was used to determine if a relationship existed between the three independent variables identified amongst the early childhood educator sample.

Qualitative analysis techniques were used in relation to the two open-ended questions asked of participants. The responses to the two open-ended questions were collapsed into one data set and analyzed using NVivo 10 to generate theme-based frequencies (Creswell, 2013). The most frequently identified qualities and behaviours of a professional were identified as: (1) knowledge (both content and pedagogical knowledge), (2) child development knowledge, (3) development as a professional, (4) being attentive and demonstrating a care ethic, and (5) the ability to communicate and establish relationships.

# Transformation of Data

The transformation of the qualitative data into a quantitative data set began with transforming the top five frequently occurring codes as new dependent variables. The variables were coded dichotomously for each participant's response as being either present or not present. An additional variable was created to report the total sum of the codes used in the responses with a minimum of zero to a maximum of five in total. The quantified transformed qualitative data were then analyzed using several nonparametric tests of analysis to evaluate the perceptions of professionalism of early childhood educators using SPSS 19.0 statistics program. All tests were conducted with a confidence interval of 95%. A Mann Whitney U test was used to investigate if a difference existed in the type of words used to describe professionalism in ECE between the two levels of education attainment (e.g., 2 years of education and more than 2 years of education). Also, a Kruskal-Wallis test of one-way variance analysis was used to investigate if a difference existed in the type of words used to describe professionalism as a factor of the educators' levels of years of experience and previous roles. Finally, the results of the initial quantitative data analysis, and of the quantified transformed qualitative data analysis, were related and compared to inform the appropriate responses to the research questions.

#### **Findings**

The largely female group of participants tended to be proficient or experts in their field (Katz, 1972) with many also reporting a previous role as a director/manager of a centre (i.e., in an Ontario context the director maintains responsibility for administrative and leadership duties and may or may not also have educator responsibilities working directly with children) (Table 1). Overwhelmingly, the majority of the respondents held a 2 year-diploma qualification; adhering to the minimal qualification expectation of the province.

**Table 1.** Participant Demographic Frequencies and Percentages

Demographic	Frequency	Valid Percent (%)
Gender (N=54)		
Male	1	1.9
Female	53	98.1
Years of Experience (N=53)		
Less than 10 years	11	20.7
Ten to 20 years	18	34.0
More than 20 years	24	45.3
Education Level (N=54)		
College Diploma (2 years)	39	72.2
University of applied degree (4 years)	5	9.3
University level course (3 years)	6	11.1
Graduate level degree (6 years)	4	7.4
Previous Role (N=54)		
ECE	39	39
Director/Manager	72.2	72.2
Other	37	37

A Mann-Whitney Mann U test was used to compare variance in the perceptions of professionalism between early childhood educators with two years of education and early childhood educators with more than two years of education. There was no variance in the educators' perceptions of professionalism between both levels of education. All educators reported a strong sense of professionalism regardless of their level of education, reporting high levels of job satisfaction, competence, recognition as a professional from others, and self-recognition as a professional.

The Kruskal-Wallis test results were statistically significant for the number of years of experience and the reported feelings of being qualified to help others learn about the role of an ECE (i.e., participants were asked to rank their comfort level in mentoring others) (H(2)=6.49; p=0.039). Additionally, the variance between the number of years of experience and the perception of being viewed by others as a professional was also statistically significant (H(2)=9.17; p=0.010) with educators who had more than 20 years' experience seeing themselves as more qualified to act as a mentor and more highly viewed by others as a professional relative to educators with less than 10 years of experience. Furthermore, the perception of being viewed by others as a professional displayed a moderate degree of correlation (r=0.653, p>0.05) with the knowledge of a single child (and the ability to use that knowledge to plan curriculum for a group of children) only for educators with less than 10 years' experience. Perhaps, this parallel is indicative of the shift to emergent and inquiry- based learning frameworks that have also developed within the last 10 years. For example, Ontario, British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick all have frameworks that place the child and the child's interest at the center of learning and teaching.

The Kruskal-Wallis test was statistically significant for the type of role held in the early childhood setting and the enjoyment of work (H(7)= 14.38; p= 0.045). Specifically, those educators who also had administrative duties and responsibilities attached to their roles

reported less overall satisfaction with their job. Perhaps, as administrative duties were often added onto one's role and existing duties, as well as the increasing emphasis and trend toward greater accountability, those performing roles as administrators need differentiated types of professional supports and experiences to maximize job satisfaction.

# Qualities and Behaving Professionally

As described in the methodology section, the transformation of the qualitative data into a quantitative data set allowed for the six new variables (i.e., the five themes and the total number of codes specified by each participant) to be analyzed and used to determine if there was a statistically significant relationship between the descriptors used by the participants and (a) type of role, (b) years of experience, and (c) level of education. In terms of the roles undertaken by the participants (ECE, Director/Manager, Combined Role) and level of education, no statistical significance was found. However, the years of experience and use of the descriptor 'knowledge' in describing professionalism were related in a statistically significant way (Table 2). Educators with 10 to 20 years of experiences used the term knowledge less often to describe professionalism compared to educators with fewer than 10 years of experience. More experienced educators tended to use terms associated with communication or relationships to describe professionalism in early childhood.

**Table 2.** One-way Variance Analysis-Years of Experience and Perception of 'Knowledge'

Codes	Chi-Square Value	df	<i>p</i> -value
Knowledge	6.599	2	0.037
Development of Child	0.014	2	0.993
Development of Professional	1.311	2	0.519
Caring and Attention	3.871	2	0.144
Communication	2.115	2	0.347
Total Codes	9.728	2	0.008

#### **Implications**

While somewhat limited by the small sample size and relatively homogenous group of participants, this study holds several implications for the professionalism literature and the training of educators. The findings can help to fuel the dialogue and focus on the question, who is the early childhood educator? Though once characterized as the "emotive work" (Guy & Newman, 2004, p. 289) of women, the participants of this study demonstrated a clear understanding of their role as encompassing more than the provision of care. While 'care' figures prominently in these educators' conceptualization of professionalism, other constructs such as foundational knowledge, advocacy, and mentorship were also reported. Moreover, knowledge (content and pedagogical knowledge), child development understanding, and growth as a professional were all cited more frequently than 'care'. Perhaps, the participants' emphasis of the importance of knowledge as a core construct in being a professional aligns with Gilligan's (1982) notion of an 'ethic of care' in which actions are seen "as ethical in expressing and maintaining caring relationships rather than in being morally correct in an objective sense" (Taggart, 2011, p. 86), where knowledge is key to maintaining these relationships. The following comments from two participating educators help to underscore the significance of the reciprocal and interdependent nature of caring and learning:

"I would recognize professionalism by someone who exhibits a true knowledge of development and also a genuine understanding of the many different family dynamics we see today".

"Professionals are engaged in what the children are doing, listening to parents and children, and mentoring other peers".

Concepts of professionalism and critical discourse of what it means to be an educator is noticeably absent from educator training and professional development programs within Ontario. As Langford's (2006) Ontario-based research also highlighted "the 'good' early childhood educator constructed in a college training program is, by and large, taken for granted" (p. 115). Moreover commonly used textbooks (e.g., Crowther, 2005; Essa, 2011; Gestwicki & Betrand, 2012; Gordon & Browne, 2007) and training programs tend to focus the professionalism discussion on the personal and qualities needed as an early childhood educator (e.g., care, passion, attentiveness to children), the ethics or standards of practice (i.e., the regulatory aspect of professionalism), and the mechanics of the ECE role (e.g., pay, credentialing, burnout). Noticeably absent from the discussion is a focus on how educators are co-opted into a pre-existing marginalized ideal of this 'good' educator (Langford, 2006; Moyles, 2001; Noddings, 1984; Osgood, 2006).

Our participants also tended to focus on the qualities of an individual they defined as a professional (e.g., a good listener, patience, and being understanding). Lacking from the participants responses to the open-ended questions was any discussion of criticality, authority, or the historical, gendered, cultural, racial, and social practices of early childhood education. Yet, these types of conversations are essential in constructing a professional identity, enabling a mode of discourse to develop where educators begin "to understand the discursive professional identity within which they are [currently] constituted and controlled" (Langford, 2006, p. 115). Early childhood education texts and training programs (and research) need to create spaces for educators to discuss, construct, and deconstruct ideals of professionalism and taken-for-granted assumptions about ECEC. It is essential that educators' abilities to be critical and self-reflective be fostered. Educators must be empowered to see how they themselves are enculturated into ECEC systems, deconstructive type skills that should be persistently fostered within training programs. Multiple perspectives of ECE professionalism are needed. Pacini-Ketchabaw et al. (2015) encourage processes that afford the opening up of possibilities to challenge one's assumptions, to think differently, whereby "educators construct themselves as critical pedagogues" (p. 145) constantly questioning and complexifying the becoming of a professional.

## Conclusion

This small-scale study is only a beginning step in understanding how Ontario early childhood educators conceptualize professionalism. In the changing landscape of ECEC it is important for all educators to engage in processes that foster constructing, deconstructing, and reconstructing a professional identity (Dalli & Urban, 2010; Sachs, 2000; Woodrow, 2008; Woodrow & Christine, 2007). The participants of this study demonstrated a high sense of professionalism and felt others viewed them as such. Moreover, the educators discussed their high levels of commitment, role satisfaction, and shared that they did perceive themselves as capable of acting as mentors for others and to act as resources for parents. Notably, the participating educators were experts in their field with 45% of the respondents having 20 or more years of experience and it is unclear if they were employed within the integrated full-day kindergarten model that was unfolding within Ontario at the time of data collection. Perhaps, novice educators and those embedded within the model would have diverse and distinct views and critical insights about professionalism; highlighting potential avenues for future research exploration. Although the responses from the participants of this study help fuel the discussion of contemporary professionalism and challenge the historical notions of an ECE, noticeably absent from the participants' responses was any discussion of how professionalism is instituted and controlled. This suggests that future research, foundational textbooks, and early childhood education training programs should create spaces for a critical ecology of ECE professionalism to emerge within the Ontario context specifically and beyond.

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