# A SOCIAL CLASS STUDY OF ATTITUDES TO A GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME

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### ABSTRACT

This is a descriptive study that attempts to discover favorability to a Guaranteed Annual Income (G.A.I.) in the City of Winnipeg. Social class is seen as the independent variable and favorability to the concept of and preference for a form of a G.A.I. as the dependent variables. Various intervening variables were also studied such as awareness of poverty, awareness and evaluation of income insurance and maintenance programs, personal income security and ramifications if a G.A.I. were implemented.

The data was collected in January, 1972, through a 28 item questionnaire which was administered to a stratified random sample of 210 adult males. Our analysis determined that attitudes were mixed as to the favorability to a G.A.I. (high favorability - 36%, medium favorability - 23%, and low favorability - 41%). When social classes were compared, the lower class scored higher on favorability than the upper and middle classes. Over half (56%) of the total sample showed a preference for a G.A.I. in the form of a Negative Income Tax with a work incentive.

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#### INTRODUCTION

Historically social services have been viewed as a privilege rather than a right. Since they were perceived in this way there was no need to consult the recipients in the development of social policy. This heritage tends to perpetuate the development of social policy in a vacuum. Two examples are the Speenhamland Act of 1795 and the Canada Assistance Plan of 1966. As a result many of these policies have not met the needs of the consumer. Our premise is that citizens must be actively involved in social policy planning. The forward of Social Policies For Canada states that,

In a democracy, ultimate political power is vested in the people and expressed through their governments.... The more government activities expand, as they have so rapidly over the last thirty years, the more necessary it becomes for citizens to be involved in them. Yet paradoxically, this very expansion tends to make individual participation more difficult to achieve .... Social policies and programs are intended to meet the needs and serve the interests of the individual citizen living in community with his fellow man. The citizen therefore has a legitimate interest in the objectives, content and effects of these policies and programs; their planning and their adaptation to changing circumstances will benefit from his active involvement. He himself will also benefit. The effect of free association with others in social planning and action and in implementing programs will be improved individual capacity and increased respect for fellow citizens and recognition of their interdependence. 1

Other than suggestions by politicians, academics and welfare organizations, little has been done to determine public attitudes as to the favorability of a guaranteed annual income. Model studies have been carried out in the United States in Passaic, New Jersey<sup>2</sup> and Seattle, Washington<sup>3</sup> through actual implementation of a guaranteed annual income. Their main concern is feasibility rather than favorability, which is similar to proposals put forward in Canada. One example is the brief by the Manitoba Government presented to the Senate Special Committee on Poverty. Based on our premise of the value of citizen involvement, our study will attempt to determine public attitudes with respect to the favorability of a guaranteed annual income.

In Chapter I we present a discussion of the literature that reflects concepts revolving around the topic of a guaranteed annual income. A discussion of poverty, past and present, an exploration of the Canadian income security measures, a critique of past and present G.A.I. concepts and possible societal ramifications if a G.A.I. were implemented, make up the body of this chapter.

In Chapter II we discuss the design of the study: how the questionnaire and sampling technique were developed. Concepts described in the literature were utilized in the questionnaire formulation.

Chapter III covers a detailed analysis of our data.

Tables and explanatory sections are included.

Chapter IV closes the study with a brief discussion of the study's limitations as well as observations that follow naturally from the study.

Six appendices appear at the back of the study with additional information.

### FOOTNOTES

- Canadian Welfare Council, Social Policies for Canada, Part I (Ottawa: Canadian Welfare Council), Forward, 1969.
- <sup>2</sup>Jack Cahill, "How World's First Guaranteed Annual Wage Works", <u>Toronto Daily Star</u>, (May 7, 1969), p. 8.
- 3<sub>Mrs. M.</sub> Renwick, <u>Legislature of Ontario Debates</u>, Ontario Provincial Government, (October 26, 1970), S - 711.
- Report of the Social Service Audit, sponsored by the Manitoba Government, United Way of Greater Winnipeg, The Winnipeg Foundation, Community Welfare Planning Council (May, 1969).

#### CHAPTER I

### SURVEY OF LITERATURE

The G.A.I. is far from a new idea, for it appeared, now and again, during the 18th and 19th centuries in the writings of various utopian social thinkers such as Edward Bellamy. 1

In our investigations, we were able to determine its earliest implementation to be in the Speenhamland System<sup>2</sup> of the U.K. between 1795 - 1834. Between 1785 -1802 England found herself in a war, more massive in scale than ever before, resulting in inflation and an increase in the cost of living. During this period, we also found very poor harvests reported and the price of wheat high. always, it was the poor who suffered most. The only solution, seemed to be, the implementation of the Speenhamland System. In this, relief was used to make up the difference between a man's earnings and the minimum required for a family's existence. The formula, universally applied, was based on the price of bread and the size of the family. For various reasons, such as the lack of price and wage controls, the system failed and was abolished with the passing of the new Poor Law in 1834

Nothing more is heard of the concept until the early 1930's, the time of the Great Depression in the Western

World. The people of the United States particularly suffered, since at that time, there were few, if any, income support programs in existence forcing men, without jobs, to line up at the "soup kitchens".

During 1933, Dr. F. E. Townsend<sup>3</sup> suggested a cure for the depression, then tearing apart the economic fabric of the United States. His suggestion was a G.A.I. for a selected population - a monthly pension for all persons who retire at age 60. This concept was received with much popular support and "Townsend Clubs" were formed around the country, to act as pressure groups for its implementation. Although Townsend's plan was never implemented, he did have a positive impact on Social Welfare in the United States. New Deal Historians consider the widespread support of the Townsend Plan as the immediate impetus for the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935.

Another advocate of the G.A.I., during the 1930's, was Senator H. P. Long of Louisiana. His suggestion, which he called "share the wealth plan", was a universal demogrant in which every American family would be given a \$5,000 stake, at the outset, and a \$2,000 annual income. Obviously, during the depression, this suggestion was considered "pie in the sky" and was never implemented.

The concept next appeared during World War II and shortly after in Great Britain. Its major advocate was

Lady Rhys-Williams<sup>5</sup> and her scheme was called the social dividend plan. The basic principle of this plan was that every man, woman and child would receive a social dividend which would replace all positive allowances receivable under insurance, assistance and the negative tax allowances. Others in England such as Professor J. E. Mead, S. M. Chambers, and the British Labor Party, suggested variations of the Rhys-Williams plan. None of these plans were ever implemented, but they may have influenced the passage of the British National Insurance Scheme of 1948.

At about the same time, but on the other side of the Atlantic, another form of the concept was being developed. In 1946 George Stigler, 9 an American economist, proposed the idea of a Negative Income Tax, according to which persons would be paid the amount of their unused income tax exemptions. This could guarantee an annual family income equivalent to the family's allowable income tax exemptions and deductions.

Interest in the G.A.I. Concept continued throughout the 1950's in the writings of various economists and social thinkers. J. K. Galbraith, <sup>10</sup> for example, suggested that in our affluent society a minimum income was essential for decency and comfort. Towards the end of the 1950's and into the early 1960's the concept gained wide support. Two major reasons for this upsurge in support were the Black revolution

in the United States and the reality of the technological age.

Because of the failure of the civil rights movement to show any concrete results the oppressed blacks took to the streets. The upheaval that they created forced the American government into a realization that the system had failed these people. The result was the American War on Poverty. Interest in the G.A.I. grew out of attempts to come up with programs to alleviate this poverty.

Also during this period, some economists, politicians and labor leaders began to realize what some of the negative aspects of the technological age really were. It became clear that as a result of automation fewer jobs were being created than previously and that more people were entering the labor force than there were jobs available. Also there was the realization that machines were beginning to take over tasks previously performed by manual labor and men were being forced out of jobs. The G.A.I. was proposed by various groups and individuals as a means of alleviating the effects of this job dislocation.

Support of the concept came from people of diverse political views. Milton Freidman, 11 the dean of conservative American economists and advisor to former presidential candidate Barry Goldwater published his book Capitalism and Freedom in 1962. In it, he suggests a negative income tax

plan as an alternative to the present plethora of assistance programs.

Robert Theobald, <sup>12</sup> a liberal and the foremost proponent of the G.A.I. Concept, presented his proposal which he called a "Design for Economic Security", in 1963. His proposal, too, was a variant of the negative income tax plan.

Other plans were proposed during the 1960's, most of which are variations of the N.I.T. Concept. Some of those suggesting plans were James Tobin, Robert Lampman, Edward Schwartz, Reuben Baetz, Dr. J. Cutt, H. Nicol, Erich Fromm, Pat Moynihan and Garth Mangum.

The G.A.I. Concept has gained much support in North America from various interest groups. A few of these are the Ad Hoc Committee On The Triple Revolution, The National Commission on Technology Automation and Economic Progress, The Canadian Welfare Council, The National Association of Social Workers, The Manitoba Association of Social Workers, the Lutheran Church Council in Canada and the Government of Manitoba.

An interesting aspect of the history of the G.A.I. Concept is that interest in it appears to be inextricably bound to drastic social, economic and political upheavals in society, the effects of the Napoleonic Wars, the effects of the Depression, the effects of World War II and the effects of the Black revolution. It may then follow that

as long as there is no drastic upheaval in Canadian society, interest in the G.A.I. will be low and its implementation will not become a reality. The question is how far away is Canada from a drastic upheaval? Some say we are already beginning to experience one. With the failure of the Welfare System, the rise of self help groups, the education of the native peoples, it is just one more step to outright revolt. Perhaps the G.A.I. is not so far away after all:

Since we have been referring to various G.A.I.

plans, it may be of interest and of importance to glance at
the various proposals. In our perusal of the literature we
have located seven G.A.I. formulations. They are Universal
Demogrant, N.I.T., Family Allowances, Guaranteed Income In
Kind, Guaranteed Opportunity to Earn An Income, Categorical
Assistance and the Guaranteed Annual Wage.

The Negative Income Tax or income subsidy approach operates through the existing personal income tax mechanisms. There are two basic forms. In the first, an official minimum income level would be established and payments to an individual or family used to make up the deficiency between actual income and the official minimum. An example of this form is that of Robert Theobald Basic Economic Security. In the second form, payments are made to individuals or families of all or a portion of unused income tax exemptions. Milton Freidman is a proponent of this form.

The Social Dividend or Universal Demogrant approach would involve the payment of a social benefit or dividend to every member in the population sufficient to guarantee an income at or above the poverty line. The plan would be financed by using a special tax on gross income under the regular income tax system. A person's net benefit would be the positive difference between the social dividend he received and the amount of the special tax imposed on his income. Some people would receive all of the dividend, others, part of it, and from others it would be totally recovered.

In the Family Allowance Plan, grants are made to all families on the basis of number of children in each. The grant might or might not be included in taxable income. The idea of family allowances is partly an effort to make an adjustment for this fact with costs being borne by the whole of society. The Nixon Plan is an example of this concept.

The concept of a Guaranteed Income In Kind is suggested by Erich Fromm. He feels that in the present age of abundance, society ought simply to make the actual necessities of life, food, shelter, clothing and transportation available without charge.

The concept of Guaranteed Opportunity to Earn an Income suggests a public committment to provide everybody with an opportunity to earn an adequate income doing what he is capable of doing. This concept is also known as Government as Employer of Last Resort. A major proponent of this plan is Garth Mangum.

Two other forms have been suggested. The first is Categorical Assistance. This approach would merely broaden and refine the present Categorical Assistance programs in an effort to guarantee a certain level of economic security. Helen Nicol is a major proponent of this plan. The second is the Guaranteed Annual Wage. This refers to a guaranteed annual rather than hourly or daily basis of wage payments in industry. By paying a worker on the basis of a year he is guaranteed a certain annual income whether he is on the job or laid off or home sick.

The major variations within these various plans are whether they are universal or selective in coverage, whether they include a work incentive or whether they are not tied to the labor market and what levels of economic security they guarantee.

In order to place the G.A.I. in its historical perspective it is necessary to look briefly at the history of social welfare in Britain, where most social welfare concepts developed. These concepts were influential in the

growth of social welfare policies and programs in Canada and the United States. This perspective will be facilitated through an examination of: the war on poverty in the United States and Canada; the current income security system in Canada and the possible ramifications of an implemented G.A.I.

The English government did not begin to deal administratively with the poor until the middle of the fourteenth century. The Statute of Laborers of 1349 marks the beginning of English governmental concern with the poor. 13 Prior to this time the feudal system had been the order of the day, and in theory there was no need for the English government to become involved with the poor. Under feudal law the serf was protected from economic problems by his master. In turn for his economic security the serf gave up his freedom.

With the disappearance of the feudal system great social and economic changes came about which forced the English government to become more involved with the poor. This resulted in the already stated Statute of Laborers.

What the Statute of 1349 did was make poverty a crime and removed a valuable source of income from the poor who had no other means of survival but begging. The state took no responsibility for the condition of the poor other than to punish them for refusing to work or for begging.

By making poverty a criminal offence the Statute of 1349 began the all too familiar process which is still alive today namely stigmatization.

However, between 1349 and 1600 social and economic changes (wars and the enclosure movement) increased significantly the hardships of the poor. As the plight of the poor increased the English government was less able to maintain its position of punitive non-responsibility for the poor. Several pieces of legislation began to appear in which the government policy began to take more responsibility for the poor. Such effort culminated in the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601. After two centuries of attempting to control poverty by repressive measures, government slowly began to accept an obligation for the relief of those who could not provide for themselves. "The experiences of the years 1349 to 1601 had convinced rulers of England of the presence of a destitution among the poor that punishment could not abolish, and that could be relieved only by the appropriation of public resources to individual needs". 14

With this realization in mind, the Poor Law of 1601 made three distinctions among its poor. In so doing it introduced the concept which is still popular in social policy today. This was the concept of the deserving and non-deserving poor. The Poor Law divided the poor into three groups, the able-bodied poor, the impotent poor, and

the dependent children. 15 In this way England took responsibility for her poor. The weak and the old would be provided for, the children and the able-bodied poor were forced to work for their relief. Thus England introduced the concept of deserving and non-deserving poor. At the same time it made it quite clear that the provision of social welfare was not a right of each individual but a privilege which he must earn, if he was capable of doing so.

The Act by its introduction of deserving and nondeserving poor and its implications created an issue which
social policy makers are still contending with today. The
question of deserving and non-deserving poor, and the question of welfare being a right or a privilege are great
questions in social policy. With the perception of the poor
as lazy the answers to these questions became easy. The
Poor Law Act continued for the next two hundred years relatively unaltered. The Settlement Act of 1662 and the Work
House Act of 1669 were merely used to shore up the original
philosophy of the Act of 1601.

However, economic and social changes once again played a part in forcing England to reconsider its position with the poor. The enclosure movement continued to render people destitute, while the invention of new machinery began to reduce the job market. The War with France (1793 - 1815) once again disrupted trade and raised the cost of

living. 17 The end result was greater numbers of poor and greater pressure being placed on the English government to do something about its poor.

As a consequence of these conditions of the poor the Speenhamland Act was approved by Parliament in 1795. 18 The Act authorized the more liberal use of outdoor relief for the aid of the poor. As well as this the Act provided relief according to family size. Relief was to be granted for total support or to supplement low wages. The amount of relief granted was to be determined by the cost of local bread prices. In this way the Speenhamland Act became one of the first attempts at a guaranteed income plan which was linked to a primitive cost of living index.

The Act instead of helping the poor only added to their misery. The Act of 1795 had failed to include a basic minimum wage. Employers were quick to see the advantage in the Act and began to pay substandard wages and refer their employees to the overseers for the supplement of their wages. The overall result was that the average wages and the standard of living soon dropped. The incentive to work and to do a good job similarily dropped as laborers found that no matter if he worked or not his wages remained at the same level of subsistance wages. 19 With greater responsibility placed on the public the cost of social welfare rose sharply.

The failure of the Speenhamland Act to improve the conditions of the poor, plus the rising cost of welfare created a climate which sought change in the Old Poor Law. In response to this desire for change The Poor Law Commission was set up, with their purpose being to study the working of the Poor Law of 1601 and make recommendation for a New Poor Law. The Commission rendered its report in 1834. It made six recommendations, three of which were of importance to later events in Canada and the United States. These three recommendations which were incorporated into the New Poor Law of 1834 were:

- 1) to place all able-bodied applicants for relief in work houses.
- 2) to grant outdoor relief only to the sick, the old, the invalid and widows with young children.
- 3) to make the conditions of the poor relief recipient less comfortable and desirable than those of the lowest paid worker in the community - Principle of Less Eligibility.<sup>20</sup>

The most important feature of this Act had to do with the principle of less eligibility. Less eligibility meant that relief was to be given in the most meager amount and with the utmost degree of moral indignation and negative connotation so that the welfare recipient was placed in a less desirable position than the lowest paid working person

in the community. The basic thinking behind the principle of less eligibility was that if the conditions of the wel-fare recipient were less desirable than the working person, then applicants for relief would choose to work rather than go on welfare.

The early colonist who came to North America brought from England their experiences with the English Poor Laws.

Fred MacKinnon has observed on this process,

Indoor relief was of course the "sine qua non" of the Poor Law. The poor house or almshouse of Elizabethan vintage was a well-known feature of the Nova Scotia landscape and "offering the house" as the test of relief applicant's employability and sincerity of purpose continued occasionally up to the end of the old regime in 1958.<sup>21</sup>

George Hart contends that the poor law system did not end in 1958. Hart attempts to make the point that the Federal Social Assistance Act of 1958 is no different from the poor law legislation which was passed in Nova Scotia in 1770 and 1815. 22 To Hart the Social Assistance Act only applies new terms with the same meaning. For Hart the policies of the poor law still exist in Nova Scotia and Canada.

The rules and regulations for the management of the St. John's Poor Asylum of 1862 indicate that the influence of the poor laws were not a local phenomena but were well established throughout the Maritimes. 23 The rules indicate that the poor were treated as prisoners and that their

lives were rigidly controlled and closely observed. The poor of the St. John's Asylum wore a uniform, had special visitor's hours, and their getting up and going to bed was closely regulated. Thus to be poor in St. John's in 1862 meant that one was a prisoner, whose crime was one of poverty. The loss of self-determination and privacy indicate the practice of "less eligibility" was in force.

In Upper Canada (Ontario) the ideals and concepts of the Poor Laws played a large part in determining societal responses to the poor. This occurred despite the fact that Upper Canada failed to incorporate the Poor Law into its legal structure, while at the same time it did choose to incorporate the bulk of English law. 24

This abdication of responsibility by the legislature could not be endured, and as a consequence gradual public responsibility took place beginning in 1792. With this void in public responsibility the jails were the first to shoulder the responsibility of the poor. With the ideals of the Poor Law so prevalent in Upper Canada and the Maritimes the use of jails was almost a natural reaction. Splane contends that Upper Canada's use of jails to deal with the poor was, in view of their attitudes towards poverty, quite natural.

The use of the jails to house those who were in poverty was not however foreign to prevailing and traditional ideals about the nature of poverty. Poverty was normally associated in the public's mind with vagrancy and the willful

refusal to work and save. The poor, at any rate the able-bodied poor were accordingly thought to be in need of correction and discipline which could best be imposed in special houses of correction, but until such institutions could be established, there was held to be a case for using jails as a substitution.<sup>25</sup>

With the increasing problem of the destitute and the influence of the new Poor Law's institutional concept, the view that the poor could be cared for in institutions in which they earned their relief became a large topic in the years 1836-1837. 26 In several towns in Upper Canada private organizations took the initiative to set up their own poor houses. Support for these houses came from private donations, municipal funds and the province. ually as the municipalities got the authority to levy taxes for the poor, public poor houses were set up. By the time of Confederation public and private poor houses had filled the void created by the lack of a public stand on the responsibility to the poor of 1792. Moreover, these houses were run along the philosophy of the English Poor Law system.

From the time of Confederation to the turn of the century the main problems with the welfare system concerned itself with governmental control over private poor houses, and casual relief which was distributed by the private poor houses. Casual relief referred to the practice of private agencies who gave food and lodging to transients.

In 1890 a Royal Commission was set up to consider among other things the practice of casual relief. The Commission recommended the doing away of casual relief and the implementation of houses of correction, where transients would be forced to work for their food and lodging. They also stated that by making the labour as hard as possible this could be a way of reducing vagrancy. 27

Thus as Canada entered the 20th century it would appear that she was still being highly influenced by the Poor Law system. The Commission's reaction and recommendations indicate that poverty was looked on as the fault of the individual and that punishment was the answer to poverty. At the time Canada entered the 20th century with her Poor Law orientation she also entered a boom period in her economic growth. The beginning of the 20th century was a time of remarkable growth in the Canadian population and economy.

Concurrent with this rapid growth in the population and the economy of Canada, there was an increase in affluence which had the effect of releasing large segments of the population from subsistence levels of living. 29 With the rapid growth of industrialization and its effect of releasing people from the depth of poverty, there grew a confidence in science and technology as the means of doing away with poverty. 30 The result of such a perception was

that social policy became largely confined to regulation of working conditions. "The prevalent social philosophy in Canada was still based on the individualism of a pioneer background and on the belief that unlimited prospects of expansion offered full opportunities to the enterprising individual". 31

This optimistic theory of economic determinism was somewhat dampened by the Depression of the 1930's but for many the poverty of the era merely served to reaffirm assertions that the causes of poverty are in the economic structure of society. Thus the prime assumption came to be that poverty could be a thing of the past, provided the economy was regulated properly.

With World war II and the economic boom it produced the theory of economic determinism has prevailed from the 1930's to the 40's and well into the 1950's. The ideas of the poor law rather than dying out have only served to reinforce the ideas of economic determinism. The idea being that with all the chances for success being made possible by an expanding economy, those who did not take advantage of such advantages were either lazy or foolish or both. Thus those who were poor were considered to be so because of their own doing. In view of the ever increasing opportunity it was believed that poverty was getting to be less of a concern and would eventually disappear.

With the growing affluence of Canada the poor by
the 1950's were becoming a forgotten people. They were
forgotten by a nation and its people who believed poverty
would disappear with the growth of wealth. By the 1950's
with the expansion of wealth the poor became a minority
group, who were slipping more and more out of the minds of
the general public. Those poor that did exist were explained away in terms of the old prejudices and stereotypes of
the Poor Law.

Fortunately, the 1960's opened a new era in public awareness and attitude towards poverty, although there still was this repressive stigmatization of the poor reminiscent of the Poor Law of 1834, for example the income test built within the Guaranteed Income Supplement. Perhaps the greatest steps taken were in making the public aware of the nature and extent of poverty. This was accomplished by various individuals, foundations and government bodies.

North Americans in particular were somewhat startled by the extent of poverty in their own developed, affluent countries. Poverty had always been viewed as a characteristic of underdeveloped nations.

Michael Harrington wrote in 1962 that 40-50 million Americans were living in poverty in the United States. He pointed out that being poor is a way of life (culture of poverty<sup>33</sup>) and not part of life so that the mass of poor

people "...are so submerged in their poverty that one cannot begin to talk about free choice". 34 What this means is that the cycle of poverty will not "...decline naturally with a continuing rate of economic growth". 35 The poor must be helped to enter the mainstream of society. This can only take place through massive reforms of the legal, economic, and social institutions of the country. 36

Shortly after Harrington, Dwight McDonald's article on the "Invisible America" peeled away political clouds, and exposed raw, residual poverty. 37 For in America.

the myth of affluence encouraged the complacent illusion that poverty had been eliminated and that unequal distribution of income was no longer a problem. The problem was rather that the masses were lusting after the bread and circuses devised by the ad-men.

John K. Galbraith was one of the few influential economists who argued during the late 1950's and early 1960's that poverty was not licked in America. He also believed that "a myth has been created that incomes are gradually becoming more evenly distributed". 39

What followed from this was a request by President Kennedy of Walter Heller, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, to examine the extent of poverty in America. What they discovered was that

during the years 1956 and 1961, the proportion of families with money incomes under \$3000 had only declined by two percentage points - from 23 to 21 per cent. The absolute number of families

living in poverty had actually risen. 40
The civil rights movement also publicly focused on the issue of poverty "...for economic deprivation was an integral part of over all discrimination and injustice suffered by Negroes". 41

President Kennedy followed with a decision to draft antipoverty legislation for 1964. President Johnson followed Kennedy with the Economic Opportunity Act in 1964. Unfortunately the Office of Economic Opportunity which started with great promises never received the funds or public support necessary to succeed. Richard Pions pointed out in November 1971 that, "what was needed was not the paltry handouts of the Great Society but rather a fundamental committment to spend the funds necessary to provide real opportunity for social mobility in the inner cities and depressed rural areas". 42

Also, the culture of poverty concept accounted for a serious questioning of the increased services under the Office of Economic Opportunity. It was felt that the goal of bringing the poor into the main stream culture could not be achieved unless they were psychologically prepared for it. 43 Only, "by creating basic structural changes, by redistributing wealth, by organizing the poor and giving them a sense of belonging, of power and of leadership...."44 will significant changes take place. This is one explanation

for the rise of the National Welfare Rights Organizations in the United States and Canada.

The opponents of the culture of poverty concept basically view poverty as a situational not a behavioral problem; that is why they believe that changing the low income situation of the poor will facilitate the assertion of their suppressed middle class aspirations. These economists and social scientists support an income maintenance plan such as a negative income tax or President Nixon's Family Assistance Plan. Assistance Plan Regardless of ones concept of poverty it is generally recognized as a problem ...indigenous to minorities and enshrouded by discrimination and inequality.

One thing is fundamentally clear in the United States today, when it comes to the poverty problem. It is that there are many conflicting criteria on how to end poverty and that no one solution has emerged as the best one. Knowing this it seems that the political process will be forced to find an adequate solution to this problem as soon as possible in order to provide an equitable standard of living for all Americans. 47

In Canada, during the middle 1960's the Pearson government declared a national war on poverty. What followed was the Canada Assistance Plan perpetuation of residual categorical assistance programs which did not really embody

new ideas in the area of welfare reform. All it did was transfer more money into the respective provincial welfare departments of Canada. 48

What followed the Canada Assistance Plan was the formation of a Special Planning Secretariat of the Federal Government. It did little more than compile a set of bibliographies on poverty literature related to Canada. 49

Serious discussion of poverty did not really begin in Canada until 1968 when the Economic Council of Canada published its <u>Fifth Report</u>. It stated that

poverty in Canada is real. Its numbers are not in the thousands but in the millions. There is more of it than our society can afford, and far more than existing measures and efforts can cope with. Its persistence, at a time when the bulk of Canadians enjoy one of the highest standards of living is a disgrace. 50

The council accounted for "...some 27 percent of the non farm population of Canada living in poverty. 51

This was based on the definition that low-income families and individuals use "...70 per cent or more of their incomes for food, clothing, and shelter". 52

The council recommended solutions be found to poverty as quickly as possible. What followed was the Special Senate Committee on Poverty's national inquiry. The Senate debated the issue from October 8, 1968 to November 26, 1968 before setting up the committee. What followed was a series of hearings which began April 22, 1969 and concluded

on November 10, 1970. During this time 93 hearings were held at which 209 briefs were presented by 810 witnesses. Many of the hearings were held across the country in order for the committee to come closer to regional poverty situations. 53

The Senate Report published in the autumn of 1971 presented a variety of definitions of poverty from various sources such as the Economic Council of Canada, Statistics Canada, and John Kenneth Galbraith. It then stated that

...poverty is a multi-dimensional concept, encompassing social, psychological and economic malaise. Nevertheless, most people think of poverty - and the poor suffer poverty - as income deficiency resulting in material deprivation. The latter concept of poverty as low income, while in itself insufficient, is nonetheless necessary both for the measurement of poverty and for the development of programs to eliminate it.

The Senate report found that "...overall poverty ...was approximately 25.1 per cent ..."55 as of 1969. It defined the poverty line for a single person to be \$2140 a year and for a family of four to be \$5000.56

Manitoba had a poverty rate of approximately 20.4% if one million is used as the province's population.<sup>57</sup> A clear figure for the working poor was not presented in the Senate report so the figure of 19% was taken from the Economic Council of Canada's <u>Fifth Report</u>.<sup>58</sup>

Other literature in Canada on poverty is sparse.

A few books of readings and a few government reports are available but that is about all. <sup>59</sup> The only other up to date examination of poverty is <u>The Real Poverty Report</u>. It was written by the four members of the Senate Report who resigned from Senator Croll's staff because they felt the report would not "...tell the people why they were poor". <sup>60</sup> Their book is a radical critique of the whole social and economic system. The two main points they attempt to make are that:

- 1. More studies must be carried out to determine the extent of wealth in Canada.
- 2. The country must become committed to a redistribution of wealth in our nation. In other words the bottom 25% of the nation should share more completely in the wealth of Canada. 61

Thus we find that the 1960's marked a reawakening of concern for the problems of poverty. Poverty was no longer seen as a problem of far off underdeveloped nations. Poverty was now being defined in Canada as a national problem requiring effects at all levels of government.

Today in Canada, we have many programs designed to eliminate poverty. The question must now be asked how successful are these programs in combatting poverty. For this reason we must now turn to an examination of the present welfare and insurance programs developed in Canada

over the years.

The income support measures are those programs under which the governments "support the incomes of everyone who has children (Family and Youth Allowances) or who is past a certain age (Old Age Security) or whose income is insufficient to maintain himself and his dependents (Guaranteed Income Supplement and social assistance and the Canada Assistance Plan)". 62

The income insurance measures are those programs under which "employed persons insure themselves against losses of income, whether by reason of age or disability (Canada and Quebec Pension Plans), accident (Workmen's Compensation Plans) or unemployment (Unemployment Insurance)"63

Recently these programs have come under great criticism due to the government's greater awareness of the extent and nature of poverty brought forth by such sources as the Economic Council of Canada, the Senate Committee on Poverty, the Council for Social Development and Statistics Canada. The criticisms are centered around the fact that these programs have not alleviated poverty and the programs are piecemeal and patchwork and do not offer Canadian citizens a blanket program for income security.

There are many reasons for the governments inadequacies in programming:

1. The Federal Government which could adequately

legislate for all Canadians is hampered by the B.N.A. Act.

"The British North American Act of 1867 made no mention of income security programs or of social services as such".64

The only matters it does express is that marine hospitals and quarantine are assigned to the Dominion, while the provinces were given jurisdiction over other hospitals, asylums, charities and eleemosynary institutions. Further the provinces were assigned "jurisdiction over generally all matters of a merely local or private nature in the provinces and it was probable that this power was deemed to cover health matters".65 When income security programs are introduced by the Federal government, they are challenged on the basis of interpretation of the B.N.A. Act which eventually leads to a decision being handed down by the Privy Council and the Supreme Court of Canada.

There is further complication when cultural and ethnic reasons influence a province's decision to support a federal program such as in the case of a separate Quebec Pension and Family Allowance Programs.

Many of the federal income security programs such as the Canada Assistance Plan do not necessitate full implementation across Canada which leads to regional dispartities and the fragmentation of already piecemeal and patchwork programs.

2. Until recently, very little has been known about

poverty in Canada. The legislators had very little knowledge and research upon which to base a program. When one
sector of the community demanded aid, that need was filled
by a program and when another sector demanded aid, another
program was instituted. As the needs of the people changed,
new programs were instituted or amendments to the original
programs were made which created many gaps, and overlaps
in coverage. There was an overall lack of planning. Furthermore many of the programs such as Old Age Pension,
Family Allowance, Canada Pension Plan and Unemployment Insurance were imported and made to fit the Canadian situation.

long been based on economics and an economic theory involving laissez-faire capitalism. This means that every man looks after himself in a competitive market. Work is the stabilizing factor through which a person obtains currency to exchange in order to fulfill his needs. If someone needs help, assistance is given in the form of 'charity' and charity does not alleviate poverty. Implicit is the strong view that the poor are to be helped by jobs being created for them by the investment and expansion of industry which leads to industry being frequently aided by governments in the form of tax concessions, government subsidies and grants. When inflationary programs are introduced, they are aimed at the poor so that big business, big unions, the

professions and other powerful groups are not hurt. This explains why the poorest fifth of the population receive 5 or 6% of the national income and the wealthiest fifth about 40%. 67

Under such a theory it is very difficult for the government to adequately legislate for the needy. Perhaps with public opinion the charity attitude will change to allow for adequate income coverage for our five million needy Canadians. One of the steps that could be taken is the implementation of a Guaranteed Annual Income.

Although the general principle of a guaranteed annual income has often been held out by some authors as the panacea for all of society's social and economic ills, nevertheless it is the specific application of a particular plan which will determine the nature of its consequences. If selective in coverage, the plan may perpetuate the deserving-undeserving theme referred to in pages 15 to 16. If tied to a work-incentive, the program may raise the principle of "less eligibility", which was discussed on pages 17 to 19. The guarantee of a minimal or adequate level of economic security will result either in the maintenance of a pool of poverty or in the increase of social mobility. The more general its coverage and the greater its benefits, the more likely a guaranteed annual income could be effective in the reduction of the numerical poor and

begin to bridge the gap posed by the "culture of poverty" discussed on pages 25 to 28. It should therefore be possible to predict with reasonable accuracy the possible implications and consequences of a guaranteed annual income plan, or is it?

The survey of the historical development of the concept of poverty and welfare policies shows how persistently the past carries over into the present. Comparison of the situation in the United States and Canada showed the international influence in the conception of poverty and proposals to solve it. The question must therefore be posed - what impact will future developments have on present policy formulation and public preference for a guaranteed annual income plan?

In the age of "future shock", the historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., has expressed this concern. "The most dangerous threat hanging over American society is the threat of leisure". 68 This threat is posed by automation and the related question of the place of work in the future. One writer aptly coined a proverb, "You can't automate your job and have it, too". Suhm asks the question:

If automation and improved technology are to free man from toil, then all should share in the freedom, and it there is still work to be done then all should share in that work. If it is dangerous for the unskilled and the undereducated to have all the leisure, then it is equally dangerous for a small minority to exercise complete

control over the tools and processes of economic productivity.  $^{69}$ 

Much has already been written about who should have the leisure and how much, what should be done with leisure and how to prepare for it. If the unskilled and undereducated have all the leisure it may have an effect on population growth since there is some statistical evidence to suggest that a disproportionate number of the unemployed come from large families. To Increased social mobility may affect urban planning of cities in the preferred climate zones. Increased consumption may put additional pressure on decreasing resources in the natural environment. On the other hand, leisure may free man to ask the deeper questions about the meaning of life, for which he has had no time until now. 73

coupled to the subject of leisure is that of work: who will work, will income or status be dependent on it, what kind of work? Suggestions have been made that the poor should have access not only to work but also to capital ownership. 74 To increase employment and leisure opportunities, one writer suggests a cumulative earned leave. 75 Since automation is taking its toll of traditional work functions, there is need for the creation of new careers such as in the human service field. 76

These various proposals and opinions have been

presented in two volumes edited by Robert Theobald, who found that there are basically two views which account for their divergence:

The minority view that man can be responsible... is based on the new psychological theorizing, which postulates a struggle toward self-realization... The majority view (on the other hand) is based on the belief that man must be forced into action by external sanctions applied by others, and unless men are forced they will inevitably fail to perform any sort of useful action. 77

Increasingly, (since the breakdown of the feudal system) it is government as an institution which makes long-reaching decision which effect society in all its aspects. Fromm mentions "the danger that a state nourishes all could become a mother goddess with dictatorial qualities".78 the guaranteed annual income scheme is a government policy instrument, it is therefore logical to assume that control over its consequences lies with the same body. Depending on its view of human nature, government may therefore assume the dimensions of "Big Brother" in Orwell's 1984. trol population growth, government might offer to pay an incentive of \$1,000 for anyone volunteering to be sterilized. as was recently proposed by a Zero Population Growth organ-On the other hand, if the view is held that man ization. is responsible, the design of a future society might hold the "possibility of a multiple-choice social environment", which extends the choice range of life styles, locations

and vocations which is no longer based on the "survival need to work". 79 This view, however does not negate the need for some government control. Thus wage and price controls may be necessary to maximize and maintain the choice range. Recent references in the public press have emphasized the reduction in disposable income for those who are on fixed income at a time of inflation.

In so far government is representative of the people, it is they who will indicate the direction in which they want to move, and responsible government policy as to guaranteed annual income will weigh its consequences in terms of the value preferences for the type of society its This would be true, if all citizen groups citizens want. had equal access to and received equal attention from government. Class considerations therefore inevitably enter the picture. The tendency for economic, social and political power to center in the upper, and to a lesser degree in the middle classes, does in fact put part of a society in the position to determine the larger society's future course with, or without, the consent of the lower class. economic power is reduced, McHale notes: "The cybernated society...is non-materialistic in direction...The future of human society is, therefore, not solely, or centrally, concerned with further technological elaboration - but with social invention". 80 What kind of social invention, and

the part a guaranteed annual income plan may play in this, therefore depends on the present attitudes and values of citizens both collectively and individually, which is the focus of this study.

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#### CHAPTER II

## DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this research is to compare social class attitudes towards a guaranteed annual income. For the purpose of this study an attitude is defined as:

...a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around a situation or an object, which predisposes one to respond in some influential manner. 1

The response evoked by an object or situation may be either verbal or non-verbal behaviour. Attitudes differ from other behavioural patterns such as a habit or motive in that they (attitudes) also represent an individual's know-ledge or view of the world. Whether or not the preferential response will be positive or negative will depend on the relative strength of one's beliefs and feelings.

Social class is seen as the independent variable and favorability to a guaranteed annual income (G.A.I.) as the dependent variable. Various intervening variables were postulated such as: awareness of poverty, awareness of income security programs, evaluation of income security programs, attitude towards one's income security, and possible ramifications of a G.A.I.

Social class was operationally defined through the use of Blishen Socio-Economic index for occupations in Canada. <sup>2</sup> Blishen found that nearly a third of the Canadian

labour force held occupations scoring below 30.00 on the index, and nearly another third held occupations scoring 30.00 and 39.99. For the purpose of this study lower class was therefore defined as those occupations scoring 30.00 or less, middle class scoring between 30.00 to 39.99, and upper class 40.00+ (See Appendix 2).

A guaranteed annual income is defined as basic economic security for Canadians through re-allocation of wealth. Operationally, differentiation was made between favorability towards the concept of a G.A.I. and the specific form of a G.A.I. plan.

The instrument for this descriptive study was a 28 item questionnaire with additional identifying information, such as age, sex, marital status, number of dependents, occupation, education and income. The 28 items were generally in the form of "do you think" or "do you know" type of questions eliciting a yes, no or don't know response. In order to attract the attention of the respondent and provide an orderly frame of reference, the first seventeen questions dealt with the intervening variables, questions 18 to 24 dealt with the G.A.I., and the remainder with possible ramifications. Identifying information was requested at the end of the questionnaire to reduce possible anxiety over the personal nature of these questions (See Appendix I).

The first intervening variable was operationally

defined as awareness of poverty in questions 1 to 5, which asked the respondent to indicate the percentage of people in poverty and the amount of income necessary to be out of poverty. The answers were categorized into high, medium and low awareness scoring to 25 per cent and 50 per cent variations from the correct answer, as determined by the Special Senate Committee Report on Poverty<sup>3</sup> (See Appendix III).

Awareness of income security programs, the second intervening variable, is contained in questions 6 to 8, which asked about direct and indirect experience with these programs. Again high, medium and low categories were devised based on the number of yes responses (See Appendix III).

The third intervening variable, evaluation of income security programs, is dealt with in questions 9 to 14. A brief statement of the goal of each program was presented, followed by "Do you think this program meets the needs of the people for whom it is designed"? Depending on the number of yes responses, high, medium and low categories were designated (See Appendix III).

The next intervening variable is the attitude to one's income security, outlined in questions 15 and 16.

These questions concern themselves with the respondent's feeling around present and future income security. Answers

were assigned to high, medium and low categories according to yes responses (See Appendix III).

In order to assess the respondent's attitude toward the total income security system, one general question was asked (question 17).

The last intervening variable is concerned with the possible ramifications of a G.A.I., (questions 22, 25, 26, 27 and 28) such as government responsibility for implementation of a G.A.I., wage and price controls, acceptance of increased taxation, willingness to work and government control over the individual's life.

The dependent variable, as outlined above, made a distinction between the general concept and the specific form of a G.A.I. Questions 18, 19 and 20 asked the respondent to indicate his favorability towards a G.A.I. and his assessment of its feasibility. Question 24 asked his preference for one of three specific G.A.I. plans, although he could respond with "don't know" or "none of the above".

The data for each questionnaire was classified into two types of tables: one summarizing all responses to all questions by class to ascertain the relationship between class membership and intervening and dependent variables, e.g. class membership and preference for form of G.A.I. The second type of table attempted to show correlations between the intervening and dependent variables, e.g. the

relationship between awareness of poverty and favorability towards the concept of G.A.I.

# Sample and Data Collection

The universe was the adult male population of the City of Winnipeg (prior to amalgamation of January 1, 1972). The male heads were designated in accordance with Blishen's scale which deals only with male occupations. To obtain our element or 216 respondents, we utilized the technique of random sampling. This size sample was required in order to obtain a 90 to 95 percent level of confidence. It was estimated this would provide a tolerated error ranging from 0 to 7 percent.

Using the 1961 Census of Canada, <sup>5</sup> a total of twelve census tracts were identified as having a high concentration of male occupations in a particular category. According to the Blishen Scale, <sup>6</sup> labourers, craftsmen, production process and related workers are generally in the bottom third of his socio-economic index for occupations. Managerial, professional and technical occupations on the other hand are mostly found in the top third of this index. This leaves the clerical, sales, service and recreation, transport and communication occupations in the middle third. For the purpose of sample location, those tracts which had the highest percentage of the male labour force in one of

the three major categories were taken as more likely to have a high percentage of lower, middle and upper class residents today. In one or two cases, other factors influenced the final selection of the actual census tracts. Although several tracts had higher percentages of one type of male occupation, in 1961, the actual male population was very low (below a thousand), indicating a scattered residential area, other districts showing high concentrations were in the downtown fringe area, which is known as a transient area of the city.

For each of the three classes, four tracts were chosen. Of the four tracts, three were expected to yield the required elements and the fourth served as an alternative.

Within each tract, five blocks were randomly selected, one of which served as an alternative. It was expected that each of the four blocks would yield six respondents for a total of 72 per class or a total sample of 216. To overcome effects of propinquity, every fourth house was contacted after random selection of the first one, which involved randomization of corner and direction. In cases where there was no response, the next house was designated as the fourth house, etc.

As a pretest, the questionnaire was administered to thirty respondents. It was found that the procedure as

outlined above was adequate for the purpose of sample location. Response was good, and the research group gained useful experience in interviewing technique. Respondents were asked to react to the clarity of the questionnaire. As a result, several questions were revised (especially question 24).

To administer the final questionnaire, fifteen under-graduate social work students acted as interviewers along with the five members of the thesis group. The students who volunteered were interested in the subject, and attended a meeting when the questionnaire was reviewed in detail and interviewing procedure discussed. The students were divided into small groups with a member of the research group acting as coordinator. Interviews took place during the first two weeks of January, 1972. The interviewer always recorded the answers of the respondent, who was invited to follow along utilizing a blank questionnaire.

per, middle and lower classes as defined by the Blishen Occupational Scale. In order to obtain three class samples of 70, the extra questionnaires were withdrawn randomly. This was done to facilitate statistical computation. This grouping, and the scoring of each individual questionnaire was performed by the thesis group. For the method of classifying responses into high, medium and low categories, (See Appendix III).

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# CHAPTER III DATA ANALYSIS

It was postulated that there would be a relationship between social class (as the independent variable) and
favorability to a guaranteed annual income (as the dependent variable). Other attitudes such as awareness of poverty, income security, and so forth were regarded as intervening variables.

The process of analysis for each table was as follows: the raw data was tallied manually, however an electronic calculator was used for computing percentages and the statistical measures. In order to test the probability of association being present, the chi-square technique was employed. 1

Where the probability exceeded the .05 level, 2 an attempt was made to measure the degree of correlation. Two measures were applied: Goodman and Kruskal's Lambda and Tau. These measures range in value from 0 to 1.3

Analysis of probability and correlation is contained in the summary (pp. 75 - 79). The first set of tables (IA to IK) summarizes the respondents' answers to questions dealing with the intervening and dependent variables. Each table will be followed by a brief explanation containing a general statement about the total sample and a comparison

of upper, middle and lower class attitudes.

TABLE I(A)

AWARENESS OF POVERTY (Questions 1 - 5)

			AWA	RENESS	OF POV	ERTY		
CLASS	Hig N	h <i>%</i>	Med N	ium %	L	ow	Tot N	al %
Upper	13	6	25	12	32	15	70	33
Middle	3	1	23	11	44	21	70	33
Lower	2	1	16	88	52	25	70	34
TOTAL	18	8	64	31	128	61	210	100
$x^2 = 19.18$ df		df = 4		P =	.001	~ =	.21	<del></del>

All percentages are based on the total sample of 210 = 100%.

The majority (61%) of the total sample showed a low awareness of poverty as compared with one-third (31%) with medium awareness and only 8% who had a high awareness.

when classes are compared, all classes scored low in awareness of poverty, however the upper class showed slightly more awareness (6%) than both the middle and lower classes (1% and 1%). Conversely, the lower class is over represented in those of our sample that showed low awareness (25%). See Appendix IV for interpretation of high, medium and low categories and Appendix II for social class.

TABLE I(B)

AWARENESS OF THE INCOME INSURANCE AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAMS (Questions 6 - 8).

			AWA	RENESS	OF PRO	GRAMS		
CLASS	Hig N	High N %		Medium N %		Low N %		al %
Upper	9	4	54	25	7	3	N 70	32
Middle	16	8	41	20	13	6	70	34
Lower	14	7	44	21	12	6	70	34
TOTAL	39	.19	139	66	32	15	210	100
$x^2 = 5.94$		df =	4	P =	.30			

Almost two-thirds of the total sample (66%) had medium awareness of Canada's income security and maintenance programs. When the three classes are compared, they are almost equally represented in all categories of awareness of programs.

TABLE I(C)

EVALUATION OF THE INCOME INSURANCE AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAMS (Questions 9 - 14)

	desirence and another contraction of							
CLASS	Hig. N	h - %	Med N	ium %	Lo	ow	Tot	al
Upper	7	3	19	9	44	22	70	34
Middle	18	9	24	11	28	13	70	33
Lower	21	10	24	11	25	12	70	33
TOTAL	46	.22	67	31	97	47	210	100
$x^2 = 14$	.29	df = 4		P =	.01	7	= .18	

Nearly half of the total sample (47%) felt that most of Canada's programs do not meet their stated goals; as compared with 31% of the respondents who felt the programs were moderately effective and 22% who evaluated the programs as being effective.

In class comparison, the upper class was overrepresented in the negative evaluation category (22%). There was little or no difference when middle and lower classes were compared in all categories.

TABLE I(D)

PERSONAL INCOME SECURITY (Questions 15 - 16)

PERSONAL INCOME SECURITY										
_CLASS	Hig		Medium			) W	Tot	Total		
	·			<u> </u>		%	N	%		
Upper	56	26	10	5	4	2	70	33		
Middle	40	19	16	8	14	7	70	34		
Lower	34	16	17	8	19	99	70	33		
TOTAL	130	61	43	21	37	18	210	100		
$x^2 = 17.44$ df =		df = 4		P =	. 01	7	= .19	Terretario de la composición del composición de la composición del composición de la		

Almost two-thirds of the total sample (61%) felt they had high income security, however 21% had moderate security and almost one-fifth (18%) felt they had little or no income security.

When classes are compared, the upper class had considerable more security (26%) than both the middle class (19%) and the lower class (16%).

TABLE I(E)

EVALUATION OF ALL INCOME SECURITY AND WELFARE PROGRAMS (Question 17)

			EVAL	NOITAU	OF PRO	GRAMS		
a	-	es	N	NO		t Know	Total	
CLASS	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	To
Upper	17	8	47	22	6	3	70	33
Middle	25	12	38	18	7	3	70	33
Lower	17	8	41	20	12	6	70	34
TOTAL	59	28	126	60	25	12	210	100
$x^2 = 5.6$		df :	= 4	P	= .30			

Almost two-thirds (60%) of the total sample indicated that all welfare and insurance programs did not meet the needs of all Canadians; whereas almost one-third (28%) of the total sample felt that the programs were adequately meeting the needs of Canadians. The remaining 12% stated they did not know. Comparison of upper, middle and lower class attitudes showed no significant differences.

TABLE I(F)

FAVORABILITY TOWARDS THE CONCEPT OF A G.A.I.

(Questions 18 - 20)

		FAVORABILITY									
OT LOG	Hig			Medium		Low		al			
CLASS	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	<b>%</b>			
Upper	19	9	13	6	<b>3</b> 8	18	70	33			
Middle	22	10	19	9	29	14	70	33			
Lower	35	17	16	8	19	9	70	34			
TOTAL	76	·36	48	23	86	41	210	100			
$x^2 = 13.14$		d:	f = 4		P = .05		λ <sub>= .1</sub>	21			

The total sample expressed the following favorability towards a guaranteed annual income:

high -36%

medium - 23%

low - 41%

When classes are compared over one-half of the upper class (N=38 out of 70 or 18% of the total sample) indicated little or no favorability. In contrast half of the lower class indicated a high preference for a guaranteed annual income (N=35 out of 70 or 17% of the total sample). The middle class, however, was almost equally divided among all categories.

TABLE I(G)
GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY (Question 22)

Charles and the charles and the charles are the charles and the charles are the charles and the charles are th		GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY									
CLASS	Ye	es %	NO N %		Don •	Don't Know		Total N %			
Upper	48	23	14	7	8	4	70	34			
Middle	51	24	14	7	5	2	70	33			
Lower	51	24	11	5	8	4	70	33			
TOTAL	150	71	39	19	21	10	210	100			
$x^2 = 1.44$ d		dí	c = 4		P =	.90					

A large majority of the total sample (71%) felt that the government should be responsible for providing a basic standard of living for those Canadians they thought were entitled to it. There was little differentiation among the three classes in all categories.

TABLE I(H)

PREFERENCE FOR FORM OF A G.A.I.

(Question 24)

выник водоприводом выповочно в соой		PREFERENCE FOR FORM										
CLASS	A	%	N E	%	N	<u>C</u>	D N	%	E N	%	To-	tal %
Upper	2	1	49		5	2	3	1	11	5	70	34
Middle	3	1	36	17	19	9	8	4	4	2	70	33
Lower	5	1	29	14	18	9	14	7	4	2	70	33
TOTAL	10	3	114	56	42	20	25	12	19	9	210	100
$x^2 =$	27.65		df	= 8		P	= .00	1		~ ~ =	.03	

Over half of the total sample (56%) showed a preference for a form of G.A.I., referred to as a negative income tax with work incentive (B); 20% desired a form of G.A.I. known as a universal demogrant (C); a small proportion (3%) chose a form entitled negative income tax (A). However, one fifth of the total sample (21%) either did not know or preferred none of the proposed plans (D and E). When classes are compared, all three classes showed a preference for plan B, which includes a work incentive, however the upper class showed a higher preference (25%) than either the middle (17%) or the lower class (14%). The upper class showed little preference for plan C (2%) as compared with

the middle and lower classes which showed a higher preference, (a combined percentage of 18%).

TABLE I(I)

WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS AS PART OF A G.A.I.
(Question 25)

		NECESSITY OF				AND PF	RICE CON	PROL
CLASS	Ye	Yes N % N		No %		Don't Know		tal
Upper	44	21	20	10	6		N 70	34
Middle	63	30	5	2	2		70	33
Lower	62	30	5	2	3	1	70	33
TOTAL	169	81	50	14	11	5	210	100
$x^2 = 21.42$ df		df	= 4	P	= .001		T =	. 31

All percentages are based on a total sample of 210 = 100%.

A very large majority of the total sample (81%) stated that wage and price controls are an important part of a G.A.I., as compared with 14% who said "no" and 5% who did not know.

Comparing classes, more of the upper class (10%) responded negatively than the middle and lower classes (2% and 2%).

TABLE I(J)

G.A.I. AND ACCEPTANCE OF INCREASED TAXATION (Question 26)

		AC	CEPTANCE	OF IN	CREASED	TAXAT	LON .	
CLASS	Y N	es %	N N	o %	Don N	°t Knov	v Tot	al %
Upper	37	18	27	12	6	3	70	
Middle	33	16	27	12	10	5	70	33
Lower	34	16	20	10	16	8	70	34
TOTAL	104	·50	74	34	32	16	210	100
$x^2 = 6.31$			df = 4		P	= .20		

Half of the total sample (50%) were of the opinion that they could support a G.A.I. even if they would have to pay more taxes. However, one third said "no" and 16% did not know. Generally, there was little differentiations among the 3 classes in all categories.

TABLE I(K)
WILLINGNESS TO WORK AND A G.A.I.
(Question 27)

		WILLINGNESS TO WORK									
	Y	es	No	No		Don't Know					
CLASS	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%			
Upper	53	25	9	4	8	4	70	33			
Middle	59	29	11	5	0	0	70	34			
Lower	56	27	9	4	5	2	70	33			
TOTAL	168	.81	29	13	13	6	210	100			
$x^2 = 3.81$			df = L	ļ.		P = .5	0				

Eighty-one per cent of the total sample felt they would work full time even if given a G.A.I., as compared with 13% who said "no" and 6% who did not know. Generally, there was little differentiation among the three classes in all categories.

TABLE I(L)

GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND A G.A.I.

(Question 28)

	-	GOVERNMENT CONTROL										
,		es	N	No		Don't Know		al				
CLASS	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%				
Upper	54	26	14	7	2	1	70	34				
Middle	41	20	24	11	5	2	70	33				
Lower	42	20	13	6	15	7	70	33				
TOTAL	137	.66	51	24	22	10	210	100				
$x^2 = 19$	.29		df = 4	· Planty over the same of the	P = .00	1	<b>λ</b> =	.27				

Two-thirds of the total sample (66%) thought that there would be more government control over their life if a G.A.I. were implemented, as compared with 24% who responded negatively, and 10% who didn't know. Although there was general agreement among the three classes in all categories, the upper classes felt that there was more likely to be government control (26%) as compared with the middle and lower classes (20% and 20%). More in the middle class responded negatively (11%) than either the upper class (7%) or the lower class (6%).

The correlations between the intervening and dependent variables (favorability to the concept of a

guaranteed annual income) follow in Tables II(A) to II(F). Social class is no longer regarded and the total sample of 210 respondents is used instead. A short explanatory statement follows each table.

It should be noted that high, medium and low categories are designated on the basis of section score (see Appendix III) as contrasted with responses to individual questions: yes, no, or don't know (see Tables II(E) and II(F)).

Analysis of probability and correlation is contained in the summary (pp. 75-9).

TABLE II(A) AWARENESS OF POVERTY (Questions 1-5) AND FAVORABILITY TOWARDS THE CONCEPT OF A G.A.I. (Questions 18-20)

	er post of the second of the second of								
		.I							
AWARENESS OF	High		Medium		I	Low		Total	
POVERTY	N	%	N	υ) /0	И	%	N	%	
High	7	3	4	2	7	3	18	8	
Middle	24	11	11	5	29	14	64	30	
Low	43	20	- 33	16	52	26	128	62	
TOTAL	74	34	48	23	88	43	210	100	
$x^2 = 2.27$			df = 4		P	= .70			

All percentages are based on a total sample of 210 = 100%.

P = .70

When comparing awareness of poverty and attitude to G.A.I., there does not seem to be a clear-cut relation-ship. The highest agreement is 26% amongst those who show a low awareness and low favorability. See Appendix III for interpretation of high, medium and low categories.

TABLE II(B)

AWARENESS OF INCOME INSURANCE AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAMS
(Questions 6 - 8) AND FAVORABILITY TOWARDS A G.A.I.
(Questions 18 - 20)

AWARENESS OF	FAVORABILITY TO A G.A.I.									
INCOME SECURITY PROGRAMS	High N %		Medium N %		Low N %		Total N %			
High	16	8	9	4	14	7	<b>3</b> 9	19		
Medium	49	23	26	12	64	31	139	66		
Low	15	7	9	4	8	4	32	15		
TOTAL	80	38	44	20	86	42	210	100		
$x^2 = 5.19$		df = 4		P	= .30					

All percentages are based on a total sample of 210 = 100%.

There appears to be no relationship between the awareness of income insurance and maintenance programs and favorability to G.A.I., e.g. medium awareness of programs is almost equally related to both high and low favorability (23% and 31% respectively).

TABLE II(C)

EVALUATION OF INCOME SECURITY PROGRAMS (Questions 9-14)
AND FAVORABILITY TOWARDS A G.A.I. (Questions 18-20)

EVALUATION OF			FAVORA	BILIT	TY TO A	G.A.I	- 0	
INCOME SECURITY PROGRAMS	Hi.	07	Med:	ium	Lo N	<b>w</b>	Tot	كالمراجع فالمناطقة فللمساخ
		70	14		11	70	N	%
High	16	8	13	6	17	8	46	22
Medium	24	11	14	7	29	14	67	32
Low	35	17	22	10	40	19	97	46
TOTAL	75	.36	49	23	86	41	210	100
$x^2 = 1.00$			df = 4			D -	0.5	

All percentages are based on a total sample of 210 = 100%.

In considering the possible relationship between evaluation of programs and favorability to a G.A.I., it was found there was little or no relationship. Thus those respondents who felt that the programs were inadequate, did not necessarily agree that a G.A.I. was desirable.

TABLE II(D)

PERSONAL INCOME SECURITY (Questions 15 - 16) AND FAVORABILITY TO A G.A.I. (Questions 18 - 20)

			FAV	ORABIL	ITY TO A	G.A.	Ι.	
INCOME SECURITY	Hig:	h	Med: N		Low N %		Tot	al
High	43	20	26	12	61	30	130	62
Medium	15	7	15	7	13	6	43	20
Low	20	10	6	3	11	5	37	18
TOTAL	<b>7</b> 8	.37	47	22	85	41	210	100
$x^2 = 9.58$		df =	4	P = .	05	ለ =	.08	

x = 9.50  $\alpha I = 4$  P = .05  $\alpha = .08$ 

All percentages are based on a total sample of 210 = 100%.

When comparing income security and favorability to a G.A.I., it was found that there appeared to be a slight relationship: high income security with low favorability (30%). However, this was somewhat offset by 20% agreement between high security and high favorability.

TABLE II(E)

EVALUATION OF ALL INCOME SECURITY AND WELFARE PROGRAMS (Question 17) AND FAVORABILITY TOWARDS A G.A.I. (Questions 18 - 20)

EVALUATION			FAVORA	BILIT	Y TO A C	A.I.		
OF PROGRAMS	Hi N	gh %	Med N	ium %		Low		al
	<del></del>		14	70	N	%	N	%
Yes	13	6	11	5	35	17	59	28
No	61	30	26	12	39	19	126	61
Don't Know	4	2	10	4	11	5	25	11
TOTAL	<b>7</b> 8	<b>3</b> 8	47	21	85	41	210	100
$x^2 = 44.39$		df =	4	P	= .001	——— = 人	.17	

All percentages are based on a total sample of 210 = 100%.

There was a moderate relationship between a negative assessment of the welfare programs available to Canadians today and a high favorability to a G.A.I. (30%). To a lesser degree there was a relationship between a positive assessment of the welfare programs and low favorability to a G.A.I. (17%).

TABLE II(F)

PREFERENCE FOR A FORM OF G.A.I. (Question 24) AND FAVORABILITY TO A G.A.I. (Questions 18 - 20)

PREFERENCE			FAVOR	ABILI	TY TO A	G.A.I			
FOR A FORM OF G.A.I.	Hi N	gh %	Med N	Medium N %		Low N %		Total N %	
Negative Income Tax	5	2	4	2	1	1	10		
Negative Income Tax With Work Incentive	36	17	32	15	46	22	114	54	
Universal Demogrant	21	10	5	2	16	8	42	20	
Don't Know	8	4	7	3	10	5	25	12	
None of the Above	3	1	2	1.	14	7	19	9	
TOTAL	73	34	50	23	87	43	210	100	
$x^2 = 20.92$		dí	? = 8	-	P = .0	)1	<i>∂</i> =	.07	

All percentages are based on a total sample of 210 = 100%.

There appears to be no clear cut relationship between preference for form of a guaranteed annual income and favorability to the general concept of a G.A.I. Although over half (54%) of the total sample selected the plan with the work incentive this had no apparent effect on their attitude to the general concept, i.e. 17% were highly favorable, 15% were moderately in favor, and 22% show little or

no favorability.

It is also noted that 10% of the total sample who scored high on favorability towards a G.A.I. favored a universal demogrant plan.

Although the major focus of the study is to compare social class attitudes to a guaranteed annual income, it was felt that comparison by age groups, income groups, and number of dependents would yield additional insight.

Almost half (44%) of the total sample fell in the 40 to 60 age group, compared with 35% who were under 40 years of age, and 21% who were 60 years and over.

Income group information yielded the following proportions: 38% of the sample had incomes of \$6,000 per year or less; 29% reported incomes between \$6,000 and \$9,000, and 33% showed incomes over \$9,000.

Since almost the total sample was married (90%), it was felt to be more meaningful to compare number of dependents in the household: 42% of the total sample had no dependents; 37% of the respondents had one or two dependents and 21% reported three or more dependents.

Age, income and number of dependents was then compared with the respondents favorability to the concept of a G.A.I.

TABLE III(A)

AGE AND FAVORABILITY TO THE CONCEPT OF A G.A.I.

(Questions 18 - 20)

		FAVO	RABILITY	TO	THE	CONC	EPT (	OF A	G.A.	I.
A CLE		.gh	Medi	Medium		Low			Total	
AGE	N	%	N	%		N	%		N	%
- 40	26	34	21	29		27	37		74	100
41 - 59	32	35	21	23		<b>3</b> 8	42		91	100
60 +	18	41	6	14		21	45		45	100
TOTAL	76	110	48	66		86	124		210	300
$x^2 = 3.73$			df =	4			P	= .7	'0	

All percentages are based on a sample of 70 = 100%.

Since the distribution seems even across all cells, there is little or no correlation between age and favorability to a G.A.I.

TABLE III(B)

NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS AND FAVORABILITY TOWARDS A G.A.I. (Questions 18 - 20)

		FAVO	RABILITY	TO TH	IE CONCE	PT OF	A G.A.I	
DEPENDENTS	<u>Hi</u>	gh %	Med N	ium		Low		al
			14	70	N	%	N	%
None	35	40	21	24	32	36	88	100
1 - 2	26	33	16	21	36	46	78	100
3 +	15	35	11	25	1.8	40	44	100
TOTAL	76	108	48	70	86	122	210	300
$x^2 = 3.65$	6 df = 4				P	= .70		

All percentages are based on a sample of 70 = 100%.

The number of dependents in each household, did not seem to effect one's favorability to a G.A.I.

TABLE III(C)

INCOME AND FAVORABILITY TOWARDS A G.A.I.
(Questions 18 - 20)

		FAVORA	BILITY	TO THE	CONCER	T OF	A G.A.I.		
TMOONT		gh	Med	lium	I	ow	Tot	Total	
INCOME	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
- \$6000	38	47	18	26	18	27	74	100	
\$6 - \$9000	19	35	16	28	23	37	58	100	
\$9000 +	19	30	11	15	38	55	68	100	
TOTAL	76	1,12	45	69	79	119	200	300	
$x^2 = 12$	df = 4				P =	02			

All percentages are based on a sample of 70 = 100%.

Almost one half (47%) of those with incomes below \$6,000 had a high favorability to a G.A.I. with the remaining half of the respondents falling equally into medium and low categories. Those with incomes falling between \$6,000 to \$9,000 showed little differentiation among the high, medium and low favorability cells. Among those with incomes above \$9,000. over half (55%) had a low favorability to a G.A.I. while one third (30%) had a high favorability and the remaining 15% had medium favorability. Therefore there appears to be a relationship between income and favorability, i.e. low income (\$6,000 or less) relates to high favorability,

and high income (\$9,000 +) is associated with low favorability to the concept of a G.A.I.

#### Summary of Data Analysis

From Tables I(A) to I(K), our goal was twofold: first to examine the total sample as to their knowledge and attitudes to the intervening variables (awareness of poverty, awareness of income security programs, evaluation of income insurance and maintenance programs, personal income security, evaluation of all income security and welfare programs, and the various ramifications of a G.A.I.) as well as the dependent variables (favorability towards the concept of a G.A.I. and preference for a form of G.A.I.) and secondly, the social class (upper, middle and lower) relationship to these above named variables.

Of the total sample, it was generally found that there was a low awareness of poverty (61%); a moderate awareness of income insurance and maintenance programs (66%); a low evaluation of income insurance and maintenance programs (47%); a high feeling of personal income security (61%); a negative feeling as to the adequacy of all present welfare and insurance programs in Canada (60%); a strong feeling that government should be responsible for the implementation of a G.A.I (71%); that wage and price controls would be a necessary part of a G.A.I. plan (81%); that if a G.A.I. were

implemented, a moderate number would accept an increase in taxation (50%); that people would continue to work with the implementation of a G.A.I. (81%); and that there would be more government control over one's life with the implementation of a G.A.I. (66%).

In addition, feelings were mixed as to favorability towards the concept of a G.A.I. (high favorability - 31%; medium - 23%; low - 41%) and when various G.A.I. plans were proposed, over half (56%) showed a preference for a negative income tax with a work incentive.

When classes were compared, it was found: that the lower class had a lower awareness of poverty (Table I(A); P = .001), that all classes had an equal awareness of the income insurance and maintenance programs (Table I(B); P = .30), that the upper class had a more negative evaluation of the income insurance and maintenance programs (Table I(C); P = .01), that the upper class had a feeling of stronger personal income security (Table I(D); P = .01), that there was no significant class difference when all income security and welfare programs were evaluated (Table I(E), P = .30), that there was little class difference regarding government responsibility for a G.A.I., that the upper class felt that wage and price controls were less a part of a G.A.I. than the other two classes (Table I(I); P = .001), that there was little differentiation among the classes regarding

acceptance of increased taxation with a G.A.I. (Table I(J); P = .20), that the three classes showed equal willingness to work even with the implementation of a G.A.I. plan (Table I(K); P = .50) and that the upper class showed a stronger feeling that there would be increased government control over their lives with the implementation of a G.A.I. plan (Table I(L); P = .001).

Regarding the favorability towards the concept of a G.A.I., the lower class were more in favor than the other classes (Table I(F); P = .05) and the upper class showed the strongest preference for a G.A.I. plan in the form of a negative income tax with a work incentive (Table I(H); P = .001).

Two measures of association were applied to those tables which had a P = .05 or less in order to discover whether knowledge of class would permit prediction of the intervening and dependent variables.

Low, but positive association was found between social class and the dependent variables: favorability to the concept of a G.A.I. (I(F) -  $\lambda$  .12) and preference for a specific form of a G.A.I. (I(H) -  $\tilde{1}$  .03).

The intervening variables showed various associations: no association was found between social class and awareness of programs (I(B), evaluation of programs I(E), government responsibility for a G.A.I. (I(G)), acceptance

of increased taxation (I(J)) and willingness to work (I(K)). A low, but positive association was found between social class and awareness of poverty (I(C) -  $\tilde{i}$  .18), personal income security (I(D) -  $\tilde{i}$  .19), wage and price controls (I(F) -  $\tilde{i}$  .31), and government control (I(L) -  $\tilde{i}$  .27).

The purpose of the correlational tables (II(A) - II(F)) was to ascertain the degree of relationship between the intervening variables and the dependent variable for the total sample.

It was found that of the six intervening variables, three showed a positive relationship to the dependent variable and the other three did not.

No relationship was discovered between:

- awareness of poverty and favorability to a G.A.I. (Table II(A) P = .70)
- awareness of income insurance and maintenance programs and favorability to a G.A.I. (II(B) P = .30)
- evaluation of income security programs and favorability to a G.A.I. (II(C) - P = .95)

A positive relationship was found between:

- income security and favorability to a G.A.I. (II(D)
  P = .05)
- evaluation of all programs and favorability to a G.A.I. (II(E) P = .001)
- preference for a form of G.A.I. and favorability to

### a G.A.I. (II(F) - P = .01)

In order to discover whether knowledge of the intervening variable would in any way permit the prediction of the dependent variable, Goodman and Kruskal lambda as a measure of association was applied to Table II(D), yielding a very low, but positive association of  $\lambda$ .08, and to Table II(E), which showed a low but positive association of  $\lambda$ .17, and to Table II(F) with a very low association of  $\lambda$ .07.

The third set of tables compared face sheet information of all respondents and favorability to the concept of a G.A.I. age and number of dependents were found to have little or no relationship to favorability (Table III(A) - P = .70 and Table III(B) - P. = .70 respectively). Income was significant in that those respondents with incomes above \$9000 had a lower favorability to the concept of a G.A.I. Those with lower incomes (less than \$6000) were more in favor of the G.A.I. concept (Table III(C) - P = .02). This confirms the previous finding that the lower class was more in favor of the concept of a G.A.I. than the other classes. (Table I(F)).

A fourth set of tables is found in Appendix V show-ing correlations between the intervening variables and preference for a form of G.A.I. (Question 24). No attempt was made to establish significance levels or measure the association.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>John H. Mueller, Karl F. Schwessler, and Herbert L. Costner, <u>Statistical Reasoning in Sociology</u>, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970), pp. 429-437. Note: The chi-square technique is applicable only when samples are randomly and independently selected. The raw chi-square is a variable quantity: a relatively large x<sup>2</sup> will suggest that the two variables are independent of each other. In order to compute chi-square, the following formulas were used:

$$x^2 = \varepsilon \frac{(o - E)^2}{E}$$
 (p. 434).

Degrees of Freedom (df) were based on (r-1) (c-1) (p. 433)

3<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 249-263. As a measure of association, Goodman and Krushal's Lambda is normed at o-1, thus a  $\lambda = .75$  indicates that 75 per cent fewer errors in predicting the dependent variable will be made by utilizing knowledge of the independent variable than by predicting on the basis of the marginal modal attribute. The computing formula is:

$$\lambda_{c} = \frac{\stackrel{E}{i=1} \quad max. \quad hij - max \quad hi}{n - max \quad hi} \quad (p. 252)$$

Goodman and Krushal's Tau differs from Lambda, since it can be applied even though each subclass of the independent variable has the same modal attribute. The computing formula is:

5<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 249-263.

#### CHAPTER IV

#### DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

#### A. Limitations

It must be reiterated that the primary goal of the study is to describe the community's reaction to a G.A.I.

The correlations between intervening and dependent variables is of a secondary interest. There are a number of limitations of which we have become aware throughout this research process:

- (1) Since there have been few attitude studies of a G.A.I.

  (See Appendix 6) and related concepts, the researchers were faced with the task of defining and operationalizing the concepts in such a way that meaningful data could be collected. The major effort was focussed on formulating clear questions rather than defining hypotheses. As a consequence, the questionnaire was revised a number of times.
- A pre-test was administered and as a result various questions were clarified. The validity of the questions relating to the concepts was not adequately tested.

  Most questions were asked with yes, no and don't know responses, however only yes and no responses were utilized in the analysis. In cases where several

questions were related to one concept, the questions were not weighted as to their value in eliciting an attitude. Since each question in a section was given equal weight, the total section score may not be a reliable indicator of the strength of the total response. It must also be noted that the open-ended questions were not used for analysis, but rather facilitated the free expression of the respondent. The respondents may also have been influenced by the interviewer, since a large number were utilized.

(3) The sample based on Blishen's scale had to be slightly modified as several occupations which fell into the upper class by our definition, in fact reflected a middle class position based on their income, and occupation (see Appendix II). The sample location was based on the 1961 census tracts. In the intervening period, housing patterns had changed in some areas of the city which resulted in the slight modification of the original sampling procedure in one tract.

The correlation tables might have been more meaningful with a larger sample. It is further noted that since
our total sample consisted of only male respondents, that
this does not give a precise attitude indication of the
total community. Also, it should be noted, that single
transient males were under represented.

### B. Observations

In closing this study we would like to make a few observations that could be helpful in future research in this area. They are:

- (1) Regardless of class, people appear to have a low awareness of poverty. This may reflect the inadequacy with which researchers, educators and the mass media have dealt with the subject. Furthermore there appears to be little public demand to realistically come to grips with the problem of poverty.
- (2) Many of our respondents felt that the present welfare system (income security programs) is inadequate to meet the changing needs of Canadians. Their main criticisms were that the allotted money was too low and that the respective income security programs were confusing as to clarity of purpose, and eligibility.
- (3) The lower class indicated a greater favorability towards a G.A.I. than the other two classes. Perhaps this is the result of a feeling of relative deprivation in respect to the rest of society and a feeling of a need for change in government commitment and programming.
- (4) There seems to be a feeling of uneasiness among the population we sampled in regards to government expanding its jurisdiction over day to day life. The

- feelings for individual freedom and initiative still appear to be very strong in the community (Table I(I) and I(L)).
- ity. Many people very vigorously opposed giving government handouts to those unemployed who appear to be mentally and physically able to work. Furthermore, the majority of respondents indicated a preference for a G.A.I. plan which involved a work incentive and an even larger majority stated that they would continue to work full time even with the implementation of a G.A.I.
- (6) When comparing class attitudes to the necessity for wage and price controls (as a part of a G.A.I. question 25) and government control (as a ramification of a G.A.I. question 28), it is noted that both the middle and lower class felt that wage and price controls were necessary (62 out or 70, and 63 out of 70 respectively) as compared with the upper class (44 out of 70). This trend is reversed when a majority of the upper class (54 out of 70) were afraid of government control over their lives, as compared with the middle class (41 out of 70) and the lower class (42 out of 70). It might be concluded therefore that the middle and lower classes feel the necessity for

wage and price controls does not necessarily lead to government control over their lives as the upper class figures seem to indicate.

(7) When comparing the correlations of personal income security (Questions 15 and 16) and evaluation of all income security and welfare programs (Question 17) to favorability to a G.A.I. (Questions 18 - 20), a parallel was found between high income security and low favorability, and high evaluation and low favorability. However, no such agreement was found between evaluation of individual programs (Questions 9 - 14) and the total system (Question 17). It is estimated that the personal nature of questions 15 and 16 intervened, and thereby introduced an extraneous factor.

### C. Implication for Future Research

The original purpose of the study was an attempt to discover attitudes to a Guaranteed Annual Income. It was found that many variables influenced these attitudes: social class position, awareness of poverty and current programs, job security, values, anticipation of consequences, etc. In this process we found that our research led us to more and more questions such as the interaction among the variables.

The survey of the literature suggested a link

between changes in social policy and social upheaval, it becomes increasingly important, therefore, at this time of "future shock" for government to plan for change and use consumer preferences as a basis for planning.

Considerable research is therefore needed in such areas as:

- the nature and effects of poverty in Canada
- effects of "patchwork" social security programs as compared with universal programs
- values and assumptions underlying social policy and their relation to societal goals
- social issues and their effect on the life style of the individual; e.g. automation versus leisure time.

  This of course also puts the burden on government to educate and inform the general public.

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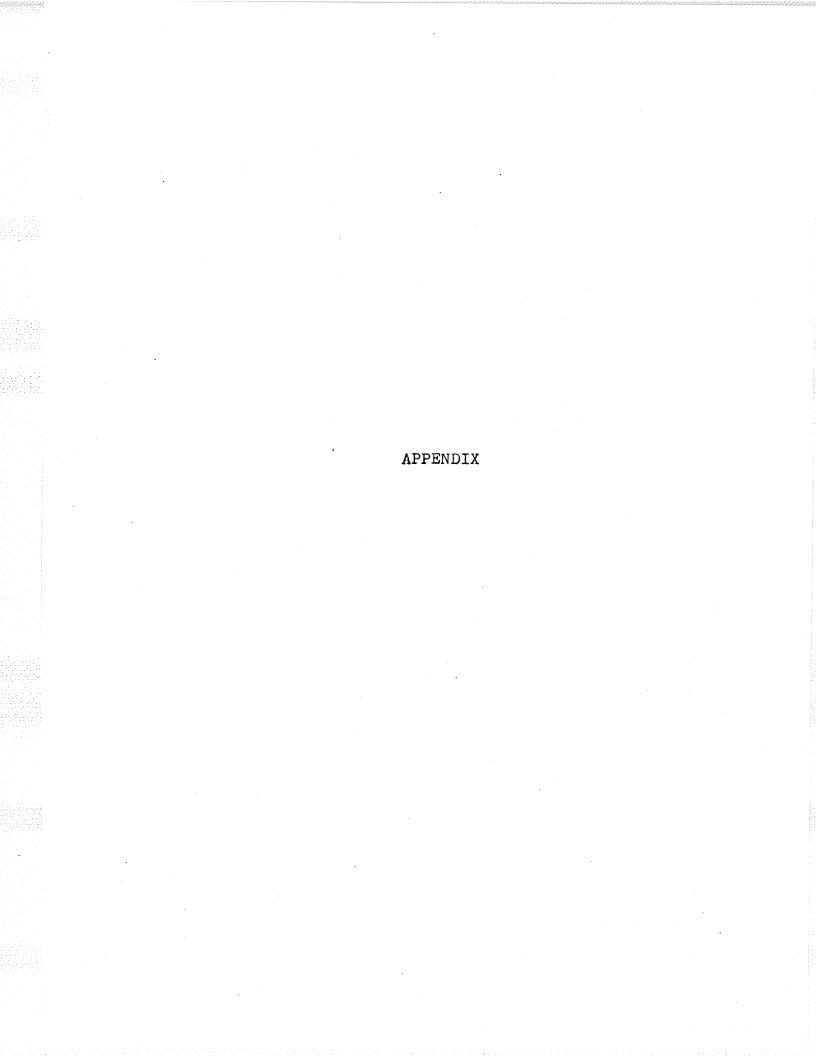
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### APPENDIX I

### SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

1.	How much do you think an individual (i.e. a single person) has to earn in a year to be out of poverty? \$
2.	How much for a family of four? \$
3.	What percentage of Canadians do you think live in poverty?
4.	What percentage of Winnipeggers do you think live in poverty?
5.	What percentage of Canadians work full time still live in poverty?
6.	Have you ever received, or are presently receiving:  a) Family Allowances: Yes no  b) Old Age Security: yes no  c) Canada Pension: yes no  d) Unemployment Insurance: yes no  e) Workmen's Compensation: Yes no  f) Welfare: Yes no
7.	Do you know someone who is receiving:  a) Family Allowances: yes no b) Old Age Security: yes no c) Canada Pension: yes no d) Unemployment Insurance: yes no e) Workmen's Compensation: yes no f) Welfare: yes no
8.	If you were in need of one of these programs would you know how to obtain it?  a) Family Allowances: yes no b) Old Age Security: yes no c) Canada Pension: yes no d) Unemployment Insurance: yes no e) Workmen's Compensation: yes no f) Welfare: yes no
9.	The purpose of the new Family Allowances plan is to guarantee more money for children of middle and lower income families. Do you think the plan meets the needs of these families? yes no don't know if "no", why not?

continued.....

10.	The goal of Old Age Security and the Guaranteed Income Supplement is to guarantee the aged a basic standard of living. In your opinion, does the plan meet the needs of aged people? yes no don't know If "no", why not?
11.	The objective of Unemployment Insurance is to provide financial assistance to workers during periods of temporary unemployment. Do you think the plan meets the needs of these workers? yes no don't know If "no", why not?
12.	The purpose of Workmen's Compensation is to pay money to a worker who is injured on the job, or to his widow if he is killed on the job. In your opinion, does the program meet the needs of these workers or their families? yes no don't know if "no", why not?
13.	The goal of the Canada pension plan is to enable Canadians to provide money for their retirement, or to make payments to Canadians who are permanently disabled or to families in the event of death of the breadwinner Do you think this plan meets the needs of Canadians?  yes no don't know If "no", why not?
14.	The purpose of Welfare is to provide financial assistance to persons in need. In your opinion, does welfare meet the needs of these people? yes no don't know If "no", why not?
15.	Do you think your income from all sources (job, private insurance, and public plans) is sufficient to meet your needs? yes no don't know If "no", why not?
16.	Do you think your income from all sources will continue to meet your needs? yes no don't know
17.	Taking all welfare and insurance programs into consideration, do you think that the basic needs of all individuals and all families are being adequately met in Canada today? yes no don't know
18.	Do you think a guaranteed annual income could be an improved way of meeting the basic needs of all individuals and all families? yes no don't know In what way?

continued.....

19.	Do you think Canada can afford a guaranteed annual income plan at this time? yes no don't know In what way?
20.	Do you think all Canadians should be assured a basic standard of living through a guaranteed annual income? yes no don*t know
21.	If "no" to question 20, who do you think should not be guaranteed a basic standard of living through a guaranteed annual income?
22.	For those you consider entitled to a basic standard of living, should the government be responsible for providing it? yes no don't know
23.	If "no" to question 22, who do you think should be responsible?
24.	Which of the following forms of a guaranteed annual income would you prefer?
	a) negative income tax plan: for example:     earned_income guaranteed_annual_total_income:     from_work: income:     \$ 0   \$ 3500    \$ 3500 \$ 1000    \$ 2500    \$ 3500 \$ 3500    \$ 0    \$ 3500 \$ 3500+    \$ 0    \$ 3500+     (the first \$3500 is not taxable)
	b) negative income tax with work incentive plan, e.g. earned income guaranteed annual total income: from work:  \$ 0 \$ 3500 \$ 3500 \$ 1000 \$ 3000 \$ 4000 \$ 3500 \$ 1750 \$ 5250 \$ 7000 \$ 0 \$ 7000 \$ 7000+ \$ 0 \$ 7000+ (the first \$7000 is not taxable)
	c) universal demogrant - for example  earned income guaranteed annual total income:  from work:  \$ 0 \$ 3500 the guaranteed  \$ 1000 \$ 3500 annual income  \$ 3500 \$ 3500 is added to  \$ 7000 \$ 3500 earned income  \$ 50000 \$ 3500 and taxed together  (the first \$3500 is not taxable)

	d) don*t know
	e) none of the above
25.	Do you think that wage and price controls are an important part of a guaranteed annual income plan?  yes no don't know
26.	Could you support the proposal of a guaranteed annual income even if you would have to pay more taxes?  yes no don't know
27.	If you were guaranteed an annual income, would you work full time? yes no don't know
28.	If you were guaranteed an annual income do you think there would be more government control over your life? yes no don't know
Addit	cional Comments:
	a) respondent -
	b) interviewer -
Stati	stical Information:
	age: - 20 21-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61-70 71+
	sex: malefemale
	marital status: single married other
	number of dependents: spouse children other
	occupation: if unemployed, give last
	education:
<b>8</b> & A	income: \$ 1 - \$ 3000 total family \$ 3001 - \$ 6000 income: \$ \$ 9001 - \$ 12000 \$ \$ 12001 - \$ 15000 and over
pa 25 76	

### APPENDIX II

# BLISHEN - "A SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDEX FOR OCCUPATIONS IN CANADA" 1

# A. Upper Class - Occupation Scoring from 40.00 plus

Architects			
Brokers, agents and appraisers	Actuaries, statisticians  Agric. prof'ls  Advertising managers  Airpilots, navigators  Authors, ed., journalists  Artists, art teachers  Advertising Salesmen  Artists comm  Artists comm  Actors, entertainers and showmen	68.80 67.78 66.96 66.05 66.04 64.23 58.21 55.37 54.06 51.11 43.85	A
Civil engineers	Brokers, agents and appraisers	54.74 49.55 47.60	В
Draughtsmen	Civil engineers Chemists Computer programmers Credit managers Clergymen and Priests Commercial travellers Conductors, railroad Clerical occupations Compositors and typesetters	75.16 70.94 67.50 60.81 59.20 52.68 45.68 42.98 42.30	C
Economists 71.89 Engravers (except photo-engravers) 47.95	Draughtsmen	57.82	D
	Economists Engravers (except photo-engravers)	71.89	E

continued.....

Funeral directors and embalmers	49.21 49.11 46.75 45.36 45.01	F
Geologists	75.49	G
Industrial engineers	58.17 55.19	I
Judges and Magistrates	72.24	J
Lawyers and notaries	75.41 63.76 45.99 45.85 45.00 40.92	L
Mining engineers	75.42 72.78 50.93 48.56 43.05 42.76 41.43 40.12	M
Nurses-in-training	49.91 42.57	
Optometrists	70.25 68.32 67.28 66.79 65.78	0
- month was more part by the far minns fr. 162 " " " "	05.29	

continued .....

Owners and	managers,	paper and allied industries	64.78
Owners and	managers,	finance, insurance.	
real esta	ate		64.52
Owners and	managers,	rubber industries	64.09
Owners and	managers,	machinery industries	63.76
Owners and	managers,	petroleum and coal products	
industrie	)S		63.02
Owners and	managers,	mines, quarries and oil wells.	61.99
Owners and	managers,	textile industries	61.96
Owners and	managers,	transportation equipment	
industrie	S		61.75
Office mana	agers		60.42
Owners and	managers,	health and welfare services	60.07
Owners and	managers,	printing, publishing and	
allied in	dustries		59.69
Owners and	managers,	federal administrator	59.60
Owners and	managers,	knitting mills	59.28
Owners and	managers,	miscellaneous manufacturing	
industrie	S		58.29
Other healt	h profess	ionals	58.27
Owners and	managers,	metal fabricating industries	57.60
Owners and	managers,	leather industries	57.23
Owners and	managers,	non-metallic mineral	
products	industries		55.41
Owners and	managers,	clothing industries	54.77
Owners and			54.54
Owners and	managers,	transportation, communication	-
	utilities		53.85
Owners and	managers,		
Owners and	managers,	local administrators	53.80 53.29
Owners and	managers,	furniture and fixtures	
industrie	S		52.11
Owners and	managers,	food and beverages	
industrie	8		51.70
Office appl	iance oper	ators	47.12
Owners and			46.95
Owners and		wood industries	45.52
Owners and		miscellaneous service	45.48
Owners and	managers,	motion picture and re-	-
creationa			45.19
Owners and			44.00
Owners and		retail trade	43.69
Owners and	managers,		40.14

Professors and college principals	F
Radio and T.V. announcer	R
School teachers	S
Teachers and instructor	T
Weterinarians	V
Bookbinders	В

continued ..

Chemical and related process workers  Civilian protective service occupations*  * includes firemen, fire protection; policemen and detectives; and guards, watchmen  Cellulose-pulp preparers  Crushers, millers, calenderers - chemical  Cuttors markers	35.80	C
Cutters, markers - textiles; garment and glove leather	30 88	
Driver-salesman	30.74 30.56	D
Engineering officers, ship	33.80	E
Foreman, all other industries	39.54 39.03 38.21 37.63 35.05 34.75	F
Filers, grinders, sharpeners	33.03 32.18 31.85 31.28	
General foreman, construction	37.90	G
Heat-treaters, annealers, temperers	34.09 34.06 30.43	H
Inspectors, graders and samplers	39.76 39.21 33.80	I
Jewellers and watchmakers	36.55	J

continued .....

Lens grinders and polishers; opticians	34.61	L
Millwrights Machinists and machine tool setters Metal-treating occupations Mechanics and repairmen Metal drawers and extruders Miners Millmen Metal working machine operators Moulders Mechanics and repairmen, motor vehicle Mechanics and repairmen, railroad equipment Metal working occupations Meat-canners, curers, packers Motormen (vehicle), except railway	39.83 36.90 34.79 33.40 33.38 32.13 31.67 31.32 31.30 31.29 30.48 30.48	M
Nursing assistants and aides	32.14	N
Operators, electric street railway	37.80 34.97 30.43	0
Pattern-makers (except paper) Postmasters Pressmen, printing Projectionists, motion picture Prospectors Plumbers and pipefitters Paper-making occupations Porters, baggage and pullman Production process and related workers Paper products makers Paper products makers Postman and mail carriers Painters (construction and maintenance) paper hangers and glaziers Painters (except construction and maintenance)	31.30 31.00 30.53 30.52 30.08 30.00	P
Quarriers and related workers	31.61	Q

continued.....

# APPENDIX II (continued)

Rolling-mill operators	3/1. 77	R
Stationary enginemen Sales clerks Stewards Stock clerks and storekeepers Switchmen and signalmen Sheet-metal workers Service workers Shipping and receiving clerks Service-station attendants	35.32 34.63 33.76 33.49 32.17	S
Tire and tube builders	30.39 30.26 30.07	T
Upholsterers	30.27	U
Well-drillers and related workers	32.79	W
C. Lower Class - Occupation Scoring from 25.36 to 29	99	
Attendants, recreation and amusement	29.92 28.44	A
Baby sitters	29.93 29.93 29.80	В
Clay, glass and stone workers Carpenters Cooks Construction workers Cement and concrete-finishers Carders, combers and other fibre-preparers	29.71 29.43 29.43	C

continued ....

# APPENDIX II (continued)

Dressmakers and seamstresses	28.77	D
Engine-room ratings, firemen and oilers, ship Elevator-tenders, building	28.11 27.96	E
Fruit and vegetable-canners and packers	29.60 28.69 27.97 27.77 27.17 26.09	F
Gardeners (except farm) and groundskeepers	29.27 27.79	G
Janitors and cleaners, building	28.22	J
Knitters Kitchen helpers and related service workers		K
Labourers, mine Labourers, paper and allied industries Labourers, communication and storage Longshoremen and stevedors Labourers, electric power, gas and water utilities. Labourers, all other industries Launderers and dry cleaners Labourers, other public administration and defence. Labourers, food and beverage industries Labourers, food and beverage industries Labourers, transportation (except railway) Labourers, wood industries Labourers, transportation equipment industries Labourers, construction Labourers, construction Labourers and loom-preparers Lumberman, including labourers in logging Labourers, textile and clothing industries Labourers, textile and clothing industries	26.71	L
Materials-handling equipment operators	29.49 29.23	M
Newsvendors	28.03	N

continued....

# APPENDIX II (continued)

Other rubber workers		C
Plasterers and lathers	9.90 9.12	P
Riveters and rivet heaters 2	8.76	R
Sawyers	8.52 8.29 7.87 7.87 6.94 6.57 6.56	s
Transport occupations	9.31 8.63 8.42 6.71 5.36	T
Vulcanizers 29	9.62	V
Woodworking occupations	9.18 3.56 3.29 5.77	W

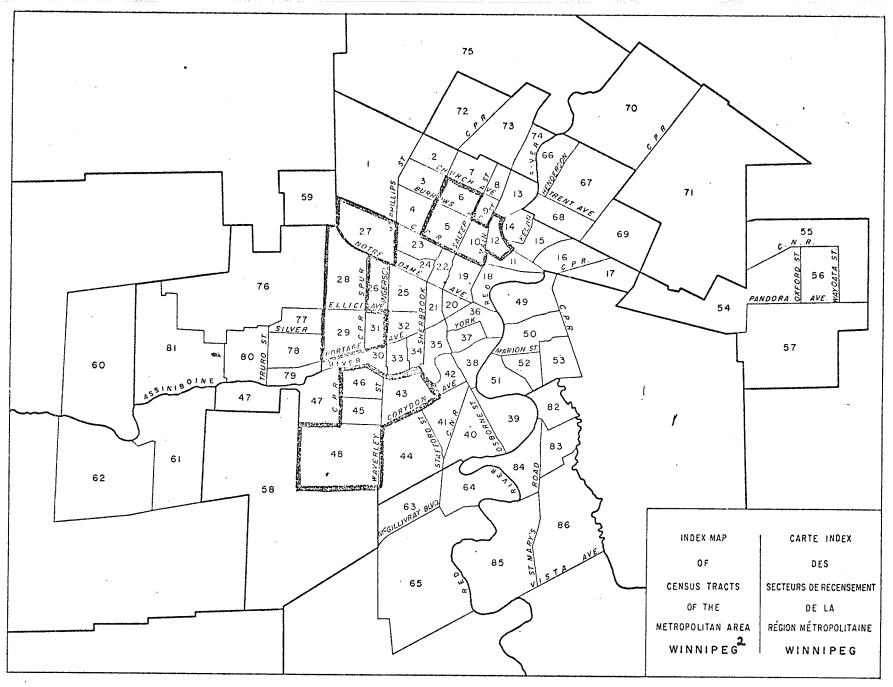
# APPENDIX III SAMPLE LOCATION + MAP OF WINNIPEG CENSUS<sup>2</sup> TRACTS

The percentage of professional and managerial occupations, and craftsmen and labourer classes in the total
male occupation force was computed for each census tract
in the City of Winnipeg (1961). Those tracts finally
selected for the sample location (based on highest concentration of similar occupation, homogeneity and residential
stability) showed the following percentages:

MALE OCCUPATION DIVISION

Census	Tract*	Professional and Managerial (%)	Craftsmen and Labourer (%)	Remaining Occupation (%)	Total
Tract	#45	68	8	24	100
Tract	#46	66	18	16	100
Tract	#48	52	6	42	100
Tract	#43	49	18	33	100
Tract	#31	21	31	48	100
Tract	#29	30	18	52	100
Tract	#28	34	22	44	100
Tract	#27	47	9	44	100
Tract	#6	12	60	28	100
Tract	#5	7	58	35	100
Tract;	#10	6	60	34	100
Tract ;	#12	4	65	31	100

See map on next page.



#### APPENDIX IV

#### SUMMARY OF DATA CLASSIFICATION

Section A (Questions 1-5) Awareness of Poverty

Question 1 - High: \$1605 - \$2675

Medium: \$1070 - \$1604; or \$2676 - \$3210

Low: \$1069 or less; or \$3211 and up

Question 2 - High: \$3750 - \$6250

Medium: \$2500 - \$3749; or \$6251 - \$7500

Low: \$2499 or less; or \$7501 and up

Question 3 - High: 18.70% - 31.50%

Medium: 12.30 - 18.69%; or 31.51 - 37.99%

Low: 12.29% or less; or 38.0% and up

Question 4 - High: 15.30 - 25.50%

Medium: 10.20 - 15.29%; or 25.51% - 30.69%

Low: 10.19% or less; or 30.70% and up

Question 5 - High: 14.30 - 23.75%

Medium: 9.50% - 14.29%; or 23.76% - 28.06%

Low: 9.49% or less; or 28.07% and up

Total Section: Each high response was assigned a score of 2, medium equalled 1, and no value was assigned to low answers. For the total section 8 - 10 points was considered high, 5 - 7 points was medium, and a score of 4 and less was low (see Chapter II for source of correct answers).

## APPENDIX IV (continued)

Section B (Questions 6-8) Awareness of Income Insurance and Maintenance Programs

All yes responses were assigned a score of 1, with a total possible score of 6 points per question, or 18 for the total section. For the total section, the High category included a range of 13-18 points, medium 7-12 points, and 6 or fewer points was given a score of low.

Section C (Questions 9-14) Evaluation of the Income Insurance and Maintenance Programs

All yes responses received a score of 1, with a total possible score for the whole section of 6. For the total section, 5 or 6 scores were given a high value; 3 or 4 were assigned to the medium category, and two or less - low.

Section D (Questions 15-16) Personal Income Security

All yes responses were given a score of 1. The

total sectional score of 2 was divided as follows:

high - 2 points

medium - 1 point

low - none

Question 17 No classification method was necessary since actual responses were recorded and analyzed.

## APPENDIX IV (continued)

Section E (Questions 18-19-20) Favorability Towards the Concept of a G.A.I.

All yes responses were given 1 point each, with a total possible section score of three: high - 3 points, medium - 2 points, low - one point or less.

The remaining questions were recorded and summarized by actual yes, no and don't know responses. No high, medium or low classifications was therefore necessary.

#### APPENDIX V

## TABLES IV(a-e) (Question 24)

The following five tables show the relationship between the intervening variables and preference for form of G.A.I. (Question 24). Form A refers to a negative income tax; B to a negative income tax with a work incentive, C to a universal demogrant, D to "don't know" and E to "none of the above". Scores of high, medium and low are given to A, B, C and D with A referring to awareness of poverty, B to awareness of income security programs, C to evaluation of income security programs and D to personal income security. A "yes" response to question 17 indicates that the respondent feels that the basic needs of Canadians are being met in Canada today by all present welfare and insurance programs: ie Table IV(a) Awareness of Poverty (Questions 1-5) and Preference for Form of a G.A.I. (Question 24).

- Table IV(b) Awareness of Income Security Programs (Questions 6-8) and Preference for Form of a G.A.I. (Question 24).
- Table IV(c) Evaluation of Income Security Programs and Preference (Questions 9-14) for Form of a G.A.I. (Question 24).
- Table IV(d) Personal Income Security (Questions 15-16) and Preference for Form of a G.A.I. (Question 24).
- Table IV(e) Evaluation of all Income Security Programs

  (Question 17) and Preference for Form of a

  G.A.I. (Question 24).

# APPENDIX V (continued)

		FORM OF A G.A.I.					
		#24-A	24-B	24-C	24-D	24-E	TOTAL
IV(a)	HIGH <sup>e</sup> A e	1	14	2	0	1	18
	MEDIUM &A®	Łę.	रिन्दि	11	Ų	3	66
	TOM .V.	5	55	30	21	15	126
	TOTAL 'A'	10	113	43	25	19	210
IV(b)	HIGH *B*	2	16	12	4	3	37
	MEDIUM •B•	6	79	26	15	15	141
	rom .B.	2	18	5	6	1	32
	TOTAL *B*	10	113	43	25	19	210
IV(c)	HIGH °C°	3	22	11	3	4	43
	MEDIUM °C°	4	35	16	10	7	72
	TOM .C.	3	56	16	12	8	95
	TOTAL °C°	10	113	43	25	19	210
IV(d)	HIGH °D°	4	39	21	9	7	80
	MEDIUM .D.	2	30	11	5	3	51
	FOM .D.	4	44	11	11	9	79
	TOTAL °D°	10	113	43	25	19	210
	YES #17	2	30	9	10	6	57
	NO #17	4	71	32	9	11	127
	D/K #17	4	12	2	6	2	26
	TOTAL	10	113	43	25	19	210

#### APPENDIX VI

## CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION3

Five In 10 Approve \$3,500 Minimum Income

While most Canadians endorse the idea of a minimum income for a family of four of \$3,500 annually, implementation of the program would meet criticism. About five in 10 think it would be good not only for the poor, but for the country as a whole; but three in 10 object to it.

While it would be expected that low income people would be more likely to approve the plan, the difference in attitude between them and those with large incomes, is not great. At whatever income level, a majority of the public accepts the idea in principle.

introduced, do so mainly because they feel there is too much poverty in Canada. "This help is needed by a lot of poor families who are trying hard," they say. Others approve because they believe it would make for more equality in current standards of living, and be good for the economy as well. In third place are those who hold that we are a rich country, and can afford it. "Nobody should live in poverty in Canada" sums up their attitude.

The 29 per cent, on the other hand, who object, give as their main reason, an opinion that a guaranteed income

## APPENDIX VI (continued)

would make people lazy and less interested in working.

They think, also, that the cost would increase taxes.

The question: As you may know, the Senate committee on poverty has recommended that a guaranteed annual program be introduced, as one way of eliminating poverty. This would ensure that no family of four receive less than \$3,500 a year, and yet would retain the incentive to work. Cost estimates suggest it might be about \$8 million over what we already spend. In general, would you approve, or disapprove of such a program?

Here is the response, nationally, and by those with lower, middle or upper incomes.

	Approve	Disapprove	Undecided
Canada	54%	29%	17%
Lower Income (Under \$6,000)	<b>58</b>	24	18
Middle Income (\$6,000 to \$7,999)	54	28	18
Upper Income (\$8,000 plus)	52	33	15

## Reasons for Approval (54%)

continued ....

# APPENDIX VI (continued)

money on other projects	15
Approve if incentive to work is kept	12
Other reasons (Families can't live on less; nobody	
should; would help with unemployment problem etc.)	12
Can*t say why	8
	103%
(Some gave more than one reason)	
Reasons for Disapproval (29%)	
People would lose all pride in working; would	
make them lazy	49
Would cost too much; increase our taxes; too many	
handouts now	23
The government would get too strong a hold on people;	
getting to be a welfare state already	8
Other reasons (Including; not enough; a family could	
not live on it; should increase industry, etc.)	15
Can't say why	5
<b>1</b>	.00%

#### FOOTNOTES

Bernard R. Blishen, "A Socio-Economic Index for Occupations in Canada" Canadian Society Social Perspectives. (Third Edition) ed. by Bernard R. Blishen, Frank E. Jones, Kasper D. Negele, and John Porter (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1968), pp. 741-750.

<sup>2</sup>Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, <u>1961 Census</u> of Canada - Population and housing characteristics by Census Tracts (Winnipeg) (Bulletin CT - 17 30-5-1963).

3Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, "Five in Ten Approve \$3,500 Minimum Income" Winnipeg Free Press (Vol. 79, No. 134 - Saturday, March 4, 1972).