

Saskatchewan's Anti-Poverty Plan, *From Dependence to Independence*

Does it
measure
up?

By Brian Banks and Paul Gingrich



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Introduction

Income inequality, poverty and the social exclusion that follow from lack of opportunity are critical issues facing provincial governments. It is provincial governments after all who are charged with addressing these issues, as well as responsibility for taking a lead role with the federal government to work toward comprehensive long term solutions. In 2012 the Saskatchewan Ministry of Social Services published *From Dependence to Independence*, a lengthy report describing the policies and programs it has designed to attack poverty in Saskatchewan. The preface makes strong claims regarding its intentions, “Previous governments in this province should be acknowledged for their work on different aspects of poverty, but no previous administration approached the challenge with a comparable commitment to holistic, cross-government solutions. That is where things have changed” (Government of Saskatchewan, 2012, p. 4). *From Dependence to Independence* sets out four pillars of poverty reduction: sustaining a strong economy, ensuring citizens have disposable income, removing barriers to independence, and providing financial support to the most vulnerable; as such it appears to be Saskatchewan’s version of a

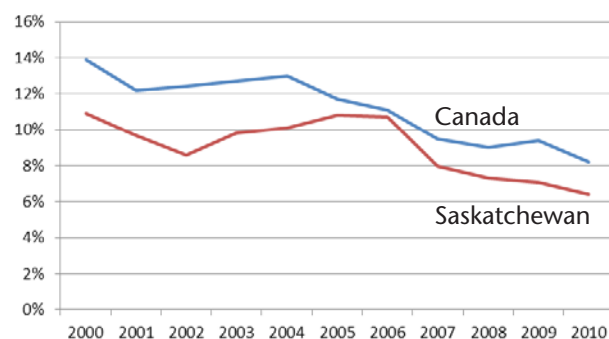
provincial anti-poverty plan. Since the early 2000s all but two provinces, Saskatchewan and British Columbia, have developed or committed to develop comprehensive poverty action plans as the best approach to reduce poverty over the long term.

Does Saskatchewan’s approach actually replicate the main features of an anti-poverty plan? How well does *From Dependence to Independence* measure up when compared to other provincial government anti-poverty plans? This paper attempts to answer these questions. Before entering into this discussion, however, a short summary backgrounding the current economic situation of equity seeking groups in Saskatchewan is described. This is followed by an examination of Saskatchewan’s plan and a close comparison of this plan with a typical anti-poverty plan template, as well as a brief discussion of alternative approaches to developing anti-poverty policy. Concluding remarks point out major omissions and shortcomings of the Saskatchewan plan and provide suggestions for future improvements to Saskatchewan’s efforts to reduce poverty, income inequality and social exclusion.

Poverty in Saskatchewan

In recent years, poverty levels have declined in Saskatchewan and across Canada. Yet even with economic expansion in western Canada many individuals and families have been left out, with incomes insufficient to provide a reasonable level of living. In 2010, the latest year for which data are available, 63,000 Saskatchewan individuals (6.4% of the population) had incomes below the Low Income Cut-off After Tax (LICO-AT). For a family of four living in Regina or Saskatoon the 2010 LICO-AT level was \$29,996, or only \$2,500 per month (Statistics Canada, 2012). Other measures of low income indicate that the number in poverty could be much greater than this — 86,000 (8.8%) below the Market Basket Measure and 116,000 (11.9%) below the Low-Income Measure (see Douglas and Gingrich, pp. 7-8 for a summary of low income measures). And people living on reserves (estimated at 50,000 people) are excluded from these measures, meaning that the number of Saskatchewan individuals in low income is likely understated. Yearly changes in the low income rate for Saskatchewan generally parallel those for Canada (Figure 1) and other western Canadian provinces.

Figure 1. Percentage of individuals below LICO-AT, Canada and Saskatchewan, 2000 to 2010



Source: Statistics Canada, 2012.

Vulnerable Groups

One of the four pillars in *From Dependence to Independence* is assisting vulnerable groups. Here are some of the groups we have identified as vulnerable — undoubtedly there are more. See Table 1 for a summary.

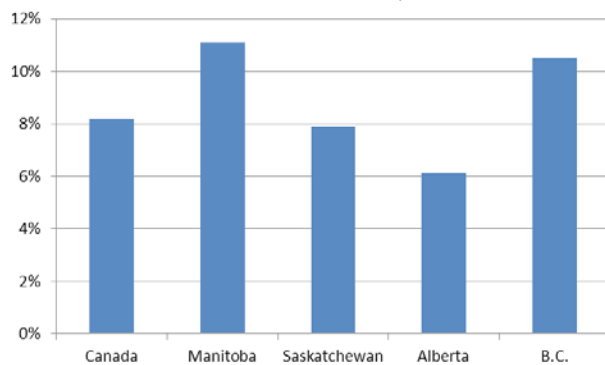
Table 1. Number and percentage of individuals below LICO-AT, Saskatchewan, 2010

Group	Individuals with low income	
	Number in thousands	Percentage
Children – under age 18	17	7.9
In two-parent families	8	4.3
In female lone-parent families	7	25.6
Individuals aged 18-64	45	7.2
In families	18	3.5
Males	6	2.5
Females	12	4.5
Unattached individuals	27	17.5
Males	16	19.7
Females	11	15.1
Seniors – age 65 plus	1	0.8
Total	63	6.4
Male	29	6.0
Female	34	6.8

Source: Statistics Canada, 2012.

Children. In 2010, the poverty rate for persons under age 18 was 7.9 per cent, a rate just below the Canadian average but greater than in Alberta (Figure 2). Of the 185 thousand Saskatchewan children living in two-parent families, 4.3 per cent, or 8 thousand, live below the low income line. And 7 of the 27 thousand children living in female lone-parent families (25.6 per cent) are in poverty. This means that almost half of all children in poverty live in lone-parent families

Figure 2. Percentage of children (persons under age 18) below LICO-AT, Canada and Western Provinces, 2010



Source: Statistics Canada, 2012.

headed by females. These child poverty rates may be understated — the Low Income Measure gives a figure of 13.8 per cent of Saskatchewan children in poverty. Clearly, children are a vulnerable group and single parenthood increases their vulnerability.

Unattached individuals. Living alone increases vulnerability to low income. From the middle part of Table 1, 60 per cent of all 18 to 64 year olds with low income (27 of 45 thousand) are unattached individuals. Of these, more males (16 thousand) than females (11 thousand) are in poverty. In contrast, it is females in families who have a greater poverty rate (4.5 per cent) than do males (2.5 per cent). This results from the greater number of females than males heading single parent families.

Seniors. By 2010, the poverty level of Saskatchewan seniors, those aged 65 and over, reached a historic low (0.8 per cent) as measured by LICO-AT. Other measures of low income indicate more seniors are in poverty — as many as 15 per cent using the Low Income Measure. While many seniors experience low income today, as compared with the situation of thirty years earlier, when one-third of seniors experienced low income, pensions and public income support programs have reduced the poverty rate for seniors.

Aboriginal individuals. 25.8 per cent of Saskatchewan individuals with Aboriginal ancestry living off reserve (26 thousand) had incomes below LICO-AT in 2005 (Statistics Canada, 2007a). As well, “45% of Aboriginal children under age 15 live in low income families, compared with 13% of non Aboriginal children” (Douglas and Gingrich, 2010, p. 4). We were unable to find low income rates for Aboriginal individuals living on reserves. Given limited economic development on many reserves, low income rates on reserves may be greater than given here, meaning that poverty rates for Saskatchewan are very likely understated.

Disabled. In 2006, 73 thousand Saskatchewan individuals aged 15 to 64 had disabilities (Statistics Canada, 2006, p. 22). Across Canada, 20.9 per cent of disabled working-age main income recipients had incomes below LICO-AT in 2010 (HRSDC, 2013). Given the similarity of the Saskatchewan and Canadian low income rates, there could be as many as 15 thousand disabled Saskatchewan adults of working age in poverty.

Immigrants. Across Canada, 17.2 per cent of recent immigrants of working-age experienced low income in 2010 (HRSDC, 2013). From 2007 to 2011, there were 31,811 immigrants to Canada who became permanent residents of Saskatchewan (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010, p. 30). Assuming the provincial rate of low income is similar to that for Canada, approximately 5,500 of recent immigrants to the province experience low income.

Low income areas. Poverty is often concentrated in specific geographic areas — small towns, rural areas, inner city neighbourhoods. In 2005, 16.3 per cent of individuals in the twelve largest towns in Northern Saskatchewan had incomes below LICO-AT as compared with 9.9 per cent for the province as a whole. The low income rate for Prince Albert was 17.4 per cent and for North Battleford was 14.3 per cent. (Statistics Canada, 2007b).

Saskatchewan's "Anti-Poverty" Plan

Since 2000 Saskatchewan's resource boom has produced positive economic results: by 2010 average individual income in the province was the second highest in Canada after Alberta; an additional 50,000 workers, representing more than a 10 per cent increase, now participate in the labour force and the average industrial wage has grown steadily (Sask Trends Monitor, pp. 1, 8). GNP growth and the resulting increased government revenues create space for advances in social policy and program delivery.

On the other side of the growth equation housing prices have risen to unprecedented highs, the availability of low cost housing has reached historic lows and homelessness is a growing public issue. And despite relative prosperity income inequality has not been reduced. In Saskatchewan inequality sharply increased from 2000 to 2006, then declined slightly, remaining above the level of the 1990s (Sask Trends Monitor, p. 7). Rapid growth of international immigration to the province, approximately 31,000 between 2007-2011, has added to Saskatchewan's low income population.

The Government of Saskatchewan's social policy response to recent socio-economic conditions is found in *From Dependence to Independence*. It describes many investments that produce a wide range of benefits to Saskatchewan residents and the government should be commended for this initiative. The authors of the report claim the plan is holistic and cross cutting across government departments, as several departments are responsible for implementing programs aimed at assisting vulnerable populations. The plan is built on four pillars: sustaining a strong economy, ensuring citizens have disposable income, removing barriers to independence and providing

financial support to the most vulnerable. *From Dependence to Independence* is almost exclusively focused on an income approach to poverty reduction. Poverty, however, is not just about income levels; it is also about lack of opportunity, provision of meaningful employment, and developing a sense of belonging and community.

Pillar 1, sustaining a strong economy, briefly outlines the government's overall financial directions and identifies large scale investment targets, particularly with regard to infrastructure, although some include expenditures directed at increasing incomes of the poor. A lengthy discussion of broad economic policy is not usually a main theme of other provincial anti-poverty plans, as they focus almost exclusively on anti-poverty measures. *From Dependence to Independence* justifies the inclusion of a discussion of the economy in these words, "Prolonged periods of poor economic performance reduce a government's resources and more importantly, creates a pattern of welfare dependency" (Government of Saskatchewan, p. 7). By describing all low income persons as dependent, the plan establishes a negative frame of reference and creates stigmatization and a sense of ostracism from the rest of society.

Pillar 2, ensuring citizens have disposable income, describes the steps taken to provide more income to Saskatchewan residents and include increases to minimum wages, income tax changes, various tax credits, tuition rebates etc. While these changes, particularly reduced taxes on the lowest income quintiles, have a positive effect on those with lowest incomes, many of these programs also provide superior benefits to middle and upper class income earners, not the poor. For example, tuition rebates to university

graduates benefit the middle class more than low income persons. And increasing provincial grants to municipal governments and decreasing the education portion of property taxes will have little spin off benefits to the poor and seem out of place (Government of Saskatchewan, p. 9).

Pillar 3, identifies nine areas of government intervention that are aimed at removing barriers to independence including: building more low cost housing; investments in education and skills training; early childhood development; community inclusion (programs to assist the disability population is emphasized); expanding childcare spaces; sexual assault and family violence programs; mental health and addiction programs; services to support families dealing with autism; and services for low income neighbourhoods. This pillar is the strongest section of the plan as it describes many policies and programs that are more genuine anti-poverty measures. Again, while many of these expenditures are important it is very difficult to locate a description of a coherent integration strategy across government departments that focus on poverty elimination or the prevention of poverty among future populations.

From Dependence to Independence does not establish a base year for its programming that then allows for meaningful statistical comparisons. The housing program, for example, has only been recently announced and new construction will be phased in over several years; however, there are large gaps in meeting today's housing needs. It is not clear as to what strategy will be employed to reach the five year target of 12,600 new accommodations and more affordable rental units (Government of Saskatchewan, p 11).

While the programs to assist the disability community provide a good model for working with community groups and vulnerable populations,

there is no commitment to any methodology for working with communities, other equity seeking groups or regions to develop future anti-poverty programs. This pillar is also weak with respect to the description of health programs and the social determinants of health and how they relate to poverty. The plan seems to have selected two subpopulations, autism and fetal alcohol spectrum disorder and ignores all other health impairments and their effects on poverty. How improvements to the social determinants of health interact with other anti-poverty measures is not explained. *From Dependence to Independence* does not seem to seriously consider the effects of such determinants as low birth weight, adolescent pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections, HIV and AIDS, drug use rates, obesity and diabetes, heart disease, chronic lung disease etc. on the incidence of poverty. Many of these conditions have a particularly profound effect on young people and minorities.

The plan identifies training expenditures such as Workplace Essential Skills and other "quick skills" aimed mainly at transitioning youth as quickly as possible into the workforce. A comprehensive provincial literacy and adult education program is lacking.

Pillar 4 describes financial support to some vulnerable populations, but mainly focuses on seniors and those requiring extra shelter allowance and transportation allowance. This section overlaps with many of the income programs described in pillar 3. Programming directed at improving opportunities for unattached individuals, single parents, First Nations, the rural poor, and immigrants is difficult to identify. It is apparent from a later discussion in the plan that First Nations educational attainment and employment are seen as a success indicator but there are very few specific initiatives in the plan to address this long standing issue.

Provincial Anti-Poverty Plans

From Dependence to Independence when examined side by side with other provincial government anti-poverty plans clearly shows that Saskatchewan's plan is missing several key features of a comprehensive, integrated approach to poverty elimination. (For a complete view of provincial government poverty plans see the report card from Canada Without Poverty, 2012). These features are described below but first a short description of a comprehensive provincial anti-poverty plan provides added context.

Quebec's approach to poverty elimination, for example, is unique in Canada. Quebec's Parti Quebecois government passed the Act to Combat Poverty and Social Exclusion in December 2002. Article 2 of the Act defines poverty as the "human condition of being deprived of resources, means, choices, and power necessary to acquire and maintain economic self-sufficiency or to facilitate integration and participation in society" (Lamarche, p. 141). What is notable about this definition is that it recognizes that power differentials are a significant factor related to the difficulties vulnerable groups face in escaping poverty.

Quebec anti-poverty groups in the past 20 years have had a powerful influence on the provincial government. These groups define poverty more within a human rights framework. Poverty is a "human condition characterized by sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standard of living and other civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights." A version of this definition is included in the Act and provides for a strong emphasis that the poor be provided opportunities for attaining a full measure of human rights (Lamarche, p. 152).

The Poverty Act promotes attainment of goals over 10 years by (1) focusing on individual development, training and employability programs) (2) strengthening the social safety net (3) promoting access to employment (4) ensuring consistent intervention at all levels (Lamarche, p. 142).

The Act created a fund originally of \$160 million to be invested toward achieving the goals of the plan, and it also set up a 17 member public advisory committee to guide the plan's implementation. The first Quebec plan was launched in 2004 and was accompanied by a \$2.5 billion budget over five years. The second five year plan increased expenditures to \$7 billion from 2010 to 2015 and focuses even more intently on achieving goals related to the creation of employment opportunities. The Work Premium, the child tax credit and full indexation of benefits have been implemented. Quebec claims that its poverty rate has dropped by 40 per cent from 1999 to 2009 (CWP, Quebec Poverty Progress Profile, p. 4).

As Make Poverty History concludes, "In many respects, Quebec has blazed the trail for action on poverty in Canada with its robust Act legislating the government's responsibility to combat poverty, its definition of poverty as encompassing social exclusion and its commitment to universal child care." (CWP, Quebec Poverty Progress Profile, p. 7).

The Quebec approach contrasts with the neo-liberal approach underlying *From Dependence to Independence*, which seeks mainly to manage the dysfunctional levels of poverty and increasingly to stress individual responsibility for improving one's well-being.

Table 2 below describes the typical components of a provincial anti-poverty plan created by a review of the provincial anti-poverty plans posted on Canada Without Poverty (CWP). While every plan does not necessarily include

every component in the template, the most comprehensive do. Different plans will, of course, focus on thematic areas that reflect particular provincial concerns or vulnerable groups that provinces have prioritized.

Table 2. Provincial Anti-Poverty Plan Components

Community Engagement

Provincial anti-poverty plans are usually launched via an extensive public consultation and involvement process engaging civil society groups, low income individuals, business sector etc.

Governance

A number of provinces such as New Brunswick (2009), Ontario (2009) and Quebec (2004) passed Acts of the Legislature which establish how they are implemented and how results are reported.

Vision and Goals

A few plans set out long term visions, for example, the Nova Scotia plan states that it intends to “break the cycle of poverty and create opportunities for all ...” More often the plans establish specific reachable goals. Newfoundland’s plan states that it will have the lowest poverty rate in Canada by 2014. Ontario’s plan is much less ambitious and promises to reduce the number of children in poverty by 25 per cent over 2009-2013. New Brunswick’s goal is to reduce income poverty by 25 per cent and deep income poverty by 58 per cent and attain significant progress toward achieving sustained economic and social inclusion (CWP, Poverty Progress Profiles).

Implementation Strategy

The amount of detail describing implementation components vary significantly.

- **Timelines and Investment Commitment:** Most plans set out a five year timeline with annual reports on progress. Some plans specifically earmark funding and a budget for accomplishing the plan’s annual goals.
- **Themes/Action Areas:** All the plans set out quite similar critical themes and action areas: income improvements, housing, childcare and early childhood education initiatives, investments in training etc.
- **Measuring Progress and Success Indicators:** Data is maintained on Low Income Cut Off, LICO After Tax, Low Income Measure, Market Basket Measure, Food Bank Usage and Welfare Caseloads. Individual plans establish particular success indicators based on the theme areas chosen. School readiness, educational graduation rates, social housing starts, infant mortality and healthy birth weights, changes to minimum wage are typical examples.
- **Long Term Impact:** Most of the plans indicate that progress is being made to achieve some of the goals; however, it is difficult to draw conclusions about longer term achievements.

Alternative Approaches to Developing Anti-Poverty Policy

Raghubar Sharma's *Poverty in Canada* (2012) describes several different broad approaches to understanding poverty: the culture of poverty, situational/environmental perspectives, stigmatization of the poor and social exclusion. He states, "social exclusion occurs when individuals are unable to participate in any of the key economic, social, and political activities of a society in which they live. The factors that prevent an individual from participating in the economic, social, and political activities of a society could be a lack of resource, insufficient financial means, or inadequate social networks" (Sharma, p. 9). Some groups of individuals, children, the elderly and persons with a disability for example face social exclusion because they have fewer capacities and resources. The poor's segregation from sources of income may result from a range of different reasons, not exclusively from culture, environment, social exclusion or stigma. More likely, it is a combination of any of these factors (Sharma, p. 11). Clearly then, an effective anti-poverty policy framework must respond to the multiple consequences of any or all of these causative features.

Another useful alternative framework to anti-poverty policy development is the capability approach advocated by the Nobel Prize winning economist Amartya Sen. He argues:

... individual advantage is judged in the capability approach by a person's capability to do things he or she has reason to value. A person's advantage in terms of opportunities is judged to be lower than that of another if she has less capability — less real opportunity — to achieve those things that she has reason to value. The focus here is

on the freedom that a person actually has to do this or that — things that he or she may value doing or being. ... The concept of capability is thus linked closely with the opportunity aspect of freedom, seen in terms of 'comprehensive' opportunities, ... The capability approach focuses on human life, and not just on some detached objects of convenience, such as incomes or commodities that a person may possess, which are often taken, especially in economic analysis, to be the main criteria of human success. Indeed, it proposes a serious departure from concentrating on the *means* of living to the *actual opportunities* of living (Sen, p. 231-233).

Sen demonstrates that there are various types of contingencies which result in large differences in the way individuals may be able to convert income into opportunities. People have disparate physical characteristics in relation to age, gender, disability, proneness to illness and so on. An ill person may need more income to do the same elementary things that a less afflicted person can do with a given level of income. Diversities in environmental and climatic conditions may also have different effects on people's ability to convert incomes into a better quality of life. And variations in social climate such as the availability of health care, educational arrangements and the prevalence of crime and violence will also greatly reduce opportunities. Real poverty in terms of capability deprivation can easily be much more intense than what we can deduce from income data (Sen, pp. 255-256). Because some individuals are faced with capability deprivation does not necessarily mean, however, that they

are dependent. They may still be autonomous individuals with considerable self agency pursuing goals and meaningful opportunities.

People with physical or mental disability are not only among the most deprived, but frequently the most neglected. In addition, their need for income is greater than that of able-bodied people, since they require money and assistance to try to live normal lives and to attempt to alleviate their handicaps (Sen, p. 258). “The impairment of income-earning ability, which can be called ‘the earning handicap’, tends to be reinforced and much magnified in its effect by ‘the conversion handicap’: the difficulty in converting incomes and resources into good living, precisely because of disability” (Sen, p. 259).

Anti-poverty policy development must include the amelioration of the effects of handicap, on the one hand and establish programs to prevent the development of both physical and mental disabilities, on the other. Many disabilities are preventable and much can be done to diminish the *penalty* of disability but also to reduce their

incidence. Social intervention against disability by government anti-poverty plans has to include a prevention component as well as management and alleviation.

Sen cites Elizabeth Anderson’s work as persuasive defense of the capability approach. It is “superior to a resource metric because it focuses on ends rather than on means, can better handle discrimination against the disabled, is properly sensitive to individual variations in functioning that have democratic import, and is well suited to guide the just delivery of public services, especially in health and education” (Sen, pp. 263, 439).

An application of the capability model convincingly demonstrates that effective anti-poverty interventions must go beyond calculating a single income benefit for all single employable persons or a single monthly benefit for a single parent with one child. The capability model advocates that governments work closely with equity seeking groups to fully understand the improvement in opportunities they are striving for.



Conclusions

From Dependence to Independence contains several serious omissions and shortcomings and fails to measure up to the standards of a competent anti-poverty plan. A listing of several of its gaps contains the following:

- It lacks a foundational base and a well thought out definition of poverty that sees poverty in terms of power asymmetries or human rights.
- The recognition of the capabilities of low income people and their values and what priority opportunities exist for them is understated.
- It does not sufficiently address the problems created by inequality of income over the long term and provides no discussion of the growing gap between the majority population and such groups as First Nations, single parent families and the growing immigrant population.
- It has been constructed without sufficient and structured public consultation or a conscious attempt to seek perspectives from low income persons and groups other than the disability community.
- The plan for the most part avoids a discussion of how social exclusion and stigmatization act as a barrier to reducing poverty. Very few initiatives and expenditures in the Saskatchewan plan are dedicated to improving services and the participation of low income people.
- Some of the wording of the plan recognizes that income levels are not the only issue leading to poverty but on the whole it sees poverty amelioration almost exclusively in terms of improving incomes. It does not have sufficient focus on prevention strategies.
- Little integration of income, health, education and service programs are evident. Health interventions and a recognition of the importance of the social determinants of health are minimal and when recognized are unconnected to other initiatives.
- A clearly described overall implementation strategy is not evident.
- Other than the four overlapping pillars, the plan does not commit to public engagement, does not set out a vision, a funding commitment, or specific achievable goals annually or over longer terms. Accountability for implementation of the plan is not assigned and who reports on results is not clearly established.
- It does not provide a base year for comparison of benchmarks and there are no success indicators attached to any of its pillars or interventions respecting vulnerable groups it identifies. Its measures are macro ones such as the Low Income Cut Off.

From Dependence to Independence is a statistically laden document with long lists of many types of expenditures, but it is not an anti-poverty plan that is comparable to other provincial plans.

Future Directions in Anti-Poverty Planning

In 2011 and 2012 Poverty free Saskatchewan, a small community network, undertook a series of public consultations on its anti-poverty framework document, *Strategies to Eliminate Poverty in Saskatchewan* (PFS, 2012). Communities, groups and individuals responded. They identified numerous factors leading to difficult and sometimes intolerable living conditions, but they also provided many positive and practical solutions related to housing, income security, education, rewarding work, health care and improving access to services for low income people.

As a first priority the Government of Saskatchewan could follow suit and undertake a public involvement project to engage communities, anti-poverty organizations and equity seeking groups. An option to consider is a series of round tables with those groups who have been most left out of the economic gains made by the province: First Nations and Metis, single parents, unattached individuals, and immigrants.

Following that step an anti-poverty act could be passed by the Legislature, which would ensure proper governance, budget allocation, annual reporting and ensure the continuation of long term efforts to eliminate poverty.

A long term anti-poverty effort that provides the greatest payback is investments in early childhood development and education. Poverty is the most severe obstacle to a child's learning. Diane Ravitch, a leading American supporter of public schools and a critic of high stakes testing and charter schools concludes, "the (school) reform movement is in denial of the number of immigrant children, the hardening of class lines,

growing inequality, the number of kids with disabilities. Some poor kids do very well, but the odds are against them" (Denby, p. 74). The same conclusion about poor children's education chances is generally accepted by Saskatchewan educators. It is well documented that 'by the time poor children reach kindergarten, after years of inadequate nutrition, limited reading at home, and little or no preschool experience, they are already at a disadvantage that is difficult to overcome' (Denby, p. 74). In the past decade Saskatchewan's attention to child care, prekindergarten initiatives and support for poor children in our schools has not been stellar. A comprehensive anti-poverty plan needs to build in better supports for poor children.

According to Harvard History professor, Jill Lepore, the architects of the U.S. War on Poverty never defended a broad based progressive income tax as a public good. Nor did they refer to public pensions, health care and unemployment insurance as "welfare". President Johnson's Council of Economic Advisors told him that, when explaining how the government might fight poverty, he ought to "avoid completely the use of the term 'inequality' or the term 'redistribution' the poor were to be referred to as "targets of opportunity" (Lepore, p. 28). So it seems we have not progressed very far from our 1960s value positions regarding who is the deserving and the undeserving poor, nor have our attitudes toward inequality of income advanced. Perhaps in the second decade of the 21st century increasing the well-being of the poorest fifth of the population can take as much precedence as increasing the income of the richest fifth.

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