

A b s t r a c t :

**A STUDY OF MUNICIPAL WELFARE AND ITS CONTRIBUTION
TO THE PHENOMENON OF GENERATION TO GENERATION
DEPENDENCY ON SUCH ASSISTANCE**

by

Michael K. Johnston

This study investigates the influence of Municipal Welfare, as it is applied in Nova Scotia, on the mobility trends of those on assistance. It is an individual thesis undertaken in 1967-1968 at the Maritime School of Social Work.

Data were obtained from a nation wide study called National Urban Low-Income Family Evaluation which was carried out in Winnipeg, Vancouver and Halifax. Only the data from the Halifax area were used, which were collected between October 1, 1966, and February 28, 1967. A chi-square test of significance was applied to the data obtained from the 602 questionnaires.

It was found that those on Municipal Welfare came usually from a family who was at one time in their life on welfare themselves. It is general knowledge that welfare dependency is passed from generation to generation, but this study gives statistical proof in this instance.

It was concluded that a new look at the philosophy of Municipal Welfare is necessary. Some recommendations were offered in this regard.

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FINANCIAL DEPENDENCE AND MUNICIPAL WELFARE

A Study of Municipal Welfare and its Contribution
to the Phenomenon of Generation to Generation
Dependency on such Assistance

A Thesis

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Poverty has been with us since the beginning of time and always will be with us to some degree because poverty is relative. However, society realized from the seventeenth century that the number of poor could be reduced and that the state had a responsibility to maintain them. Mr. F. R. MacKinnon stated in a report:

The principle of public responsibility for the needy was the central thesis and most important theme of the Poor Law of Elizabeth. 'The overseers of the poor shall provide relief to every person in need thereof'. The truth is that Canadians on the whole have been and still are reluctant to accept this principle. We have almost universally accepted with reservations ..., the notion that the state must provide for the income maintenance of the aged, the sick, the disabled, dependent children and such groups. But, there is only grudging acceptance of the principle of public responsibility for the needy unemployed who are physically able to work.

It is difficult or impossible for many of us to shake off the notion that there is work, that only the ne'er-do-wells are unable to find jobs and basic to all our thinking is the idea or belief that it is immoral for certain segments of

our population not to be employed if they are able to work. In short, we have come to feel that such individuals forfeit their rights as citizens and as respectable members of the community. 1/

After working in a Municipal Welfare setting, the writer of this paper has come to the conclusion that society's values, as stated above, are not functional. That is, it is felt that the approach to the problem which is used in Nova Scotia only perpetuates the problem, and in the long run it costs society a great deal in human waste as well as in economic terms. As social workers, we are concerned with this problem. This is why the theme of this research project is to show that municipal assistance is perpetuated from generation to generation.

This research project is a partial requirement for the Master's Degree in Social Work of the Maritime School of Social Work. The concept behind it is that the student demonstrates through this thesis that he knows how a research project in the social sciences is undertaken and carried out.

1/ F. R. MacKinnon; GOVERNMENT AND THE PROVISION OF WELFARE SERVICES, Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, Halifax, N. S. Paper presented April 9, 1962, to the Plenary Session of a Workshop conducted by the Social Planning Council.

This study proceeds from the general proposition that the administration of Municipal Welfare helps to perpetuate the culture of poverty. The next chapter outlines the main theoretical approach for this study. In brief it studies social classes, the mobility trends between them and how Municipal Welfare influences these trends. The principal assumption of this probative study was phrased in terms of the following hypothesis so that it could be tested with factual data. It is as follows:

If a family is, or ever has been on Municipal Welfare, then their parents are more likely to have been on Municipal Welfare than the parents of families who have never received such assistance.

Chapter III is concerned with Methodological procedures. The details, such as the nature of the data, where it was found, and the bias and limitations which were encountered by this data will be discussed. At first the collection of data was to be obtained from the local welfare offices, but on further investigation it was found that a Nation wide project called National Urban Low-Income Family Evaluation dealt with the very questions that were needed. The Appendix contains the section of the Nulife questionnaire with which the researcher was concerned. An explanation of the statistical methods used is also given in this chapter.

The chi-square test was applied to the data and a level of 0.01 was chosen as the level of significance. The last two chapters will deal with the findings and recommendations to the field of social work in view of those findings.

The results of the findings were very significant; in fact the chi-square value was so large that the table in Siegel's text on Non-Parametric Statistics 1/ did not contain such a value. In other words, it was found that there was a significant relationship between the receipt of public assistance in the present generation and in the preceding one. This obviously is of relevance for social work. The findings support doubt about the present philosophy of Municipal Welfare and leave the door open for more imaginative and effective solutions.

1/ Sidney Siegal, NON-PARAMETRIC STATISTICS FOR THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES; McGraw Hill Book Co., Toronto, 1956; p. 249.

CHAPTER II

FINANCIAL DEPENDENCE AND MUNICIPAL WELFARE

This chapter considers the theoretical background to the proposal that Municipal Welfare as it is and has been administered in Nova Scotia helps to perpetuate a culture of poverty. The first of four sub-sections discusses generalizations related to the existence of social class, as well as a historical development and a descriptive analysis of the present class structure. The second sub-section which flows from the first deals with the middle and lower classes in present western society, but concentrates mostly on the lower class. The physical and psychological traits of each will be discussed. This will indicate who the people are who need assistance, why they need help, and how they differ from the other classes in our society. The third sub-section considers mobility and motivation to move between the classes. The fourth sub-section suggests that welfare helps to retard this mobility from the lower class to the middle class.

Social differentiation is the division of distinctive social roles and functions based upon

both inherited and acquired individual differences. 1/

When men began to think about and study the nature of human society attention was drawn to social differentiation. Some of the inherited differences are biological variation like sex, age, size, mental capacity and other traits inherent in the human organism.

The acquired individual differences are noted everywhere in occupation and possessions, in prestige and authority, in habits, interests, and cultural accomplishments, in tastes, attitudes, values, beliefs and other acquired traits. All human societies take note of these individual differences. They necessarily become the bases of different social position and of different functions in the organization of group activities and the patterns of daily living.

Social differentiation is a prerequisite to society. There must be division of labour and specialization. Labour is divided into positions which are given differential value and these positions are ranked in importance. This induces the members of society to fulfil their position to their greatest

1/ Reference is made to Kurt B. Mayer, CLASS AND SOCIETY; Random House Inc., New York, 1961, Revised Edition; p. 3.

ability, thus giving way to specialization. These differential ranks will also receive differential rewards and privileges:

Whenever a society displays a graded series of ranks, that society is called stratified. Social stratification is a special kind of social differentiation signifying the existence of a systematic hierarchy of social positions whose occupants are treated as superior, equal or inferior relative to one another in socially important respects. 1/

All societies are stratified, but the type of ranking systems vary from one society to another and can vary in a particular society from time to time.

Sociologists agree that there are three general types of stratification; caste, estate and class.

The caste system is the most rigid type of social stratification. Its social strata consist of closed social groups, arranged in a fixed order of superiority and inferiority. One is born into a caste and must follow its accompanying rights and obligations from his parents and in no way can change his rank through any personal endeavours either forwards or backwards. The castes are endogamous. India is the only country that has followed the fully

1/ Kurt B. Mayer, CLASS AND SOCIETY; Random House Inc., New York, 1961, Revised Edition; p. 4.

developed form of a caste system. Quasi-caste systems have occurred, however, in various societies whenever one or more social strata have tended to evolve into closed, endogamous groups.

The second type of stratification system, that of estates, typically occurs in feudal societies where social organization revolves around a specific form of land tenure:

Characteristically estate systems manifest the following general hierarchical arrangements: At the top stands a royal family and a landholding, hereditary military autocracy, closely followed by an allied priesthood, ranking on a par with the secular nobility. Below them are merchants and craftsmen, while free peasants and unfree serfs form the broad bottom strata. Each estate has clearly defined rights and duties, and social position is usually inherited. ^{1/}

It differs from caste system because individuals may legally change their estate under certain circumstances. The two most common forms of raising their estate are marriage and conferring of nobility by a king. Marriages between persons of different estates are rare, but they are not absolutely prohibited as in the caste system. Again a serf may

^{1/} Ibid.; p. 7.

be freed by his master, or he may advance his rank by entering into the priesthood or the military service, both of which function as channels of upward mobility. Estates then, are less rigid than castes, but hereditary transmission of social position is the rule and social mobility, though possible within the legal definition of a given system, is difficult and limited.

The third type and the one of interest to this study is "social class". It is defined by Max Weber as "a number of people who have in common a specific causal component of their life chances." 1/ By life chances Weber means the amount of monetary wealth and income and the style of living a person has acquired. It will be shown later that the life chances factors of Weber definitely, influence one's social class placement.

At this point it might be useful to see how social stratification has developed to the present western class system:

Social stratification didn't appear until the domestication and breeding of animals and raising of a crop made it possible for permanent villages, assurance of subsistence and economic surplus. It was then no longer necessary for every person

1/ Thomas E. Lasswell, CLASS AND STRATUM; Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1965; p. 12.

to share in the production of goods and their spiritual leaders set themselves apart from the rest of the villages and after gaining control over the economic surplus consolidated their prestige and power. 1/

The development of towns which began in the late Neolithic period (eight thousand years ago) gave rise to another class other than the priests.

The essential function of protecting the town from attack came to be performed by a class of professional warriors who, like the priests, were supported by the underlying population. The military class eventually developed into an aristocracy of warrior-nobles and court officials who assumed the secular functions of government and who were headed by a king. At the bottom were serfs, peasants and/or slaves usually tillers of the soil.

As the population became more urbanized, and growing economic specialization and the development of industrial technology increased, three distinct new urban classes were created: a small middle class of professional merchants and traders, an urban working class of craftsmen and artisans and a large class of slaves.

1/ Kurt B. Mayer; op. cit., p. 9.

The middle class of merchants, traders and business enterprisers grew slowly, becoming an important stratum comparatively late in the development of civilization.

Feudalism was characteristic of the Middle Ages and land came to be a sign of prestige and power. The serfs lived on the land of the lords and were placed there for the sole purpose of fulfilling the needs of the lord. The Feudal system continued in some countries as late as the middle of the nineteenth Century, and even today in South America.

All modern social class systems started with the industrial revolution when capital replaced land as the sign of status and power. In our western culture we have a number of classes, but this study is concerned with the lower class of society. It will be helpful to mention the characteristic of the middle class for the sake of comparison.

The middle class lies between two extremes of the prestige structure. Families in this class have regular, adequate income, which is earned largely by the male head; however, it is no disgrace if the family income is supplemented by the wife's earnings. Sources of income would include small business, independent professionals, wage and

salary earners. This group has sufficient income for the conveniences and comforts of life, but little surplus to invest. They strive to live in a good residential area and succeed in doing so to a large extent.

The middle class has a bright outlook of the future:

Their aspirations and expectations are high and the physical conditions are present for them to succeed, therefore, . . .

The family tone is one of hopefulness and optimism. There is scorning, therefore, of habits that might lead in a downward direction, and a pressing forward toward a higher one, which lends to both moral and social carefulness. 1/

The family is a close knit one. The physical setting is conducive to this. There is "enough space to permit frequent family interaction, but not enough to allow much isolation of family members." 2/

The family is stable with low rates of divorce and separation. Because of the economic security of the family it can focus more on

1/ James H. S. Bossard & Eleanor S. Boll, RITUAL IN FAMILY LIVING; University of Philadelphia Press, Philadelphia, 1950; p. 133.

2/ Ibid., p. 133

educational and cultural goals than that of the lower class. In summary, the middle class has a family of solidarity, with available avenues to obtain their goals and enjoying higher standards of living than the lower class.

The term "lower class" has been used to describe people of such economic and social prestige as the blue collar worker to the third generation welfare recipients. However, there is sufficient agreement on the subject to allow the following description of the lower class to be applicable;

There are four general limitations to the poor (1) comparative simplification of the experience world (2) powerlessness, (3) deprivation and (4) insecurity. These limitations are of course, relative. Indeed, they can be discerned only because of the different extent of their existence at the several levels of society. 1/

1. Comparative simplification - Lola Ireland believes that of all the strata in society, the poor have the slightest opportunity to experience varieties of social and cultural settings. This setting is one of the least complicated and adaptable.

1/ Lola M. Ireland, LOW-INCOME LIFE STYLES; U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare Administration, Washington, 1966; p. 2.

Their situations and demands are limited, and it follows that the social roles they play are few. Studies have also shown that they seldom participate in activities outside of their daily routine, and they are seldom found within a role of leadership. On their jobs they confront less complex situations and have fewer, less diverse standards to meet. In other words, they seldom go beyond the borders of kinship and neighbourhood groups.

2. Helplessness - The position of the poor is one of impotency. They have practically no bargaining power in the working world. Unskilled and uneducated, they are the most easily replaced workers. This study will attempt to show that Municipal Welfare, because of its low assistance rates and lack of emphasis on rehabilitation, contributes to poor education. The skills they do have are minimal and of little importance in this technological society. On the job itself, the very poor man can exercise little autonomy and has small opportunity to influence conditions of work.

3. Deprivation - Deprivation is, after all, relative:

When it is defined as lack of resources relative to felt wants and needs, it is evident that

America has one of the greatest gaps between generally accepted goals and the extent to which the lower class can realistically expect to attain them. As a nation, we stress perhaps inordinately, the value and virtue of high attainment. We expect and applaud efforts at self-improvement and upward social mobility. . . . All this, plus awareness that some people have actually succeeded in the strenuous upward move, makes the condition of the unachieving poor one of unremitting deprivation. Their relative deprivation is, perhaps, the condition which more than anything else affects the life-view of the poor. Constant awareness of their own abject status and the 'failure' which it rightly or wrongly implies understandably leads to embarrassed withdrawal and isolation. 1/

4. Insecurity - People of low income are affected more by life's chances than the other social classes. To the poor man, the common problems of every day are especially damaging. His resources are more sparse, and are quickly expended in any sizable emergency. Certain conditions of his life make emergencies more likely. His work skills place him in a hazardous position, sometimes more dependent on seasonal demands. He is more likely to lose his job on short notice. Because of emergency

1/ Ibid., p. 2.

expenditure of funds, the postponing of rent payments and the fear of eviction will follow. He is unable to secure himself and his family the regular, preventive health measures which would fend off medical emergencies.

Mobility:

The term "social mobility" refers to the process by which individuals move from one position to another in society-positions which by general consent have been given specific hierarchical values. When we study social mobility we analyze the movement of individuals from positions possessing a certain rank to positions either higher or lower in the social system. 1/

Many studies have been conducted regarding the mobility rates in the United States. Few, if any, have been conducted in regard to the Canadian scene. In general, however, these studies show that the upward movement from one class to another is greater than the downward movement.

In a recent publication, Joseph Kahl has attempted to assess mobility rates in the United States and has estimated that 27,900,000 out of 41,000,000 men or 67% of the total labour force in 1956 were mobile. 2/

1/ Seymour Martin Lipset & Reinhard Bendix, SOCIAL MOBILITY IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY; University of California Press, Berkeley, 1966; p. 2.

2/ Ibid., p. 86

These studies have dealt with the mobility of all classes except the class with which this study is concerned, that is, those people below the poverty line.

It was discovered, however, that a small survey was carried out in Saint Paul, Minnesota, regarding economic dependency of Public Assistance families. This survey, conducted by the Family Centre Project, St. Paul, Minnesota, found that "a generation to generation" pattern of dependency upon social agencies seems to be characteristic, as revealed by the findings that in only 23 (or 15.3%) of the one hundred fifty families were no close relatives of the parents known to Central Registration Bureau. Even more striking is the finding that the first social agency registering on these families tended to be public assistance.

Mollie Arshansky in her article called "Legacy of Poverty" said that a recently released study of nation wide sampling of cases assisted by aid to families with dependent children shows that, "more than 40 percent of the mothers and/or fathers were raised in homes where some form of assistance has been received at some time. . . ." ^{1/}

^{1/} Mollie Arshansky, "Legacy of Poverty" in POVERTY IN AFFLUENCE, ed. by Robert E. Will and Harold Vaths; Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., New York, 1965; p. 194.

This estimated proportion that received some type of aid, according to Arshansky, is more than four times the almost 10 percent estimated for the total United States population.

Arshansky also stated that:

A considerable body of data is being accumulated on the subject of transmission of poverty. Some of the current studies are conflicting and difficult to interpret, and much research is still needed. There seems sufficient basis, however, for adopting as a working hypothesis that perhaps the single medium most conducive to the growth of poverty and dependency is poverty itself. The corollary might be that, although adequate family income alone is not a sufficient condition to guarantee that children will escape low income status as adults, it is usually a necessary one. There are people whose only legacy to their children is the same one of poverty and deprivation that they received from their own parents. ^{1/}

As mentioned above there appears to be little factual material on the mobility trends of the poor, but a review of the literature tends to show that the poor are stagnated in their social class. An important prerequisite of mobility is motivation. Motivation, of course, is only one

^{1/} Ibid., p. 194.

of the factors leading towards success, the other being ability to succeed which would be dependent upon the degree of competence or learning or barriers imposed on those of lowly position. Given the strongest motivation, a man might still be incapable of advancement if these other factors reduced his ability to advance. Many authors suggest that the lower class individual holds values of such a nature as to prevent his striving towards those ends which would result in his moving up the class structure. These people feel that one of the most striking characteristics of those who live below the poverty line is their apparent apathy.

Harris Chaiklin, quoting Handel and Rainwater, says social welfare has been left in a dilemma:

On the one hand, our understanding has advanced to the point where we can appreciate how an individual's life is shaped by forces greater than himself. On the other hand we are coming to feel increasingly that, regardless of what has caused the problem, the "problem person" must assume a measure of responsibility if the problem is to be solved. There are signs of society's growing impatience with certain kinds of social problems. 1/

1/ Harris Chaiklin, MOTIVATING THE POOR, in "Poverty in Canada and the United States", Ed. Benjamin, Schlesinger, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1966; p. 3.

Society, it appears from this, postulates that the poor are different from other people; their values are not the same, the lack of motivation being the number one factor which is holding them back. For example:

It is our assumption that an intervening variable mediating the relationship between low position and lack of upward mobility is a system of beliefs and values with the lower classes which in turn reduces the very voluntary actions which would ameliorate their low position. To put it simply the lower class individual doesn't want as much success, knows he couldn't get it even if he wanted to, and doesn't want what might help him get success. 1/

This position implies two things: First, that changing the poor people's attitude is difficult because it is part of their characteristic; secondly, it also explains that many of the programs set up to help poor people are not successful because they place the blame for failure on the poor. Because we blame the poor, it is not necessary to examine the structure of the agencies which are offering service and the treatment techniques of professionals who are rendering service; it is only necessary to continue studying the unmotivated poor.

1/ Ibid., p. 4.

It is proposed then in this thesis that the values of the poor are no different than those of the middle class and are not a deterrent to upward mobility. Further, social welfare by its over-emphasis on supposed sub-cultural aspects of poverty has not presented a balanced and clear cut appraisal of the needs of the poor. If the disadvantaged are really to be helped, it is essential to raise the material level of living necessary before services which are aimed at "motivating" people have a chance of success.

It is strange that the disadvantages which stem from the lack of money are translated into statements which emerge in social welfare literature as an ideology that the poor are that way because somehow they are "different". Perhaps social welfare has lost its perspective, since so much of the contact it has with the poor is around unsuccessful efforts to reduce their social pathology. Instead of seeing only the results of treatment methods which do not work, but which it seems unable to replace or abandon. Public Welfare cannot do much for people if grants are barely half of what is required for a minimum adequate level of living. 1/

Increased sophistication of research of lower income and deprived groups is changing a long-held impression that the poor are different. Research

1/ Ibid., p. 5.

shows that the poor do place a value on occupational and educational achievement. While the poor do have a more modest absolute standard of achievement than do those who are better off, they want relatively more improvement in their condition. They value the same material comforts and luxuries. Psychologically they seek the securities that appeal to the other classes and they hold with little qualifications to the same moral conduct. To the middle class youth, the idea of having a better job than his father is appealing, sometimes absorbing. A lower class youngster has a more urgent and material reason for wanting to improve the future. His present situation is painfully unsatisfactory. His drive is not a drive of achievement, but the drive to flee from discomfort and deprivation; but because of reality, expenses of education and poor municipal benefits, if they are on welfare, keeps the more intelligent children from continuing their education.

At the University of Maryland School of Social Work, they have found in a series of studies that the poor are aware of the goals and standards in our society, but they do not expect to attain them. The problem is not lack of motivation--the

evidence shows it is there--but rather bridging the gap between what poor people desire and what is made available to them.

Harris Chaiklin feels that we should examine the assumptions behind many of the programs that are supposed to help the poor. If their goal is to motivate poor people so that their pathology will be reduced, then these programs are doomed to failure. The best that can be expected is that the poor will change the expression of their pathology and that they will be better able to handle their problems through concealment.

In considering the poor we must take into account both factors of motivation and social structure which they cannot control. In other words we have to have the ability to make a diagnosis that balances what we need to provide in the way of emotional treatment with what we need to provide in the way of material support, if the poor are to lead more useful lives. We need to have some idea of what are the minimal material and psychic requirements for people to live humanely. People who have lived without basic necessities for a long time have lost hope. It seems elemental to suggest that

material needs must be satisfied before any attempt to motivate people has a chance to succeed.

Social Welfare's overconcern with the problem of motivation leads it to overlook the evidence which points to the need for greatly improved living conditions for the poor. . . . It is much easier to attribute problems in working with the poor to their lack of motivation than it is to face the truth that among the nations of the western world we have the most punitive system of public welfare. 1/

If we are to help the poor, we should not be overly concerned about their motivation. A necessary prior condition is to assess basic needs-- material and emotional. Only when minimal security is provided can we begin to assess how large is the problem of motivation. We have known for a long time how to treat people in a humane way. It is suggested that if we really provide for people's material needs, which includes educational and employment opportunities, our concern with the problem of motivation will, if it does not disappear, at least decline greatly.

Municipal Welfare

Nova Scotia has had a long history of local government responsibility for welfare. The Nova

1/ Ibid., p. 10.

Scotia Poor Law was enacted almost in its entirety before 1800 and continued in force without substantial change until 1958. The smallest unit of local government, the poor district, became the body responsible for levying the doles and administering relief.

In 1927 the demand for a better system of public assistance for the aged reached a point where the Federal Government enacted Old Age Pension legislation. The plight of the needy blind gained public attention and sympathy in 1937, as did that of the disabled in 1954; and all three groups were provided for in a similar manner through programs administered by the provinces and financed jointly by the Federal and Provincial Governments. Unemployment Insurance was enacted in 1941 to meet the needs of the unemployed. The federally financed, provincially administered program of Old Age Pensions enacted in 1927 was changed in 1952 to provide universal Old Age security for everyone over seventy, administered and financed by the Federal Government. A new program of Old Age Assistance similar to the Old Age Pension of 1927 was enacted for those between sixty-five and seventy. The trend, therefore, during the last half century has been towards the complete assumption by Federal and Provincial Governments of responsibility for certain categories of

needy persons who at Confederation and up until only a few years ago were the responsibility of local government.

However, local government still has a very large measure of responsibility in the field of general assistance.

The Social Assistance Act of 1958 has been replaced by a new Act to enable the province to take advantage of the Canada Assistance Plan which became law in July, 1966. Under this the Federal Government shares the cost of municipal relief, with the province and the municipal government. The municipal government contributes the least.

The municipal government must meet certain minimum requirements before it will be reimbursed for the money expended on the "needy". These requirements are considerably more humane than the previous ones that existed prior to 1966, but still are lacking and are nothing more than a subsistence level. Secondly, the law does not take into account regional economics. For example, the cost of living in an urban area is greater than in a rural area.

Section 3 of regulations made by the Governor-in-Council pursuant to the Social Assistance Act, Part II, states that the Minister shall not reimburse

a municipal unit in respect of expenditures made for providing assistance in the form of cash, cheque or voucher unless he is satisfied that the assistance granted by the municipal unit has been at a rate not lower than a rate set out as follows: 1/

<u>No. of persons in household</u>	<u>Minimum monthly assistance</u>	<u>Minimum weekly assistance</u>
1	\$35.00	\$ 8.00
2	50.00	11.50
3	60.00	13.50
4	70.00	15.50
more than 4	\$6.00 per month additional or \$1.50 per week for each person in excess of 4.	

Although a particular municipality is not compelled to issue relief on this scale, many of the welfare units do.

The regulation also makes available to the municipality the opportunity to assist a particular client in "special circumstances", and if necessary can exceed the maximum allowance which is set down in the regulations. These "special circumstances" involve special diets, special clothing allowance

1/ Province of Nova Scotia, STATUTES OF NOVA SCOTIA, "The Social Assistance Act, Part II", Chapter 13, Queen's Printer, Halifax, 1966.

(e.g., outfitting a person for employment, etc.) and basic household equipment, furnishing and supplies. Again these are available to the municipalities, but many do not make use of them.

After a six month period of consecutive assistance, the recipient is entitled to join a medical welfare plan. The benefits are:

- 1) Medical and surgical advice and attention in their home.
- 2) Medical and surgical advice and attention in doctor's office.
- 3) Medical and surgical advice and attention in hospital.
- 4) Obstetrical care, including prenatal and postnatal care.
- 5) Eye examination, a maximum of one every two years for each member of the family.

The Plan does not pay for:

- 1) Medical aids, appliances, supplies or drugs.
- 2) Eye glasses.
- 3) Dental work.
- 4) Routine physical examinations, written reports. 1/

In general the Canada Assistance Plan as it is embodied in the Regulations of the Social

1/ Province of Nova Scotia, Taken from POLICY AND REGULATIONS MANUAL FOR SOCIAL ASSISTANCE, Halifax, 1966.

Assistance Act, Part II, contains rehabilitative aspects, but does not go far enough and does not force the municipal welfare administration to implement these "rehabilitative aspects".

Mr. F. R. MacKinnon, Deputy Minister of Public Welfare of Nova Scotia, in a paper on "Local Government and Welfare, 1960", discussed in general the problems of local government in welfare in Nova Scotia. He said:

- 1) Resistance on the part of locally elected officials to public assistance, particularly general assistance, which in turn results in low standards, negative attitudes in determining eligibility and inevitably the choice of second rate personnel for the administration of the service. The low standards are exemplified in inadequate assistance payments to those who qualify and lack of precise or adequate methods of determining who should receive assistance.
- 2) Inadequate emphasis on the need for trained personnel to administer the program and failure to provide a rehabilitation service to those who need it. Indeed the absence of rehabilitation or casework services in certain areas reduce the payments to the level of a dole.
- 3) Units of local government which are too small in population to support adequate services and administration and unable financially to provide their share

of assistance unless the percentage sharing is very small.

- 4) Financial inability of many local governments to pay for welfare services due largely to long established priorities in such areas as health and education. 1/

Public welfare leadership has never believed in relief grants alone as a solution to poverty unaccompanied by preventive and rehabilitative services; relief grants and especially inadequate grants frequently serve only to perpetuate conditions of dependency.

At the beginning of this chapter the concept of social class was studied and put forward as western society's form of stratification. Theoretically advancement from class to class is much easier in this type of stratification than in the other two. This, according to the literature, holds true of all classes except the very poor. It seems then a disgrace to modern systems and modern democracy that no real progress has been made.

It was also stated that the lower class has certain characteristics such as insecurity, deprivation, etc., which set it apart from the middle

1/ F. R. MacKinnon, LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND WELFARE, 1960; in a mimeographed text for Social Services II, Halifax, 1966.

class. However, it is emphasized that motivation to advance is not one of these negative characteristics.

The literature seems to indicate the poverty in inherited and the inadequacies of municipal assistance are helping to maintain this condition. The poor need help, but help must be given realistically and substantially both in financial and psychological ways. Recommendations on improving the situation will be given in the last chapter.

CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

The previous chapter examined the development of social class, the attributes of the middle and lower classes, and the low incidence of mobility from the lower class to the higher one. From this discussion it was proposed that municipal welfare tends to play an important role in helping to maintain the low incidence of mobility of those on welfare.

This chapter will set forth the principal methodological procedures applicable to the research process.

For the sake of clarity these have been divided into subsections:

1. The stating of testable hypothesis and operational definitions.
2. The source of data and the procedure used to collect it.
3. The statistical method used to test the hypothesis.

Testable Hypothesis:

If a family is, or has ever been on Municipal Welfare, then their parents are more likely to have been on Municipal Welfare than the parents of families who have never received such assistance.

Operational Definition:

Municipal Welfare is defined as the assistance given to a person, who is, according to the particular welfare agency, in "need".

A person is in "need" when he lacks one or more of the basic necessities of life (food, shelter, or clothing).

Part II of the Social Assistance Act defines it slightly differently and says that a person in need "means a person who by reason of adverse conditions, requires assistance in the form of money, goods, or services." 1/

Source of data:

The data used for this study were collected from the survey prepared for the Laidlaw Foundation by the Canadian Welfare Council called National Urban Low-Income Family Evaluation. It is appropriate that

1/ The Province of Nova Scotia, STATUTES OF NOVA SCOTIA, "The Social Assistance Act, Part II", Chapter 13, Queen's Printer, Halifax, 1966.

a detailed explanation of this study follows. 1/

The Canadian Welfare Council conducted a major longitudinal study of low-income families in three major centres, those being Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Halifax.

The interview study, which came to approximately 5,000 families, concentrated interests in seven areas: housing, budgeting, economics and employment systems, health, welfare, education, and social involvement.

It is a study of the people, themselves, who have been identified as "poor" by official criteria such as income. What are their attitudes? beliefs? aspirations? life patterns? What is the correlation between their health and their income? housing and income? housing and health?, etc. What meanings do "these" people ascribe to social structure such as government agencies, welfare departments and programs such as those proposed in the manpower department? These latter questions are crucial in their policy implications. All of these questions have been discussed at various levels and have received attention by those in policy making positions. To this date, however, no one has systematically studied those persons assumed to be poor in such detail nor has there been any such effort in Canada. 2/

1/ The Information on the Nulife Study is obtained from the Research Proposal prepared for the Laidlaw Foundation by the Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa, 1966.

2/ Ibid., p. 5.

In collaboration with the local Welfare Council's staffs, the local schools of social work, and census personnel, "poverty" areas in each city were selected. 1/ Those areas in the bottom income quartile qualified for inclusion. The bottom quartile shows an annual income at about \$3,200 per family, or less, although there was a possibility that some families earned over this annual income in the designated areas.

The areas were selected and a random household sampling procedure was used. The income guidelines were flexible in the sense that all households with a per capita income of \$62.50 per month or less were included, where the household head was not over 55. However, this did not entirely preclude the elderly from discussion since they could have been included as members of the household unit. No family with an annual income over \$5,000 was included in the area of change and no change.

The interview was conducted with either the male or female head. Past research indicated that either one was equally reliable when discussing family patterns, structure, housing and spending.

1/ With reference to source in Footnote 1 on page 34.

In Halifax as in the other centres the interviews were conducted in three areas: an area of change (273), an area of no change (269), and a controlled group (60) -- the sum total being 602.

In review the sample steps are as follows:

- a) Survey community to identify poorest census tracts by reputation and using criteria of income;
- b) Following the selection of the target areas, several approaches (dependent upon further investigation in the respective communities) may be utilized alone or in combination, in obtaining the participating respondents.

A door to door contact of randomly sampled dwelling units will then be conducted in the largest area and respondents will be screened according to prescribed sample characteristics given above. This would involve probably 700 contacts to obtain 500 participating households. In a tract area of approximately 10-20,000 persons or 4-8,000 households, this will involve a 1 in 3 household contact sample. Allowance for special population groups may require other approaches, including possible use of welfare rolls; N.E.S. registrations; and possibly other agency records. 1/

Timing:

It was hoped, at the outset of this Nulife Study that strict adherence to a time schedule could

1/ Ibid., p. 12.

be maintained which would take from July 1, 1966, to June 30, 1967, to complete, the interviews being conducted from October 1 to February 28, 1967. It was found that this schedule was impossible to maintain and the local Halifax Welfare Council did not receive the final tabulated results until January, 1968.

The data obtained from this Nulife Study were processed by computer. This was performed through the co-operation of Dalhousie Research Department in January, 1968.

The questions this thesis is concerned with are found in the schedule (Appendix A) of this thesis. They dealt with whether or not the person is or ever was on Municipal Welfare and their parents' past receipt or non-receipt of Municipal Welfare.

Because of the nature of the questions in the Nulife Study, dealing with Municipal Welfare, it could not be ascertained whether the people who had been on welfare in the past received it in Nova Scotia or in some other province. For this study it will be assumed that they did receive it in Nova Scotia.

A second limitation occurred when the person interviewed was asked to recall from memory if his

The first step according to Sidney Siegel is to state the null hypothesis, which is a hypothesis of no difference. It is formulated with the hope that it will be rejected, therefore, allowing the original hypothesis to be accepted.

The null hypothesis in this case is stated as follows:

If a family is, or has ever been on Municipal Welfare, then their parents are no more likely to have been on Municipal Welfare than the parents of families who have never received such assistance.

The statistical test which will be used to test the hypothesis stated above is chi-square, the formula of which is:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O-E)^2}{E} \quad \underline{1/}$$

Where O = observed frequency

E = the corresponding expected frequency.

Chi-square may be used to test only a priori or assumed hypothesis about the population; it is not restricted to testing the hypothesis of equally distributed frequencies. By an a priori or assumed hypothesis we mean one which the investigator

1/ Brenton J. Underwood, et al; ELEMENTARY STATISTICS, Appleton - Century - Crafts, Inc., New York, 1954.

has before the research is done;
the research is carried out to
test the hypothesis. 1/

Underwood et al say that there are certain restrictions to the use of this test. The data used in this study have met these restrictions because they were of a frequency type. Secondly, the individual events or measures were independent of each other. Thirdly, the theoretical frequencies were greater than ten and finally the sum of the expected and the sum of the observed were the same.

In a research project the researcher is interested in establishing the range of scores within which it is asserted the true M lies. This range is called the level of significance. The level of significance for the chi-square test was set at 0.01. This is the usual level chosen for the behavioral science. This means that the null hypothesis that does not fall within the 99% of the range that is left will have to be rejected, meaning that there is some validity in the operational hypothesis. Therefore, if the outcome of the test is significantly positive, it would indicate a definite relationship in the receipt of welfare in two generations.

1/ Ibid., p. 206.

This chapter has outlined the three aspects of methodological procedures pertinent to the research process, and the next chapter will report and analyse the findings.

CHAPTER IV
PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

In the previous chapter the operational hypothesis was stated and this suggested that municipal welfare helped to perpetuate the culture of poverty. The null hypothesis was stated and in this chapter it will be tested by the statistical test described in Chapter III.

The null hypothesis was previously stated as follows:-

If a family is, or has ever been on Municipal Welfare, then their parents are no more likely to have been on Municipal Welfare than the parents of families who have never received such assistance.

In Appendix B can be found the complete breakdown of the frequency distribution which was received from the two questions asked in the Nulife Study. It was found that such a detailed analysis was not necessary. Table I and Table II in this chapter shows the frequencies combined into a more useful combination. This is the total of responses in the areas of change and no change.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF 519 RESPONDENTS FROM THE COMBINED CHANGE AND NO CHANGE AREAS IN HALIFAX, QUESTIONED BETWEEN OCTOBER 1, 1966, AND FEBRUARY 28, 1967, BY THE ACTUAL NUMBER OF TIMES WELFARE RECEIVED BY RESPONDENTS AND BY THEIR FAMILIES

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Past Family Welfare	Present Family Welfare					Total
	Never	Once	2-3 times	4-5 times	6 times	
	(N) (308)	(59)	(26)	(11)	(30)	(434)
Never	93.8	81.4	61.5	81.8	70.0	88.2
1-3 times	3.9	15.2	23.1	0.0	6.7	6.7
Often	2.3	3.4	15.4	18.2	23.3	5.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% Unknowns	$\frac{51}{359} =$ 14.2	$\frac{11}{70} =$ 15.7	$\frac{6}{32} =$ 18.8	$\frac{6}{17} =$ 35.3	$\frac{11}{41} =$ 26.8	$\frac{85}{519} =$ 16.4

Chi-square = 37.21

2df

P<0.01

MKJ/jj

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF 519 RESPONDENTS FROM THE COMBINED CHANGE AND NO CHANGE AREAS IN HALIFAX, QUESTIONED BETWEEN OCTOBER 1, 1966, AND FEBRUARY 28, 1967, BY NUMBER OF TIMES (ONCE OR MORE THAN ONCE) WELFARE RECEIVED BY RESPONDENTS AND BY THEIR FAMILIES

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Past Family Welfare	Present Family Welfare					
	Frequencies			Percentages		
	Never	Once	More than Once	Never	Once	More than Once
Never	289	48	46	93.8	81.4	68.7
1 + times	19	11	21	6.2	18.6	31.3
TOTAL	308	59	67	100.0	100.0	100.0

If all unknowns counted as "never":

Never	340	59	69
1 + times	<u>19</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>21</u>
TOTAL	<u>359</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>90</u>
% 1 + times	5.2	15.7	23.3

Chi-square = 37.21

df = 2

P<0.01

MKJ/jj

The chi-square test for two independent samples as described by Sidney Siegel 1/ was carried out (See Table III) and a chi-square value of 37.21 was obtained, which is well under the 0.01 level of significance which was arbitrarily set. Therefore, the null hypothesis can be rejected.

1/ Sidney Siegel, NON-PARAMETRIC STATISTICS FOR THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES: MacGraw-Hill Book Co., Toronto, 1956; p. 104.

TABLE III

CALCULATIONS OF EXPECTED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE DATA FROM TABLE II

Test for two independent samples

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^r \sum_{j=1}^k \frac{(O_{ij} - E_{ij})^2}{E_{ij}}$$

$$df = (r-1)(k-1)$$

Where r = number of rows and k = number of columns in the contingencies. Therefore, df = 2.

a 289	b 48	c 46	383
272.0	52.0	59.1	
d 19	e 11	f 21	51
36.2	6.9	7.8	
308	59	67	434

a) $\frac{(308)(383)}{434} = 272.0$

b) $\frac{(59)(383)}{434} = 52.0$

c) $\frac{(67)(383)}{434} = 59.1$

d) $\frac{(308)(51)}{434} = 36.2$

e) $\frac{(59)(51)}{434} = 6.9$

f) $\frac{(67)(51)}{434} = 7.8$

TABLE III (CONT'D)

$$X^2 = \frac{(289-272)^2}{272} + \frac{(48 - 52.0)^2}{52} + \frac{(46 - 59.1)^2}{59.1} +$$

$$\frac{(19 - 36.2)^2}{36.2} + \frac{(11 - 6.9)^2}{6.9} + \frac{(21 - 7.8)^2}{7.8}$$

$$X^2 = \frac{(17)^2}{272} + \frac{(4)^2}{52} + \frac{(13.1)^2}{59.1} +$$

$$\frac{(17.2)^2}{36.2} + \frac{(4.1)^2}{6.9} + \frac{(13.2)^2}{7.8}$$

$$X^2 = 1.1 + 0.31 + 2.9 +$$

$$8.2 + 2.4 + 22.3$$

$$X^2 = 37.21$$

MKJ/jj

However, there are two points to consider. The receipt of Municipal Welfare in our society has emotional overtones and could have influenced the outcome of the findings. As can be seen in Table I, the percentage of those people who answered the question by "don't know" ranges from 14.2% to 35.3%. It could be considered because of these social values that some of those who answered "don't know" in regards to their parents receipt of welfare were actually on welfare. This would naturally increase the percentages of those on welfare and decrease those "never" on welfare. It could also be considered, because of some embarrassment those who answered "never" were actually on welfare, this also would change the percentages. However, because of the extremely large chi-square value, the outcome in both cases will be appreciably the same.

It is also possible, because of poor memory, that some of those who answered "never" in regards to the receipt of Municipal Welfare by their parents should have answered in the affirmative. This would change the percentages very slightly and have only a small effect on the statistical outcome.

Therefore, it can be safely said that the operational hypothesis can be accepted with a reasonable amount of certainty.

In summary, then, the results of this test support the theory that the receipt of Municipal Welfare continues from generation to generation.

In conclusion the hypothesis tested coincided with expectations. The next and final chapter will consider the social work relevance of this hypothesis.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In retrospect the theoretical development in this study dealt with Municipal Welfare's contribution to the culture of poverty. As illustrated in the Findings Chapter a hypothesis was statistically tested by application of the chi-square and 0.01 was chosen as the level of significance for accepting the hypothesis. The statistical testing of the hypothesis yielded extremely good results; that is, the receipt of Municipal Welfare is passed down from generation to generation in a great number of cases.

It would seem obvious that the results would be of interest to the Municipal Welfare Department, although for years it was knowledge to them that the children of recipients show up at their offices to receive "relief". However, there has been little statistical proof that this happens and in such frequency as this study showed. From this study it can be seen that Municipal Welfare offices will have to re-think their approach to welfare in general. Social workers should be involved in this future planning. The writer of this study feels that the emphasis should be changed from residual treatment

to rehabilitative approach. This would include, for the municipal offices, an increase in their staffs with trained social workers. These social workers would not be dealing with eligibility and budget. They would be solely concerned with having the recipients function at their greatest potential. In one study it was shown that concerned services working with young parents help them to become self-sufficient rather than encouraging them to become dependent on public welfare.

The study claimed that 11 hours of counselling saved the community \$8,364.00 and 20 hours of counselling saved the community \$17,882.00. 1/

In the case work situation, social workers will have to be concerned, not with the symptoms, but with the roots of the problem, such as educational, emotional and health problems.

Besides social workers working on a 1 to 1 basis, they will have to become involved with coordinating programs in order to totally rehabilitate these people. It is obvious that municipalities cannot afford a total approach. Therefore, it will

1/ Reference to this study is made in the following: ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY GUIDE TO THE PREVENTION SOCIAL SERVICE PROGRAM, Preventive Social Service Act, 1966, Government of Alberta, Department of Public Welfare.

be the social workers' job to organize Federal, Provincial, and Municipal resources, such as programs from the Department of Labour, Manpower, and Department of Education.

One of these resources will be to arrange a re-education or an up-grading program for those on welfare. It will have to be irregular schooling of a kind that will recognize and adjust to the realities of the lives of the adult poor. Vocational trades that insist on a Grade 8, 9 or 10 education are not realistic. Many of the poor have not reached this level of education, and not solely due to retardation. Therefore, enrollment will have to be based on I.Q. and aptitude rather than formal education.

To enter into re-entry channels must be made 'the thing to do'; and it must be made as easily as possible. The connection between the regime of the training program and 'the pay off' in the real world of jobs must be made immediate and clear. On-the-job training has a clear superiority in this respect to orthodox classroom training; and training in the social, emotional skills required on the job, as well as in the technical skills, could contribute to a sense of reality rather than make believe. 1/

1/ Ed. by Robert Schasre & Jo Wallace; TRAINING SERIES FOR SOCIAL AGENCIES - READINGS IN PLANNED CHANGE, The Delinquency Prevention Training Project, Los Angeles, California, 1965; p. 58.

Social workers will also have the great task of educating the public to the problems of welfare. They will have to show the public that it will be economically advantageous in the long run to spend considerable sums in the beginning.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

SECTION OF QUESTIONNAIRE FROM NULIFE STUDY
REGARDING WELFARE RECEIPT

WORK AND DEPENDENCY

"Now I would like to talk a little about you (family head)." (This entire section is about the family head. If the respondent isn't the family head, use the first name of the head when asking these questions.)

(If this section was completed by a different respondent, place a square around his/her person number on face sheet.)

Father's Birth Place

40. Was your father (family head) born in Canada?
- | | |
|-----|---|
| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |
| DK | 0 |

Father's Time in Canada

41. How many years has he been in Canada?
- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| Always here | 1 |
| 20 years ago
or more | 2 |
| 10 years ago
or more | 3 |
| 5 years ago
or more | 4 |
| 1 year ago | 5 |
| DK | 0 |

Father's Education

42. How many years did he attend school? #
- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| None | 1 |
| Some elementary | 2 |
| Finish elementary | 3 |
| Some secondary | 4 |
| Finish secondary | 5 |
| Some college | 6 |
| Finish college | 7 |
| DK | 0 |

Father's Occupation

43. What was the name of the job he was doing when he was about your age?

Managerial, Professional & Technical	1
Clerical and Sales	2
Service and Recreation	3
Transport and Communication	4
Craftsmen, Production process and related workers	5
Labourers	6
DK	0

Past Family Welfare

44. When you (family head) were a child to your knowledge did your family ever deal with a Welfare Department (relief) or any agency for help?

Never	1
Once	2
Two or three times	3
Often	4
DK	0

Past Training

45. Did you (family head) ever receive any other training such as:

	Yes	No	DK
Business school	1	2	0
Technical or mechanical (apprenticeship programmes)	1	2	0
Military training	1	2	0
On the job training (specify)	1	2	0

Night school	1	2	0
Other, specify _____	1	2	0

Past Unemployment

46. About how much of the time have you (family head) been unemployed since you first began working?

Most of the time (better than 50%)	1
Some of the time	2
Never unemployed	3
Never employed	4
DK	0

Times Unemployed

47. How many times have you (family head) been unemployed in past 10 years?

Frequently	1
Occasionally	2
Never	3
DK	0

Public Assistance

48. Have you (family head) ever received public assistance any time?

Never	1
Once	2
Two or three times	3
Four or five times	4
Six times or more	5
DK	0

Main Reason for Present Unemployment

49. Why did you (he/she) leave your (their) last job?

Personal reasons	1
Health	2
Fired or laid off	3
No more work	4
Family	5
Other, specify	6
<hr/> Not applicable	8
DK	0

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RAW DATA

NEIGHBOURHOOD 2 TABLE 2

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE NO CHANGE AREA

Past Family Welfare	Public Assistance						TOTAL
	0	1	2	3	4	5	
0	2	26	7	2	4	8	49
1	4	131	29	10	7	10	191
2	2	4	3	1	0	0	110
3	0	1	4	1	0	1	7
4	0	4	0	4	0	4	12
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	8	166	43	18	11	23	269

NEIGHBOURHOOD 2 TABLE 2

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE CHANGE AREA

Past Family Welfare	Public Assistance						TOTAL
	0	1	2	3	4	5	
0	5	25	4	4	2	3	43
1	9	158	19	6	2	11	205
2	0	5	1	1	0	0	7
3	0	2	1	3	0	1	7
4	1	3	2	0	2	3	11
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	15	193	27	14	6	18	273

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