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REPORT

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OF THE STUDY COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

JUNE 1963

GOVERNMENT OF QUEBEC

Report

of the

Study Committee on Public Assistance

JUNE 1963

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CONSTITUTED BY
ORDER IN COUNCIL, 2369
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"Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing, medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control."

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 25, Third Assembly of the United Nations, 1948.

Study Committee on Public Assistance

MEMBERS

J. Emile Boucher, President

Chairman of the Board of Directors the "Société Nationale de Fiducie".

Marcel Bélanger, c.a.

Professor at the Faculty of Commerce, Laval University.

Claude Morin

Professor at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Laval University.

SECRETARIES

Jean-Paul Labelle

Assistant Director of the Social Assistance Services,

Me Marcel Lemieux

Secretary-general of the Quebec Social Allowances Commission.

To His Excellency

THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

We, the members of the Study Committee on Public Assistance, have the honour of presenting our report to Your Excellency.

Our Committee was constituted by Order-in-Council 2369 dated December sixth, 1961, to undertake the study of certain problems relating to the application of the Public Charities Act of Quebec and to formulate conclusions on this subject.

We humbly request Your Excellency to accept this report which we respectfully submit herewith.

Émile Gaucher

PRESIDENT

Marcel Bélanger

MEMBER

Claude Morin

MEMBER

Jean-Paul Labelle

SECRETARY

Marcel Lemieux

SECRETARY

Quebec, June 1963.

ORDER IN COUNCIL

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL CHAMBER

Number 2369 Quebec, December 6, 1961

PRESENT :

The Lieutenant Governor in Council

Concerning the constitution of a Study Committee on Public Assistance

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WHEREAS under the Department of Family and Social Welfare Act, (R.S.Q. 1941, ch. 70A), the Minister of Family and Social Welfare is entrusted with the application of legislation pertaining particularly to social welfare;

WHEREAS it is advisable that a study be made of certain problems arising particularly from the application of the Quebec Public Charities Act and that a study committee be constituted for this purpose.

WHEREFORE, it is ordered upon the recommendation of the Minister of Family and Social Welfare :

1 – THAT a committee be instituted to carry out a study on the following matters :

a) the scale of allowance rates, according to economic regions,

b) the fixed rates method and the one based on family budget,

c) the various means of collaboration between private and public welfare services,

d) the overall problem of financial assistance at home, its financial and social implications, prevention and rehabilitation;

2 – THAT this committee be formed of three members, namely : Mr. J. Boucher, of Outremont; Mr. Claude Morin, Secretary of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Laval University, Quebec, and Mr. Marcel Bélanger, C.A., Secretary of the Faculty of Commerce, Laval University, Quebec;

3 – THAT Mr. J. Emile Boucher be authorized to act as President of this committee.

CLERK OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Léopold DÉSILETS

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INTRODUCTION

1 – Terms of Reference

The terms of reference of the Committee of Inquiry referred to the four following matters :

a) the scale of allowance rates according to economic regions ;

b) the fixed rates method and the one based on family budget ;

c) the various means of collaboration between private and public welfare services ;

d) the overall problem of financial assistance at home, its financial and social implications, prevention and rehabilitation.

In accordance with these terms of reference it was normal that the Committee pay special attention to the considerable and fast growth of social assistance costs in the Province of Quebec. From the outset of this study, the Committee found, however, that the problem it had to face was much larger and above all tremendously more complex than it seemed at first, the high cost of social assistance being merely a resultant. For this reason, the Committee thought it more useful to direct its research toward analysing the social, political and economic concepts underlying the establishment of measures for financial assistance at home and toward the administrative methods used in applying them. The Committee therefore considered that it ought to look into the trend of the Family and Social Welfare Department's policy and also its structure. As indicated in its terms of reference, it has also examined the nature of the Department's relations with the remaining Provincial administration and the entire private sector of social welfare.

It should finally be added that the Committee adopted a perspective going beyong the immediate facts which led to its constitution. Its outlook therefore remains valid in the study of all family and social problems which demand or will demand the attention of the Department.

2 – Publication of the Report

The Committee wishes to emphasize the spirit in which it has prepared and written this report. The latter may, at times, seem severe and even harsh. It is not, however, an accusation against anyone. The facts related therein have been examined objectively and the Committee had to pronounce itself, not upon persons responsible for them, but upon the realities which had given rise to them or had proceeded therefrom. At no time did it intend to charge anyone with responsibilities with respect to situations analysed and commented upon. It merely studied a social security system and not those who created it. The Committee's report thus presents a frank and unrestricted opinion respecting social assistance conditions in the Province of Quebec. Its recommendations are formulated in the same objective spirit.

Two factors have delayed the publication of the report.

In the first instance, statistics supplied by the Department of Family and Social Welfare are not abundant and are unadaptable for analytical purposes, since they are not compiled with view to economic and sociological research. Their presentation is also delayed for several months. The Committee was therefore obliged to make a minute and lengthly analysis of this scattered data, which was supplied in worksheet form.

In the second instance, the Committee had to interrupt its regular work to take an interest in the solution of urgent problems relating to financial assistance at home. Thus, in the Spring of 1962, the Committee presented to the Prime Minister and to the Minister of Family and Social Welfare recommandations respecting emergency assistance, special assistance and supplements to governmental allowances. These recommandations brought about temporary amendments to the Regulations respecting the Public Charities Act.

3 – Research work of the Committee

In order to carry out the heavy task devolved upon the Committee, the latter had to scrutinize legislation, regulations, directives and available statistical reports, as well as policies and methods applied. It also examined, in its entirety, the structure of the Department to better grasp the overall problem, leaving out, however, to a certain extent, current administrative techniques, which would have clearly exceeded the scope of its terms of reference. The Committee has never interpreted its basic role as being that of a management consultant, nor has it ever considered itself as an inquiry committee whose main object would have been to identify problems of an administrative nature and to suggest ways to solve them. This vast field of research could constitute only a small part of the task to be accomplished. Organizations outside the Provincial administration, but closely connected with the application of the Public Charities Act, also had to be contacted in order to obtain their opinions. All

those consulted readily responded to the invitation extended to them and have given the Committee the benefit of their experience, the results of their research regarding the various areas in which they carry out their work and their opinions respecting the application of assistance laws and their deficiencies.

These organzations have transmitted to the Committee's secretariat briefs in which they have made known their views and proposals as well as their recommendations. All these studies were carefully examined.

From March to July 1962, hearings were held in Quebec, Montreal and in several other cities throughout the Province.

The Committee interviewed representatives from seventeen diocesan agencies. It also consulted the Montreal Interfederation Council, "Conseil des Oeuvres du Diocèse de Québec", "Caritas-Canada", "Corporation des Travailleurs sociaux professionnels de la province de Québec", 'Confédération des Syndicats nationaux", "Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec", "Union Catholique des Cultivateurs", "Association professionnelle des Industriels", the Canadian Welfare Council, "Association de diététique du Québec", "Union des municipalités" and the Director of the Social Welfare Service of the City of Montreal.

The Committee went to Ottawa to consult with the Deputy Minister of the Department of National Health and Welfare, the senior officials of the Unemployment Assistance Branch, the Directors of the Research and Statistics Branch and personnel connected with rehabilitation on behalf of the Canadian Government. The Deputy Ministers of Social Welfare in all other Provinces also gave their wholehearted collaboration. The Committee derived great profit from these contacts.

In order to gather documentary evidence with respect to recent social security trends, the Committee examined a large number of technical studies and research findings from Canada, the United States and other countries. Notes prepared by Professor John S. Morgan, of the University of Toronto, were especially appreciated.

The Committee's work would have been impossible without the effective cooperation of the Department of Family and Social Welfare and particularly that of Messrs. Roger Marier and Fernand Dostie, Deputy Ministers; André Landry and Edgar Guay, Assistant Deputy Ministers; J. R. Forest, President and Administrator of the Quebec Social Allowances Commission; Gérard Nepveu, Director of the Social Assistance Services; Pierre-Paul Archambault, Assistant Director of said Services, Me Jean-Marie Bouchard, Commissionner for the Quebec Social Allowances Commission, Jean Tremblay, Chief of the Family and Home Assistance Service; Alfred Letendre and Louis Larouche of the Research and Documentation Service; Adrien Gaumond, Assistant Chief of Services for the Social Allowances Commission and Guy Carle, Chief of the Rouyn-Noranda Regional Welfare Office.

The Committee wishes also to express its deepest gratitude to its Secretaries, Mr. Jean-Paul Labelle and Me Marcel Lemieux. Without their untiring devotion and their great knowledge of the problems pertaining to public Assistance, the Committee's work would have been impossible. It also wishes to express its gratitude to Mr. Rene Raymond, Sociologist, for his efficiency in the pursuit of basic research work. It wishes also to thank the stenographers, Mrs Racine, Miss Paradis, Miss Mercier and Miss Labranche. Mr. Pierre-E. Laporte, Sociologist, Miss Danielle Drolet and Mr. Vincent Ross, students, also deserve sincere thanks for their perhaps unknown but nonetheless essential contribution.

4 – Plan of the Report

Following a brief history respecting the evolution of social assistance in the Province of Quebec, the report analyses the growth and the level of financial costs which social assistance represents for the Province. It also shows the interdependence of economic and social problems as well as the function of the State in social welfare. It then proceeds with the study of the Department's administrative structure and of the means of collaboration between the public and private sectors. Finally, it dwells at length upon the methods of assistance, notably with reference to rates and regulations correctly applied.

Certain matters have been treated several times. These seemingly useless repetitions are necessary in order that problems studied be properly understood since they must be tackled from various angles.

At the end of this Report will be found a synthesis of the findings of the Committee and a list of its recommendations.

Chapter I

HISTORICAL VIEW AND GENERAL OUTLINE OF SOCIAL ASSISTANCE IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL VIEW AND GENERAL OUTLINE OF SOCIAL ASSISTANCE IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

To put the present problems of financial assistance at home in proper perspective, it is essential to know about its origine and growth. It is also necessary to describe briefly the main assistance measures now in force. This first chapter is devoted to that purpose.

A – HISTORICAL VIEW

The present characteristics of social assistance in the Province of Quebec originated from a combination of political, religious, economic and social factors.

1 – The French Regime

Social assistance in the Province of Quebec has developed very slowly. Throughout the years of the country's colonization and until the early part of the twentieth century, traditions and customs, strengthened by the vigilant presence of the Church, centered on family, individual or community rights and responsibilities. The teaching of the Church accustomed Canadian families to consider themselves primarily responsible for the maintenance of their members. Blood and marriage ties, or even neighborhood relationships, laid upon the individual the duty of assisting kith and kin without compulsion from civil authority. The climate of solidarity and hospitality which had long characterized Quebec's social history laid the basis for the future structures and methods of assistance in the Province.

To bring into the limelight all the elements underlying the most important measures introduced under the French regime would be too long. However, over a long period, the organization of social assistance has been inspired by the wish for independence and for family solidarity, as well as by the Clergy's active inspiration.

> "If one wishes to understand the special physiognomy of the social system in the Province of Quebec, one must first of all bring out two notions which are absolutely essential in Catholic teaching : those of social justice an dcharity, since the nature and the system of social works are here the concrete expression of a doctrine and not the fact of a simple historic evolution". (1)

The State was too busy with quarrels over principles and struggles of privilege to pay much attention to social assistance. Moreover, in those days, society seldom brought its specific problems to the attention of authorities because such matters were considered too intimate or too personel to confide to others.

Thus, each family, each village, each seigneury, and even borough acknowledged its duty to look after its own cripples and poor .

Defined as a prime and sacred duty of the individual and of the family, acceptance of this responsibility was evidenced by the presence within the home of members of several generations, of aged persons and close relatives, of cripples or orphans. Board and lodging were given even to poverty-stricken strangers.

The assumption of individual and family responsibility gave rise to various forms of initiative, to a limited and local organization of welfare of the community type, aimed at providing for the needs and maintenance of poorer fellow parishioners. This situation prevailed even during the XIXth century. In his study titled *L'Habitant de Saint-Justin,* Léon Gérin mentions that the family inherits the obligation of being self-sufficient and of giving aid support to all the less fortunate members of the family. When the head of the family bequeaths his property to a universal legatee, he never forgets to list the debts and obligations devolving to the latter if he wishes the estate to descend to him as of right. Gérin notes this responsibility in the field of welfare as a family and community phenomenon.

> "Each concession provides assistance for its poor. Begging is very exceptional in Saint-Justin. However, a number of labourers are dependant on the citizens in their old age. Primarily it is the indigent's family, his relatives who are obliged to provide for his upkeep. But if the family is itself unable to carry the burden, the concession takes over. Lodging and other needs are provided through voluntary contributions. Every six month period or so, a collection is taken up or house-to-house canvassing is carried out in each concession on behalf of its poor. Alms are given in kind and the campaign is very fruitful". (2)

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(1) Minville, Esdras : *"La Législation ouvrière et le régime social dans la province de Québec"* A study prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, Appendix 5, King's Printer, Ottawa, 1939.

(1) Gérin, Léon : *"L'Habitant de Saint-Justin"*, extract from Minutes and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, Series II, Vol. IV, Meeting of May 1898; The quotation is drawn from a mimeographed document for the use of students, (page 49) Library of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Laval University.

This shows that private individual, family or community initiative has been a leading characteristic of welfare for over two centuries.

Alongside the services rendered to the population by religious communities, the clergy and the hospitals of the time, it is necessary to mention an organization, established by the King's authority, which did useful work with families and individuals. Immediately after his arrival in this country, Msgr-Laval set up so-called committees for the poor in the chief centres of the colony to provide assistance for indigents.

In France, these committees had already existed for a long time in most cities. It was only in 1688 that King Louis XIV recognized their existence in Canada. A forerunner of social assistance at home, the Committee or bureau for the poor was a public institution serving the purpose of social welfare, charity fund or municipal assistance office, before the adoption of any regulation. These committees consisted of voluntary workers headed by the parish priest, a secretary-treasurer and a Director for the Poor. The assistance fund was financed by alms, gifts, home collections, church collections or even fines levied for stated offences. The bureau sought to lessen physical ills as the same time as it urged its proteges to attempt their own rehabilitation. The parish priest acted as a sort of social worker and the assistance services rendered by the Committee consisted of cash, food, equipment and even employment.

These so-called committees for the poor had a solidly established structure and organization and operated in accordance with regulations inspired by a punitive attitude.

> "The said directors shall exclude from the bureau the loafers and vainglorious whom they will send back to work ; the worthy poor however who may be recognized as being devoted to the welfare of their families and not debauched will be assisted while dealing with great discretion, giving them only that which is necessary, in the discretion of the said directors". (1)

2 – After the Conquest

The conquest did not immediately alter the methods of granting assistance in Quebec. On the contrary, the climate of fear and dread of unwarranted interference by the new authorities helped to strengthen the bonds of the community and encouraged assistance to become more private and personal.

Although and old decree passed under Elizabeth I, known as the Poor Law, was invoked from 1763 on, to prevail upon municipalities to care for their

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(1) Quoted by Rev. Father Poulin, at the 2nd Congress of Caritas-Canada, in 1954. The author has drawn the text from *"Arrêtés et Règlements du Conseil Supérieur"*, Tome 2, p. 119, April, 1688.

aged the French population long ignored this new formula or at least refused to avail itself of it.

In the years that followed the Conquest, the committees for the poor formerly associated with the administrative structure of the country broke up and disappeared. In 1846 new societies brought over from France by Dr. Painchaud appeared in Quebec City. Saint-Vincent-de-Paul Societies replaced the old committees for the poor and rapidly spread to all parishes.

In those days, there were only three hospitals, L'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal, founded in 1644, L'Hôtel-Dieu and L'Hôpital Général de Québec, founded respectively in 1639 and 1692. Their gradual decentralization gave rise to a number of homes or asylums. It was not before 1880 that expansion of hospital services as such began.

Toward the end of the XVIII century, a few institutions, operated chiefly by religious communities, began to look after certain classes of indigents. From 1801 on, the Government granted small-scale subsidies to hospital institutions for the supervision and maintenance of both mental patients and foundlings. This was one of the few fields where the State participated directly in the maintenance of its hapless citizens. Subsequently, its action continued and spread.

It was only in 1869 that the problems of child welfare drew the attention of the authorities. They organized reform schools where children were treated like true prisoners. The Government also gave subsidies to certain institutions which specialized in the care of the insane.

After the Conquest, one of the contributing forces for keeping traditional assistance confined to the family was the restoration of French Civil Law which established the family's rights and obligations toward its kin. It reinstated the legal norms governing the social structure of the family, the paternal authority and the inter-responsibilities of two or several generations. The civil Code appears as a powerful instrument assuring cohesion and continuity of the family's responsibilities in welfare matters. Similarly, in keeping with the tradition of the Canadian Church, it inspired private initiative beyond the family setting.

3 – **Confederation**

Under section 92 of the British North America Act, responsibility for welfare and health was left to the province. The duties and responsibilities respecting the establishment, upkeep and administration of asylums, institutions, homes and hospitals other than the Navy's devolved on the provinces.

In 1832, the establishment of municipal institutions gave each social organization local government which very soon claimed authority over the responsibilities and rights formerly belonging to the smaller community. Local problems which until then had been studied from an individual angle were henceforth dealt with at municipal level. The Municipal Council assumed the role of a permanent organization with jurisdiction over its citizens and under the Municipal Code it was entrusted with the administration of direct assistance and subsidies to charitable institutions. Since the municipality was not formally required to accept this role, such obligations, for a long time, continued to be discretionary. It was only later that the Public Charities Act made it compulsory for municipalities to assume responsibility for their hospitalized indigents.

From 1867 to 1921 the financial burden of municipalities with respect to social assistance was confined to the upkeep of prisoners, half the maintenance of mentally-ill indigents and part of the cost of child detention in reform or industrial schools.

Thus, for nearly two centuries, social assistance consisted only of assistance in kind and in services provided by individuals and families, and of fairly arbitrary aid granted by the State.

However, the advent of the State in this sector did not lessen the Church's supplementary role which added an esential attribute to the action of families or municipalities. From the early days of the colony until 1921, it remained the chief initiator of several forms of assistance.

Before going into the main phases in the history of public charity, it is well to summarize here the economic changes at the source of the Public Charities Act. These changes were brought about by a series of events which marked the XIXth century and the early part of the XXth.

After the Conquest, the population had generally fallen back upon agriculture, and available arable land was soon over-populated. Poor agricultural training as well as unsatisfactory policies of colonization and road-building started, as early as 1820, a trend to urbanization at the same time as industrial centres in embryo appeared. Rural people moved to Quebec and Montreal. During prolonged economic depressions, they even had to emigrate to the United States. To this situation was added a massive immigration of Englishmen and Irishmen driven from their country by pauperdom. The native population had to admit immigrants who were not only poor but also weakened by disease.

Industrialization began about 1850, accelerating the movements of the population while creating a new type of society. The functions of the family underwent swift changes due to the introduction of new ways of life and the wage-earning system.

During economic depressions, civil and religious authorities advocated a return to the farm and the opening of new areas to colonization. Their endeavours were sometimes successful, and at other times were met with a renewed exoduc to the urban centres.

Before 1867, more than 80% of the Quebec population still lived in rural areas, on farms or in villages. By 1931, the proportion favoured urban centres. Then in 1961, demographic statistics revealed that more than 71% of the Quebec population lived in communities of 2,500 and over. 40% of the total population of the Province lives in the Montreal metropolitan area alone.

4 – The Public Charities Act

The introduction of the Public Charities Act into the economic and social context of 1921 proved to be a history necessity as well as an attempt to co-ordinate government assistance with welfare institutions. The charitable agencies of those days could not by themselves meet the needs created by the new problems of this first wave of industrialization. The economic difficulties of the thirties brought little change to the system of assistance, even if they showed up suddenly the weakness of private enterprise and its inability to alleviate the ills of this period. To make up for it, transitory measures were adopted, e.g., direct relief.

The Public Charities Act, as presently codified in Chapter 187 R.S.Q. 1941, has remained the most important legislation of Quebec Social Assistance, and only minor amendments to it were made between the year when it was enacted and 1960.

This Legislation, by facilitating the hospitalization of indigents and their maintenance, sanctioned Government intervention in a new field, that of the private welfare institutions. It provided for the constitution, within the Department of Health and Welfare, of an administrative body called "Public Assistance Service". It instituted a three-way financial plan for sharing maintenance cost of persons eligible for assistance benefits. The Quebec Government paid a third of the hospitalization and maintenance costs for indigents admitted in public charitable institutions; the municipality where the indigent elected domicile had to pay the second third; the institution bore the cost of the last third, generally in the form of services.

The recognition of indigency and the determination of the legal domicile were left in the first instance to the municipality. In case of disagreement, courts were authorized to determine whether there was a state of indigence and to decide which municipality was responsible for the indigent under the Act. Lastly, under section 37 of the same Act, "the Public Assistance Service under

the authority of the Minister, could, from motives of humanity and protection of the public, pay for the whole or part of the hospitalization of such persons".

5 – The New Programs of Social Security

The Public Charities Act had weaknesses and shortcomings which were brought to light by socio-economic developments and especially by the great depression of the 'thirties. The Montpetit Commission Report, submitted in 1933, as well as the advent of the Federal Government in the social legislation field at about the same time, instigated new welfare programs.

It should be acknowledged that no government body – provincial or municipal – was empowered at that time to pay direct financial assistance at home under the Public Charities Act.

The Montpetit Commission Report advocated this type of assistance rather than the placing of members of a family in institutions. It was at this time that diocesan social agencies, similar to agencies in the Montreal Anglo-Canadian sector, were set up and gradually recognized as public charitable institutions "without walls".

In 1936, by participating to the joint program of old age pensions for persons of 70 ans over, initiated by the Federal Government in 1927, the Quebec Government introduced a new formula of financial assistance at home. On April 14, 1937, the Quebec Legislature adopted an act providing for the payment of all allowances to needy mothers; this measure was financed entirely by the Province.

An amendment to the Federal Old Age Pension Act ratified on March 31, 1937, authorized the payment of an allowance to blind persons.

On October 1st of the same year, the Quebec Government agreed to this plan providing for a Federal contribution of 75% of the cost. In 1951, the Federal Government enacted separate legislation dealing with assistance to the blind. The Quebec Government introduced its own legislation of January 1st 1952.

Since 1952, the Canadian Government has paid the full cost of universal old age pensions to persons of 70 years of age and over. At the same time, it increased its aid to persons between 65 and 70 exclusively, through a joint program administered by the provinces, and to which it still contributes 50% of the payments.

Effective January 1, 1955, the Canadian Government initiated a joint program of assistance for disabled persons. Its share was set at 50% of the allowances. The Quebec Government participated immediately.

B – PRESENT SITUATION

After this brief historical outline, we shall now describe the present system of social assistance in the Province of Quebec. Special emphasis will be laid upon the recent amendments to various welfare measures.

1 – Administrative Structures

Among the administrative measures applied in the social field was the constitution, in 1944, of the Department of Social Welfare (8 George VI, Chap. 32), which was transformed into the Department of Social Welfare and of Youth (10 George VI, Chap. 22). From its formation until 1957, the jurisdiction of this Department covered the following measures : assistance to persons between 65 and 70, blind persons, disabled persons and needy mothers.

The administration was entrusted by delegation of powers to the Quebec Social Allowances Commission.

The Social Allowances Commission, known as the Old Age Pension Commission and set up by virtue of the Old Age Pension Act (1, Edward VIII, Chap. 1, 1936) was at first under jurisdiction of the Department of Municipal Affairs, then transferred in August 1936, to the Department of Labour, and finally in 1946, to the Department of Social Welfare and of Youth. In 1952, its name was changed to "The Quebec Social Allowances Commission". At this time it absorbed the Needy Mothers' Assistance Bureau which had existed since 1937 within Department of Social Welfare and of Youth.

By an Act adopted during the 1956-57 Session, the administrative jurisdiction of the Department of Social Welfare and of Youth was extended to other sectors of social welfare, notably to orphanages, creches, nurseries and social agencies. Hospitals, sanatoria and homes were, however, left under the authority of the Department of Health. In the early part of 1960, homes were placed under the jurisdiction of the Department of Social Welfare, as it was still known.

Thus, the administration of Social Assistance was in large part transferred from the Department of Health to that of Social Welfare and of Youth. On April 1, 1957, the Social Assistance Services were constituted to answer the administrative needs of the time; it included two distinct sectors; institutions for children of all categories and social agencies.

On December 1, 1958, by Order in Council, the Youth Protection Services were made into a separate unit. Two years later, the Social Assistance Servi-

ces were divided into three main services; Family and Assistance at Home, Children's Service and Assistance to Aged Persons.

Because of the growing responsibilities of the State in the fields of education and social welfare, the Government decided to divide the spheres of jurisdiction and to form two separate departments, i.e., the Department of Youth and that of Social Welfare (7 and 8, Elizabeth II, Chap. 58). The new Department of Social Welfare took over the administration of various social measures, notably those related to social assistance. In April 1961, legislation was passed to form the Department of Family and Social Welfare (9 and 10, Elizabeth II, Chap. 35). By this action, the Quebec Government entrusted to one of its Ministers the responsibility for looking after the interests of the family by helping it to play its part in the improvement of society.

2 – Municipal Social Welfare Services

On January 10, 1957, an Order in Council recognized the Social Welfare Service of the City of Montreal as a public charitable institution with authority to dispense financial assistance at home and to place children as well as sick and aged persons. This marked the beginning of a new era in which municipal services were gradually called upon to replace private social agencies for the distribution of financial assistance at home, notably in the Montreal metropolitan area. In 1959, studies and meetings paved the way for agreements between the Social Welfare Service of the City of Montreal and the principal social agencies operating in the same territory. By virtue of these agreements, the municipal service took over the distribution of public assistance at home and, in the French-Canadian sector, the admission of children to foster homes and institutions, as well as the placing of sick and aged persons. In return, the social agencies intented to increase their activities in prevention and rehabilitation work. Agreements were concluded between muncipal services and social agencies for the transfer of cases in order to give recipients the best possible service. These agreements served as a pattern forother municipalities in the Montreal suburban area.

3 – Unemployment Assistance

As of July 1, 1959, the Quebec and Federal Governments signed an agreement, retroactive to July 1, 1958, whereby the Federal Government undertook to assume half of the assistance payments made to needy unemployed persons according to conditions prescribed by the Province subject however to certain restrictive clauses.

The first regulations of the Quebec Public Charities Act governing financial assistance at home and the admission of children and aged persons to specialized institutions were published in May, 1960. At the same time, the

Social Allowances Commission which, until then, had limited its activities to the administration of categorized assistance, was called upon to extend its jurisdiction to Public Assistance. It was entrusted with assistance to persons unemployable for twelve months or more. Other cases of public assistance remained under the Social Assistance Services.

4 – Repeal of Municipal Participation

The problem of municipal sharing in the financing of public charities became quite complicated with the constant increase of indigents and the higher rates of assistance per diem. These increased charges burdened municipal budgets at the very time when considerable sums were necessary to expand other essential services. Moreover, the proceeds from property taxes, the main source of municipal revenue, did not show the same upward trend. Municipal expenditures earmarked for social assistance grew to such proportions in some areas that municipalities neglected or even refused to pay their share of assistance costs to the Provincial Government.

To remedy the situation and above all to enable municipalities to meet their obligations, the Government decided, on April 15 1952, to reduce from 33 ⅓ % to 15 % the contribution of municipalities under the provisions of the Municipal Code. This contribution was reduced to 8 % on January 1 1960, and was finally abolished on May 11 1960, except for the cost of maintenance of normal children admitted to institutions and that of hospitalized indigents.

Municipalities under the Cities and Towns Act had their share reduced to 24 % on April 15 1957 and to 12 % on January 1 1960. Finally ,on May 11th of the same year, municipal contributions were abolished, except for the cost of maintenance of normal children admitted to institutions and that of hospitalized indigents. In these cases, the contribution was set at 12 %. The burden of the municipalities was further lightened by the Hospital Insurance Act of January 1 1961. Municipal contributions to hospitalization costs were thus automatically abolished.

In 1960, to compensate for the repeal of municipal contributions, the authorities of Family and Social Welfare requested the municipalities to cooperate in the distribution of Unemployment Assistance payments. Some were asked to organize municipal welfare services of their own and to assume the cost of their administration. Others were asked to work closely with private welfare agencies, especially to determine the eligibility to assistance.

At about the same time, the Department implied that it would develop a network of regional welfare offices aimed at decentralizing the administration of social measures.

5 – Amendments to Regulations Pertaining to the Public Charities Act

The new measure of financial assistance at home which derived from the Federal-Provincial Agreement (commonly and improperly called Unemployment Assistance) had become an integral part of the Public Charities Act. The rocketing growth of expenses arising therefrom alarmed the Government and led it to amend the regulations as well as the administrative method.

In regard to the administrative method, one result of the amendments was to place under the jurisdiction of the Social Allowances Commission all financial assistance at home, including supplementary allowance paid by the Commission. These decisions provoked many protests from social agencies, welfare councils, labour unions and other interested organizations. It was feared that administrative decisions would be overly centralized in Quebec. It was foreseen that unduly long processes would be detrimental to the needy, and would possibly hamper prevention and rehabilitation action advocated by welfare agencies.

Faced with all these facts, on December 6 1961, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council constituted a Study Committee to advise the Government on a comprehensive policy to be adopted in the field of public assistance.

6 – Broad Lines of Financial Assistance at Home

It may be said at this time that assistance paid to individuals and families forms a composite of social laws grouped under nine sections :

a) Old Age Security
b) Blind Persons Allowances
c) Old Age Assistance
d) Disabled Persons Allowances
e) Needy Mothers' Allowances
f) Schooling Allowances
g) Public Assistance (properly called)
h) Public Assistance (Unemployment Assistance)
i) Family Allowances.

Because the legislation and financing of Family Allowances are entirely under the jurisdiction of the Canadian Government and are not supplemented by the Quebec Government, they have been intentionally left out of the tables which follow the present chapter.

These tables outline as simply but as completely as possible the general groups, the conditions of eligibility, the methods of financing and other particulars of these various social measures. The Committee elaborated them for two fundamental reasons : first, a little enlightenment was needed on an extremely complex and involved matter because Quebec's social laws are not the product of a coherent philosophy, but the result of a mosaic of measures introduced at different periods and influenced at times by often contradictory intents; second, it is the Committee's opinion that this synthesis, submitted for the first time in such an elaborate fashion, is essential for a clear understanding of the chapters which follow.

TABLE I — FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AT HOME — LEGAL SOURCES AND GENERAL FRAMEWORK

Category	*Legal Reference*	*Effective in Quebec*	*Financing*	*Present Distributive Organization*	*Supplementary Assistance*	*Scope*	*Conditions*
Old Age Security	Act of Canada	1937	Joint program to 1952, 100% Canada from then on	Department of National Health and Welfare	Specific Terms and conditions based on Public Assistance regulations	Individual	Universal to all persons aged 70 and over
Blind Persons Allowances	Act of Canada and Act of Quebec	1937	Canada, 75% Quebec, 25%	Department of Family and Social Welfare and Social Allowances Commission	Specific Terms and conditions based on Public Assistance regulations	Individual	Specific Conditions
Old Age Assistance (65 to 70 years exclusively)	Act of Canada and Act of Quebec	1952	Canada, 50% Quebec, 50%	Department of Family and Social Welfare and Social Allowances Commission	Specific Terms and conditions based on Public Assistance regulations	Individual	Specific Conditions
Disabled Persons Allowances	Act of Canada and Act of Quebec	1955	Canada, 50% Quebec, 50%	Department of Family and Social Welfare and Social Allowances Commission	Specific Terms and conditions based on Public Assistance regulations	Individual	Specific Conditions
Needy Mothers' Allowances	Act of Quebec	1938	Quebec, 100%	Department of Family and Social Welfare and Social Allowances Commission	Extension of the Needy Mothers' Act	Family	Specific Conditions
Schooling Allowances	Act of Quebec	1961	Quebec, 100%	Department of Family and Social Welfare and Social Allowances Commission	None	Family	Child 16-17 years attending school
Public Assistance Proper	Act of Quebec	1921	Quebec, 100%	Department of Family and Social Welfare, organizations and other institutions under control of Social Assistance Services	Specific Terms and conditions based on Public Assistance regulations	Individual and Family	Specific Conditions
Unemployment Assistance (Public Assistance)	Act of Canada Act of Quebec and regulations	1959 retroactive to 7-1-1958	Canada, 50% Quebec, 50%	Department of Family and Social Welfare, Social Allowances Commission, organizations and other institutions under control of Social Assistance Services	Specific Terms and conditions based on Public Assistance regulations	Individual and Family	Specific Conditions

TABLE II — FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AT HOME — ELIGIBILITY

Category	*Proof of Indigency*	*Residence*	*Age*	*Standards*
Old Age Security	None	10 years residence in Canada	70 years and over	Universal pension
Allowance to the blind	According to resources	10 years residence in Canada	18 to 60 years inclusive	Blind within the meaning of the law
Old Age Assistance	According to resources	10 years residence in Canada	65 to 69 years inclusive	Needy person
Disability allowance	According to resources	10 years residence in Canada	18 to 69 years inclusive	Total and permanent disability
Needy Mothers' allowance	According to resources	1 year's residence in Quebec	No stipulation	Woman with at least one child under 16, or 18 if the latter attends school. Widow or wife whose husband is disabled, incarcerated or has deserted her
Schooling allowance	None	Parents residing in Quebec at the time of application	16 and 17 years	Proof of school attendance required
Public assistance proper	According to needs	Residence in Quebec	Adult	Needy person
Unemployment assistance Public assistance	According to needs	Residence in Quebec	Adult	Unemployed and needy person

TABLE III — FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AT HOME — MEANS TEST

Category	*Permissible Annual Income including the Allowance*	*Calculation of Permissible Income*		
		Family Allowance	*Income deriving from Personal Property*	*Income deriving from Real Property*
Blind Persons Allowance	Single person, $1,380; single person with child, $1,860; spouses of whom one is blind, $2,340; spouses both blind, $2,460	Not considered as income	Income equivalent to an immediate government annuity with a commuted value equal to the personal property of the claimant. If a married beneficiary is involved, the calculation is based on half this amount	Non-revenue residential property, at least 5% of municipal assessment. Revenue property used as residence at least 5% of municipal assessment plus its net revenue. Revenue deriving from property not used as residence, at least 5% of municipal assessment or net revenue (whichever the higher)
Old Age Assistance	Single person, $1,140; spouses, $1,980; spouses one of whom is blind, $2,340	Not considered as income	Deduct $1,000 for a single beneficiary and $2,000 for married beneficiary and "consider as income for each month of the year, for the period during which the beneficiary is entitled to assistance, an amount calculated by dividing the remainder according to a monthly basis spread over a 60 month-period"	Non-revenue residential property, at least 5% of municipal assessment. Revenue property used as residence at least 5% of municipal assessment plus its net revenue. Revenue deriving from property not used as residence, at least 5% of municipal assessment or net revenue (whichever the higher)
Disability Allowance	Single person, $1,140; spouses one of whom is disabled, $1,980; spouses one of whom is blind, $2,340	Not considered as income	Income equivalent to an immediate government annuity with a commuted value equal to the personal property of the claimant. If a married beneficiary is involved the calculation is based on half this amuont	Non-revenue residential property, at least 5% of municipal assessment. Revenue property used as residence at least 5% of municipal assessment plus its net revenue. Revenue deriving from property not used as residence, at least 5% of municipal assessment or net revenue (whichever the higher)
Needy Mothers' Allowance	The beneficiary can earn, besides her allowance, up to $600. If the husband is an invalid living at home, this income may reach the amount of $780	Not considered as income	Amount fixed at the time of the inquiry. However, the assets of the family unit must not xeceed $13,000 of which $5,000 would be in liquid assets and $8,000 in real estate	To be determined at the time of the inquiry. However, the assets of the family unit must not exceed $13,000, of which $5,000 may be in liquid assets and $8,000 in real property
Unemployment Assistance (Public Assistance)	See Table IV	Considered as income at the rate of $6 per month per child	See Table IV	See Table IV

TABLE IV — UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE — MEANS TEST

Category of Persons assisted	*Permissible Liquid Assets*		*Income to be deducted from Permissible Maximum*	
	Single Person	*Person with family dependents*	*Area other than rural*	*Rural area* (1)
Allowance "F" — spinster or widow of 60 to 65 years of age exclusive	Maximum of $1,000 in cash or immediately realisable securities	Not applicable	a) 100% of all income or contribution received by the claimant and his spouse (with the exception of paragraphs c and d) b) 100% of all net revenue deriving from real estate c) 60% of income earned from room rental d) 30% of amount received for board and lodging from an unrelated person e) contributions from persons obligated by law f) family allowances at the rate of $6 per month per child g) unemployment insurance benefits, which must be subtracted from the total authorized assistance h) advantages of contractual obligations in favour of the beneficiary and his spouce	a) the deductions mentioned for the setting other than rural b) 30% of the gross revenue of the farm c) 10% of the maximum revenue permitted for farm produce consumed d) 20% of the maximum revenue permitted for the lodging occupied by the applicant e) 6% of the maximum revenue permitted when the applicant does not have to buy fuel f) 4% of the maximum revenue permitted if the applicant does not pay for electricity
Allowance "D" — persons unemployable for a period of 12 months or more	Maximum of $1,000 in cash or immediately realisable securities	Maximum of $1,000 including the liquid assets of the spouse		
Persons who are unemployable for a period of less than 12 months	Maximum of $200	Maximum of $400 including the liquid assets of the spouse		
Employable persons	Maximum of $200	Maximum of $400 including the liquid assets of the spouse		

(1) These standards are of administrative interest and are not necessarily applied equally to the different categories of allowances.

TABLE V — MONTHLY RATES FOR NEEDY MOTHERS' ALLOWANCE

Details	*Mother and one child*	*Mother and one child, with disabled husband living at home*
Maximum basic rate	$75	$75
For each additional child after the first	$10	$10
Maximum supplement according to residence and need if the mother lives in :		
(a) Municipalities governed by the municipal code and those of less than 10,000 population	No supplement	No supplement
(b) Cities and municipalities of 10,000 population	$25	$25
(c) Metropolitan areas of Quebec City and Montreal	$40	$40
Maximum permissible income, including the allowance and supplements paid according to place of residence	$125, plus $10 per child beginning with the second	$140, plus $10 per child beginning with the second
Other supplements :		
(1) health reasons	Maximum of $5 per month, added to the total allowance (allowance and supplement) and authorized without regard to the maximum permissible income to enable the mother to obtain medical care required by her condition on production of a medical certificate verified by medical officers	
(2) husband living at home and receiving no government allowance	An additional maximum amount of $10 per month without taking into account the permissible income and the total allowance permissible, according to needs	

TABLE VI — MONTHLY RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE

Family Setting and Responsibilities	*Residence*	*Maximum Basic Allowance (a)* (1)	*Maximum Supplement* (2)	*Maximum Allowance and Supplement* (1) + (2)	*Earnings permissible (b)* (3)	*Maximum Income permitted including allowance* (1) + (2) + (3)
Single person living with his or her family	1—Locality without city status	$ 30	$25	$ 55	$25	$ 80
	2—Locality with city status	$ 55	—	$ 55	$25	$ 80
	3—Metropolitan areas of Quebec City and Montreal	$ 55	$15	$ 70	$10	$ 80
Single person living away from his or her family	1—Locality without city status	$ 55	$10	$ 65	$25	$ 90
	2—Locality with city status	$ 65	—	$ 65	$25	$ 90
	3—Metropolitan areas of Quebec City and Montreal	$ 65	$15	$ 80	$10	$ 90
Head of a family with one dependent child	1—Locality without city status	$ 75	—	$ 75	$25	$100
	2—Locality with city status	$ 75	$25	$100	$25	$125
	3—Metropolitan areas of Quebec City and Montreal	$ 75	$40	$115	$10	$125
Head of family with one dependent adult	1—Locality without city status	$ 85	$10	$ 95	$25	$120
	2—Locality with city status	$ 95	$25	$120	$25	$145
	3—Metropolitan areas of Quebec City and Montreal	$ 95	$40	$135	$10	$145
Head of family with one dependent child and one dependent adult	1—Locality without city status	$ 95	$10	$105	$25	$130
	2—Locality with city status	$105	$25	$130	$25	$155
	3—Metropolitan areas of Quebec City and Montreal	$105	$40	$145	$10	$155

Note : (a) Beginning with the second child, the monthly allowance increases by $10 per child.
(b) Maximum earnings allowed include family allowance at rate of $6 per month per child.

TABLE VII — MONTHLY RATES OF SUPPLEMENTARY ASSISTANCE TO BENEFICIARIES OF OLD AGE ASSISTANCE, BLINDNESS, DISABILITY AND OLD AGE SECURITY PENSIONS

Allowances	*Members of Household*	*Maximum Basic Allowance*	*Maximum total of Allowances and Supplements*						*Maximum Income permitted, including Allowance and Supplements*
			Towns ofless than 10 000 population		*Municipalities and cities of 10 000 population*		*Quebec City and Montreal Metropolitan areas*		
			Supplement	*Allowance and Supplement*	*Supplement*	*Allowance and Supplement*	*Supplement*	*Allowance and Supplement*	
Old Age Security	1—Single person	$ 65	$10	$ 75	$10	$ 75	$25	$ 90	$ 95
Old Age Assistance	2—Husband only receiving allowance	$ 65	$30	$ 95	$45	$110	$60	$125	$165
Disability Allowance	3—Both husband and wife receive an allowance	$130	$20	$150	$35	$165	$35	$165	$165
B	1—Single person	$ 65	$10	$ 75	$10	$ 75	$25	$ 90	$115
L I	2—Husband only receiving allowance	$ 65	$30	$ 95	$45	$110	$60	$125	$195
N D N E S S	3—Husband receives an allowance other than for blindness wife receives blindness allowance	$130	$20	$150	$35	$165	$50	$180	$195
	4—Both husband and wife receiving allowances for the blind	$130	$20	$150	$35	$165	$50	$180	$205

Chapter II

FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE

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FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE

Every social welfare measure has financial aspects whose importance should not be underestimated. Whether the aid is financed by a special tax, as in the case of Old Age Security, or whether the money comes from the consolidated revenue fund of the State, in the last analysis it is the taxpayer who must bear the financial burden of the various social security measures. Thus, he must do without the advantages which other more productive government measures would achieve, or he must carry the inflated fiscal burden occasioned by social assistance. Moreover, it is the working population, proportionally more and more restricted, owing to the growing number of young people attending school and aged retired persons, which must bear the cost.

As resources are necessarily limited, society must choose between the different needs to be answered. In other words, the State does not have on hand a cornucopia whence would flow, as if by magic, an unlimited quantity of funds to finance the social welfare program. So it is not surprising that the population and the Government are disturbed by the rapid increase in the cost of social assistance.

With respect to unemployment assistance, the increase in expenditures was so impressive between 1959 and 1961 that it began to worry the provincial administrators and the welfare agencies as well as a large part of the Quebec population. When the extent of this increase was realized, reciprocal accusations were made. On one part, social welfare organizations, private as well as municipal, were accused of wasting public funds by giving assistance inconsiderately to almost any applicant; they were even accused of recruiting and soliciting "customers". On the other hand, a search was made among Government Officials for proof of inefficiency, neglect, and ignorance of social problems. With regard to indigents, there was talk of parasitism, abyses and even of fraud. Both sides, accused and accusers, endeavoured to excuse themselves but did not bring constructive thinking to the solution of the problem.

But, really, what are the true facts ?

The Committee examined this problem thoroughly and in this chapter submits a summary of its findings on the financial aspect of unemployment assistance. The chapter is divided into three parts :

A – Unemployment assistance and other welfare measures;

B – The rapid increase in the cost of unemployment assistance and the causes thereof;

C – The high-level cost of unemployment assistance and the causes thereof.

It is seen from the title of parts B and C that the Committee makes a distinction between the problem of increased cost and of high level cost of assistance. These two problems are separate, but often tend to be confused with each other.

A – UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE AND OTHER WELFARE MEASURES

For a clear understanding of the financial aspect, it is necessary to consider unemployment assistance (1) within the setting of other measures of financial aid to individuals and families, such as assistance to needy mothers, to persons aged 65 to 70 exclusively, to the blind and disabled.

Table VIII, at the end of this chapter (2), shows that monthly payments of social assistance in the Province of Quebec have risen from $7.9 million in April 1960 to $14.7 million in December 1962, that is, an increase of 86%. The number of recipients of assistance more than doubled over the same period, which means that the widening scope of social welfare, particularly through unemployment assistance, made it possible to help a large portion of the population which had not previously been assisted.

The ratio of persons receiving financial aid (in relation to the total Quebec population) is worthy of note. In april 1960, one Quebec resident in twenty-

(1) In this chapter as elsewhere in the Report, the Committee makes frequent use of this term in common usage, although it is believed to be unsuitable and ambiguous. Actually, unemployment assistance is paid to victims of unfavourable economic conditions as well as to persons who are unemployable on account of their health. The Committee deplores the widespread use of this term in the Province of Quebec. It gives rise to confusion as to the nature of the social security program. The term "social assistance" would be much more accurate.

(2) Tables VIII to XXIV are presented at the end of this chapter for easier reading.

five received some form of assistance from the Department of Family and Social Welfare. About one year later, in June 1961, the ratio was one in fifteen. Of course, all these recipients are not social dependents or indigents without means, but the fact remains that an increasing number of citizens are assisted in one way or another by government funds.

Federal Contribution

Social assistance payments are not all financed entirely by the Quebec Government. Whereas Needy Mothers' Assistance, the placement of children, schooling allowances and certain public charity cases are the exclusive responsibility of the Province, other social measure are included in joint programs to which the Federal Government contributes in the proportion of 50%, with the exception of Blind Persons Allowances to which the federal contribution is 75%.

In respect of unemployment assistance, the Federal Government reimburses the Provinces for half the cost of assistance paid to the needy unemployed. In the Province of Quebec these payments are made under the Public Charities Act and its regulations. To sum up, unemployment assistance is purely and simply a form of public assistance shared jointly by the Province and the Federal Government.

As indicated in table IX, the total federal contribution increased from one month to another; from $2.4 million in April 1960 it reached a peak of $5.2 million in May 1962. It was $4.8 million in December of the same year. As a percentage of the total payments for social assistance in the Province of Quebec, the Federal contribution tends to increase as the joint programs assume greater importance in welfare measures as a whole.

Apportionment of Total Assistance Expenditure

From the standpoint of both expenditures and number of persons assisted, unemployment assistance, though of very recent origin, is the most important social welfare measure in the Province of Quebec. It greatly exceeds assistance to needy mothers, the placement of children, old age assistance, and other welfare measures taken individually. As shown in table X, a sum of $5.6 million was allocated to unemployment assistance in December 1962, whereas the sums assigned to Needy Mothers Assistance, the placement of children, and old age assistance were $1.8, $2.2 and $2.3 million respectively. A similar statement may be made concerning the number of persons assisted (table XI).

When tables X and XI are analyzed, the reader's attention will also be caught by the rapid growth of unemployment assistance. In one year's time,

i.e. from April 1960 to April 1961, the funds assigned to this type of assistance increased from $1.4 million to $4.6, while the number of persons assisted rose from 47,235 to 170,385.

During the same period, other allowances remained fairly stable. For instance, monthly payments for assistance to disabled persons have hardly varied, the number of recipients decreasing quite markedly (25,087 in April 1960 to 21,572 in December 1962). The same is true for blind persons' assistance, where the number of recipients is also on the wane. The administrative technique which produced these reductions will be reviewed later.

The number of persons assisted under the Old Age Assistance Act has increased slightly, corresponding to the growing number of persons between 65 to 70 exclusively. As the assistance rates were raised the disbursements showed a greater increase than the number of recipients.

The outstanding fact concerning the placement of children is its steady growth. In less than three years the additional number of children dependent on the State has increased by approximately 10,000. This increase is apparently due in large part, especially since September 1961, to a stiffening of administrative practices concerning financial assistance at home. In short, the savings achieved on the one hand were compensated for on the other by new and more burdensome disbursements. Actually, the placement of a single child costs some $800. yearly in public funds.

Allowance to students of 16 and 17 years have added significantly to the financial burden upon the Quebec Government. More than $9 million was allocated to this measure during the 1961-62 school year, for a total of 131,596 children. These disbursements will probably exceed $10 million for the 1962-63 school year. In passing, it should be noted that schooling allowances constitute a universal program of assistance unrelated to the other forms of assistance considered in this study.

B – RAPID INCREASE IN THE COST OF UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE AND CAUSES THEREOF

As already stated, the rapid increase of unemployment assistance from April 1960 to March 1961 alarmed provincial administrators and resulted in the constitution of this Committee. At this time, table XII and the chart relating thereto had been submitted to government authorities by the Department of Family and Social Welfare. They are so to speak the background of the problem as presented to the Committee at the outset of its work.

1 – Growing Cost of Unemployment Assistance

Table XII and chart I, completed by the Committee so as to cover the period of July 1958 to December 1962, include the total amount paid under the terms of the Federal-Provincial Agreement. Therefore, certain payments made by other departments, Colonization and Health in particular, are included in addition to disbursements by the Department of Family and Social Welfare.

Attention is drawn to the fact that this table goes back to July 1958, although the Federal-Provincial agreement was not signed until July 1st 1959. The Quebec Government was able to claim the federal contribution in the case of persons already receiving assistance at that time, that is to say, the unemployable.

Data from July 1958 to April 1960 can hardly be considered significant, since the provisions of the Agreement became effective only as of the latter date. Prior to April 1960, the graphic curve of unemployment assistance was affected only by the legislation and the administrative services of the time (public assistance proper), whereas after April 1960 it reflects the application of a new measure (unemployment assistance) in recent administration structure (repeal of the municipal contribution and new government services).

As of May 1960, the curve of disbursements partaining to unemployment assistance began its upward sweep. Monthly payments rose from $1,676,961 in May 1960 to $5,023,715 in June of the following year, thus being multiplied by three. They have oscillated since that date, except in certain particular months, between $5 and $6 million. As the expenses are reimbursed in the proportion of 50% by the Federal Government, unemployment assistance allowances, excluding administration costs, swell the Provincial budget by some $35 million a year.

It is to be noted that the first months of 1962 were above average. On the chart, these abnormal disbursements are indicated by a fairly sharp peak. This peak can apparently be ascribed to several causes, one of which should not recur in future years. An examination of the disbursements does, in fact, show that the payments for the first five months of 1962 were considerably higher because of supplementary assistance, applied retroactively to the last four months of 1961. While the monthly average of the total supplementary assistance for the last four months of 1961 was $147,059, it was $636,342 for the first five months of 1962. It is therefore clear that the peak which marked the early part of 1962 was brought about by the delay in making payments of supplementary assistance after it had been placed under the jurisdiction of the Social Allowances Commission.

A breakdown of the general graph of unemployment assistance disbursements sheds some light on the phenomenal increase in payments. Tables XIII and XIV as well as the corresponding charts (2, 3 and 4) serve as the basis for the remarks that follow.

a – *Employable Persons* (1)

The growing number of employable persons in receipt of financial assistance at home for the first time was largely responsible for the spectacular growth of assistance expenditure. In fact the number of recipients rose from 3,626 in April 1960 to 22,022 in June 1961, with monthly disbursements of $268,867 and $2,011,782 respectively. In fourteen months, the number of recipients was therefore multiplied by six and the amount of disbursements by seven. The availability of assistance to unemployed indigents was shown by a remarkable increase in the number of recipients and in the corresponding payments.

One is particularly startled by the large number of single persons without family obligations among employable persons receiving assistance. These single persons, male and female, as well as separated persons without dependents, account for approximately one third of the employable recipients and draw approximately one fifth of the total payments made to employable persons. As indicated in table XV, the number of single persons rose from 463 in April 1960 to 5,800 lu December 1962 with a corresponding progression in disbursements.

The number of recipients who are heads of families has quadrupled (3,163 in April 1960 compared with, roughly, 12,800 in December 1962) over the same period. The rise is not so marked for single persons, but the number of recipients is relatively much greater.

b – *Unemployable Persons* (1)

Unemployable persons, who already numbered 17,216 in April 1960, received a total of $1,073,636 (see tables XVI and XVII). In June 1961, payments reached $2,938,048 and the number of recipients, 38,554. In spite of the fact that in April 1960 some of the unemployable were being assisted under the Public Charities Act, disbursements were tripled and the number of recipients was multiplied by 2.2 over the next fourteen months.

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(1) The term "employable" is generally used to mean a person who is able to work but is unemployed or has no other means of subsistence and is therefore unable to look after his needs or those of his family, due to lack of work rather than to a physical or mental disability.

(1) The term "unemployable" is generally used to mean a person suffering from a temporary disability or in such circumstances that he cannot occupy gainful employment.

Chart 2 shows this impressive growth during the fiscal year 1960-61. The parallel between employable and unemployable persons clearly showed that the growth of both groups took place during that period.

In the categories of unemployable and of employable, there exists a remarkable increase in the total amount of allowances paid to single persons. Moreover, although available statistics make it impossible to establish clearly in table XVII the distinction between heads of families and single persons, it is possible, by cross-classifications, to state positively that the group of single persons represents over 60% of unemployables in receipt of allowances.

2 – Causes of the Increasing Costs

In its analysis of the underlying causes responsible for the increased costs of unemployment assistance, the Committee encountered a number of incidental factors of unequal importance. As the foregoing tables indicate that the period of most rapid growth was between April 1960 and July 1961, the following remarks are based on an analysis of conditions existing immediately before this period and at the moment when this growth occurred.

a – *The Federal-Provincial Agreement and Its Consequences*

The original and fundamental cause of the steep rise in disbursements for unemployment assistance is none other than the ignature of the Federal-Provincial Agreement during the summer of 1959. In other words, this agreement and the resulting provincial regulations introduced not only a new assistance program, but rendered eligible for financial assistance a group which, up to that point, had not found relief for its indigence under the Public Charities Act or by virtue of one or the other of the so-called categorized allowance (1). Following the Federal-Provincial Agreement, the Province of Quebec thus in some sort established a generalized measure for financial assistance at home.

In the first place, by broadening the scope of assistance and modifying the standards of eligibility, the door was opened wide to applicants whose indigence resulted from unemployment. For the first time in the history of social security in the Province of Quebec a social measure was adopted which, whatever may have been the legislators' intention, considered indigence, irrespective of the causes, as a factual situation justifying assistance by the State. Suddenly, unemployed persons recognized as indigents were eligible for a new form of relief. As indicated by table XV, they did not hesitate to avail themselves immediately of what it had to offer.

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(1) Categorized allowances are those paid to persons forming part of special and well-defined groups, i.e. blind, disabled, etc...

In the second place, the regulations following the Federal-Provincial Agreement gave official recognition to the right of unemployable persons to receive assistance. Hitherto the Public Charities Act had enabled these persons to receive financial assistance but decisions as to eligibility and the amount to be paid were left to the discretion of Municipal Councils, to the Courts and to the Social Assistance Services under the authority of the responsible Minister. The subtitution of this discretionary power by a uniform control at the provincial level made it possible for a much larger number of unemployable to draw financial assistance.

b – *Establishment of Assistance Categories and Increased Rates*

Even before the financial effects of the Federal-Provincial Agreement became fully known, the Quebec Government carried out important changes in the structures of social assistance by establishing new classes of assisted persons, by increasing the rate of assistance and by generalizing, so to speak, the granting of supplementary allowances. The sums allocated to these additional expenditures are all contributory to the total cost of unemployment assistance.

In the early part of May 1960, the Government established a category "D", a new group composed of temporarily disabled persons, that is, those persons who were unfit to work for 12 months or longer. Thus persons who were prevented from working because of a physical or mental handicap could be helped. Formerly, they had been assisted only in special circumstances by virtue of other social measures. The "F" allowance was also instituted to assist needy widows and spinsters between the age of 60 and 65 exclusively.

Another cause of increased expenditures is the higher rate of assistance, varying over-all between 8 and 12%. Table XIII shows that disbursements were disproportionately higher than the number of recipients.

Moreover, the figures in tables XVI and XVII disclose a considerable increase in the number of persons under categorized assistance in receipt of supplementary allowances.

c – *The Unemployment Situation*

Socio-economic conditions are responsible for a combination of changing influences whose importance should never be minimized when explaining the development of social assistance. The level of unemployment exerts a perceptible influence on the rate of spendin gfor assistance to employable persons.

A special Senate Committee on manpower and employment stresses the importance of unemployment in Canada :

During the last ten (10) ears, the general level of unemployment has shown and upward trend which has been particularly noticeable since the end of the prosperous 1956-57 period. (1)

This upward trend over the last ten years was particularly revealed in the Province of Quebec, as can be seen in table XVIII. In 1961, one worker in eleven was unemployed. That year, the percentage of unemployed reached its highest figure. A large number of unemployed did not qualify under the Unemployment Insurance Act, while others had exhausted their benefits owing to a lengthened underemployment. Consequently they had to resort to unemployment assistance. Such a prolonged and uncertain employment situation is one of the main factors of expanding social assistance.

d – *The 1960 Election*

The new measure of unemployment assistance served as a means of propaganda in the election of 1960. Information coloured by political partisanship was given to the people concerning the nature of this measure by politicians or organizers who invited the voters to submit their applications to the Government. The people grasped what they could of these disclosures and later used them as a basis for requests that did not brook refusals. Prior to the 1960 election, governmental bodies themselves "recruited" recipients who had not hitherto qualified for an allowanve, but who might be found eligible after reconsideration of their applications. This applied chiefly to temporarily disabled persons (see table XVII) who had been refused a disability allowance but who were entitled to allowance "D", in force since May 1960. Because these applications were on file with the government, the recipients could easily be informed of the new allowance.

e – *Directed Publicity*

Some newspapers, as well as the "Pilgrims for A Better World" known as "Bérets blancs" endeavoured to arouse public fancy by giving exaggerated accounts of unfortunates to whom social agencies or the government had unfairly refused assistance. Similarly, labour unions helped to publicize the eligibility requirements, sometimes with insufficient knowledge.

Briefly, the role played by the daily and weekly newspapers, by television, radio, union publications and oral communications in spreading information pertaining to unemployment assistance was just as productive as the election propaganda in the spring of 1960. Such publicity, frequently incorrect and sometimes contrary to the very spirit of this new measure, surely contributed to swell the disbursements of unemployment assistance. It is quite obvious that it

(1) Report of the special *Senate Committee on Manpower and Employment*, page 2, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1961.

was not the publicity which caused indigence, but it largely contributed to multiplying applications for unemployment assistance in an abnormally short period.

If the Government Administration itself had, as it should, described in due time the nature of unemployment assistance, explaining why it had been instituted and what it was, the population would not have overflowed the public assistance offices with a multitude of applications based on incorrect knowledge of the eligibility requirements.

f – *Lack of Control*

Another cause of the increase in unemployment assistance may be deduced from this lack of control. Many welfare agencies, to which the Government had just entrusted the distribution of unemployment assistance without giving them the necessary instruments and directives were very often unable to confirm the sufficiency of grounds for each application and later on, to inquire as to possible changes in the applicant's circumstances insofar as they would affect their eligibility. They were simply flooded, but less than the Department would have been had it taken over the direct distribution of assistance. As a matter of fact, the Department did not have the necessary administrative structures to cope with such new obligations.

g – *Repeal of Municipal Participation*

Another cause of the sudden increase in the cost of unemployment assistance was, on May 11, 1960, the repeal, for all practical purpose, of the municipal participation to the expenses incurred for assistance to the needy. The municipalities which had been, rightly or wrongly, very thrifty in granting assistance to the needy when they had to defray part of the cost became much more accommodating overnight. It is quite difficult to gauge the financial implications of such a changed attitude. However, it appears that many indigents did not in the past receive the assistance they were entitled to, because in many municipalities there was a tendency to a negative and retrograde approach to the problem of relieving hardship. It is not surprising that the pendulum swung to the opposite side to some extent after municipal participation was discontinued.

h – *Replacement of Categorized Allowances by Unemployment Assistance*

At last, unemployment assistance has, since it has come into effect, served to alleviate categorized allowances. A large number of marginal cases were transferred from categorized allowances to unemployment assistance. Reference to table XI shows that from April 1960 to December 1962 some 3,500 persons

ceased receiving disabled persons allowances. It does not mean that all these recipients were restored to health or became fit for work. They certainly did not have time to achieve their rehabilitation, since a person had to be stricken with a serious or almost incurable physical or mental disability to be considered eligible for a disabled persons allowance.

During the same period, the number of persons assisted under the Needy Mothers Assistance Act varied very little, rising from 74,386 in April 1960 to 75,142 in December 1961, a very small increase of some 750 persons. Before unemployment assistance, the number of these persons was clearly on the rise. On the whole, it would appear that the convenient outlet of unemployment assistance was used to ease the burden of categorized allowances.

All these factors (the Committee mentioned eight) contributed to the increased cost of unemployement assistance, but not to the same extent. In any case, unemployment assistance is a social measure of which the instigators themselves had not anticipated either the scope or the consequences.

C – THE HIGH COST LEVEL OF UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE AND CAUSES THEREOF

As seen in the previous section, after a rapid rise, the cost of unemployment assistance held steady at roughly $5 to $5.5 million per month. Is this a normal level? How does it compare with the other provinces ?

1 – The High Cost Level of Unemployment Assistance

Since the Federal Government contributed 50% of unemployment assistance, it is easy to compare, in the ratio of their respective populations, the sums refunded to each Province. Table XIX indicates that, for the 1961-62 fiscal year, the Province of Quebec received 36.8% of the sums paid by Ottawa for unemployment assistance, although its inhabitants represent only 28.8% of the entire Canadian population. On the other hand, Ontario, with 34.2% of the Canadian population, received only 21.3% of the amounts paid by the Federal Government.

The Province of Quebec is third in line for the per capita Federal contribution to unemployment assistance; the rate is $9.80 in British Columbia, $8.88 in Newfoundland, $6.15 in Quebec. The latter is double the amount for Ontario. For the percentage of persons assisted in ratio to the total population of each Province, Quebec is fourth in line, preceded this time by New Brunswick, Newfoundland and British Columbia (see table XX).

Although there are wide variations from one Province to another, it is quite clear that the level of unemployment assistance in the Province of Quebec

is relatively higher than in most of the other provinces. In other words, the cost of this program is proportionately higher in Quebec than in the rest of the country as a whole, with the exception of Newfoundland and British Columbia. What is the explanation? The Committee studied the question at length and arrived at the following conclusions which, as in the case of increased cost, are not necessarily of equal importance.

2 – The Causes of the High Level of Unemployment Assistance

The high level of unemployment assistance has three main causes: poor state of health of the population, weakness of the Quebec economy and mentality of the people.

a – *The Poor State of Health of the Population*

The average state of health of Quebec's population is inferior, on the whole, to that of residents of other provinces. Many families have several children among whom we often find a mentally deficient, an epileptic or a cripple. Moreover, sons of poor families had to leave school at the age of 13 or 14 to do hard work on the farm, in lumber camps or in factories, thereby ruining their health after a few years. So we find a very large number of persons unfit for certain types of work. Others are totally disabled.

This low level of health of the Quebec population is reflected in the other classes of allowances where health is involved. Thus, compared with the whole of Canada, for the year ending March 31, 1961, (see table XXI) the Province of Quebec had 35.4% of the old age assistance recipients, 34.1% of the blind recipients and 47.4% of the disabled recipients. It must be stressed that these are joint programs administered according to uniform rules throughout the country. The Committee concludes that the high percentage of unemployed recipients (33.9%) in proportion to Canada as a whole, is not an isolated phenomenon since it is repeated in the other classes of allowances.

The correlation of one category of allowances to another is the same in Ontario, but on a definitely lower level. This Province, where we find only 17.7% of all Canadian Recipients of unemployment assistance, has 22.7%, 21.4% and 26.3% respectively of the old age assistance, of the blind and disabled persons allowances. Yet its inhabitants represent 34.2% of the Canadian population. In the two most important Provinces of the country, we find the same relationship among the different types of allowances.

b – *Weakness of the Economy of the Province of Quebec*

As allowances are paid to needy persons, the high percentage of recipients can likewise be explained by the weakness of the economy of the Province of

Quebec. In fact, gross domestic production in Quebec is only 23% of Canada's as a whole (1). Furthermore, revenue is divided very unevenly from one economic area to another. It is heavily concentrated in Montreal, while several areas are economically underdeveloped. For instance, the average income of metropolitan Montreal's taxpayers is double the amount received by those living in other regions, notably in the counties of Yamaska, Bonaventure, Dorchester, etc. (2). As the number of taxpayers is relatively higher in large centres than in rural districts (the number of those who do not file income tax returns is proportionately higher in the country), the difference is in reality greater than taxation statistics would indicate.

A high level of unemployment has traditionally characterized the economy of the Province of Quebec. The scale of unemployment is constantly higher in Quebec than in the rest of the country. Only the Atlantic Provinces exceed the Province of Quebec in this regard, as indicated by table XXII.

The strain of unemployment on the Quebec economy is also apparent from a comparison of the percentage of unemployed with the sicilian labour force (see table XXIII). The percentage of civilian manpower in Quebec corresponds to a large extent to the population, i.e. in 1961, 27.8% as compared to 28.8%. On the other hand, the Province of Quebec accounts for about 36% of the unemployed in the country ,although the situation has improved since 1959. Compared with the data given in table XIX (33.9% of the assisted persons and 36.8% of the Federal contribution to unemployment assistance), this percentage of 36% is definitely significant. It denotes that the high level of disbursements for unemployment assistance in Quebec corresponds to unemployment itself.

The percentage of unemployment is not equally distributed throughout the Province of Quebec. Table XXIV shows this clearly and indicates that the real situation in some areas is still more serious than the provincial average would suggest. Without necessarily accepting the areas as demarcated in this table, because they are not the same as outlined by the Quebec Department of Industry and Commerce, the Committee used it by way of illustration.

The Committee's studies and the statistics consulted also indicate that the person who lives in a rural community is not only more exposed to unemployment than his city counterpart, but he is more frequently unemployed and for longer periods. Employment is definitely higher in urban areas. The more these centres develop, the better is the employment situation. The further we get from large cities, the more we find higher unemployment rates. Thus, a very

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(1) *"Document de base en vue de la planification"*, Quebec Economic Advisory Council, 1962, page 16.

(2) *"Statistiques fiscales"*, Department of National Revenue, Income Tax Division, 1962.

distinct graduation is observed from Quebec to Gaspe, via Montmagny, Rivière-du-Loup and Rimouski. The same conditions existed with regard to unemployment (Gaspe, 210% of the national average for the years 1953 to 1959; Rimouski, 180%). Montreal, despite a clearly favourable situation, could not offset the unfavourable conditions of employment elsewhere in the Province of Quebec.

This absence of stability evidenced by startling sectors of underemployment, goes far to explain the relatively large number of persons receiving unemployment assistance in some parts of the Province. When related to the factors already mentioned, it accounts also for the extremely rapid rise noted in the total cost of unemployment assistance from 1959 to 1961 for certain areas of the Province. At the same time although the upward trend in other areas was noticeable and marked, it was by no means impressive when compared with conditions in the rest of the Province. The two extremes in this connection are the administrative areas formed by the City of Montreal and by the Chicoutimi-Lac St-Jean District. In the former, the increase was nearly 250% from April 1960 to July 1961, that is in the period when costs rose most rapidly. In the Chicoutimi-Lac Saint-Jean District, the increase of total payments for unemployment assistance was almost 3000%. It is worthy of mention that this district suffered from a period of acute unemployment in 1960-61. Although this area is highly industrialized and wages are fairly high, its economy remains inadequate and unbalanced because it centers on two main industries which tend to adopt automation more and more. Any slowing down in either one of these industries, and especially in both, or even a rate of development that does not keep pace with the growth of the population, deprives the bulk of the workers, who find it very hard to secure jobs in their localities, of their means of living. It was in this area that the propaganda of the "Bérets Blancs", of the labour unions and political "organizers" was most intense. Moreover, public and private administrative structures were absolutely unprepared to cope with the resulting avalanche of applications. Finally, it is the Committee's opinion that unlike Montreal, where welfare agencies are more numerous and have been established longer, this area was beset with unsatisfied needs. All this explains the astonishingly rapid rise in disbursements for unemployment assistance in the Chicoutimi-Lac Saint-Jean area.

Remarkable increases also occurred in other parts of the Province of Quebec, but nowhere could be found a combination of factors so likely to lead to such an exceptional rise in unemployment assistance as in the aforementioned area.

In its survey of the regional variations in assistance payments, the Committee gathered voluminous documented statistics which it did not deem necessary to submit here, as they would greatly amplify and encumber the report.

Too many comments pertaining to that information would also distract the Committee from its subject.

In addition to the unequal employment opportunities in various areas, it is obvious that the workers' inadequate skill greatly influenced the stability of their employment. Thousands of unqualified or inadequately skilled workers are discharged seasonally or because of automation, while their period of employment is shortened and work opportunities are reduced. Moreover, in times of brisk employment, areas of weak economy offer employment only to unskilled or semi-skilled workers.

To some extent, it is normal that the working classes in those areas should not be interested in achieving further qualifications, even if they had the opportunity, since the jobs offered generally require nothing more than strong arms and good health. Although this finding applies to the general aspect of unemployment, it is particularly serious when it applies to workers in areas where the possibilities of technical training and apprenticeship are limited if not actually non-existent. In times of unemployment, this group of workers feel they cannot leave home to seek work in larger centres because of lack of qualification. If they move, as sometimes they do, they risk swelling the ranks of the city unemployed.

The rural population properly speaking, particularly in these areas of unemployment, is clearly at a disadvantage owing to the difficult situation of agriculture. The Committee was informed that in some places entire consessions, if not whole parishes, were obliged to live on social assistance.

c – *Mentality of the Population*

In addition to these economic and social factors, the Committee is of the opinion that there is another one, much more subtle and more difficult to grasp since it is psychological. In fact, a fraction of the Province of Quebec population would appear to have the habit of sponging continually, which may easily lead to a tendency of dependence. To analyse this attitude in this study would take too long, but it can be said that it is maintained by hardship and privation. Certain politicians, anxious to secure electoral support under the quiet and noble guise of welfare, have long found it a profitable field to exploit. It should be no surprise, therefore, if or when a segment of this population, especially one whose technical qualifications is limited, which is impoverished by chronic unemployment or is unable to earn the minimum necessities of life, seeks refuge in unemployment assistance. All the aforementioned factors lead this part of the population to such an attitude.

This recourse to government aid has become, for many, an easy way out which they do not hesitate to take every time the opportunity occurs. Such a state of mind is far from being general among the needy, but it cannot be

ignored in explaining the reason for the large number of recipients of unemployment assistance.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of increased expenditures for unemployment assistance in the Province of Quebec and their relatively high level gives evidence of a situation which cannot be ascribed solely to one or two isolated causes. On the contrary, the situation is the inevitable outcome of the interaction of a complex combination of factors. Their financial consequences can hardly be avoided when such factors occur simultaneously, as was the case between 1960 and 1961.

The underlying economic, social and human problems must be approached in a positive way. The recommendations of this report were inspired by this consideration.

TABLE VIII

DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL WELFARE
AID TO FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS
APRIL 1960 TO DECEMBER 1962

Month	*Total Number of Persons assisted*	*Percentage of Persons assisted in Proportion to the Population of the Province of Quebec*	*Total Expenditures*	*Expenditures Per Capita in Proportion to Total Population*
	N.	%	$	$
April **1960**	213,992	4.07	7,903,725	1.50
May	215,142	4.09	8,126,738	1.55
June	218,478	4.15	8,243,251	1.57
July	226,310	4.30	8,256,661	1.57
August	234,919	4.47	8,664,863	1.65
September	244,851	4.66	8,945,319	1.70
October	253,261	4.82	9,181,644	1.75
November	271,983	5.17	9,645,932	1.83
December	290,035	5.51	10,001,859	1.90
January **1961**	301,672	5.74	10,368,253	1.97
February	317,085	6.03	10,510,758	2.00
March	338,373	6.43	10,815,648	2.06
April	342,373	6.51	11,401,292	2.17
May	344,570	6.55	11,457,205	2.18
June	352,454	6.70	11,610,336	2.21
July	348,190	6.62	11,446,443	2.18
August	351,001	6.67	11,481,389	2.18
September	379,049	7.20	11,655,045	2.22
October	396,927	7.55	11,894,439	2.26
November	407,235	7.74	13,531,425	2.57
December	429,821	8.17	12,875,386	2.45
January **1962**	447,519	8.51	13,692,364	2.60
February	470,249	8.94	14,471,071	2.75
March	482,608	9.18	14,666,208	2.79
April	486,513	9.25	14,153,028	2.69
May	473,140	9.00	15,319,701	2.91
June	469,053	8.92	15,161,588	2.88
July	347,414	6.61	12,651,461	2.41
August	344,787	6.56	12,524,592	2.38
September	424,849	8.08	13,218,073	2.51
October	434,762	8.27	14,920,803	2.84
November	459,079	8.73	14,604,472	2.78
December	473,571	9.00	14,697,430	2.79

Remarks : (a) In the calculation of the number of persons assisted, the beneficiairies of allowances of old age assistance, of allowances for the disabled and for the blind are counted without dependents (a beneficiary counts as one person assisted);

(b) Population of the Province of Quebec : 5,259,211 according to the census of June 1961;

(c) The figures for November and December 1962 are preliminary.

Source : Table prepared by the Committee based on data supplied by the Social Allowances Commission and by the Social Assistance Services.

TABLE IX

DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL WELFARE
EXPENDITURES FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AT HOME ACCORDING TO RESPECTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS
APRIL 1960 TO DECEMBER 1962

Month	*Total Expenditures*	*Provincial Quote-Part*	*Federal Quote-Part*	*% of Federal Contribution*
	$	$	$	%
April 1960	7,903,725	5,518,740	2,384,985	30.2
May	8,126,738	5,698,346	2,428,392	29.9
June	8,243,251	5,682,345	2,560,906	31.1
July	8,256,661	5,578,395	2,678,266	32.4
August	8,664,863	5,812,116	2,852,747	32.9
September	8,945,319	6,029,957	2,915,362	32.6
October	9,181,644	6,163,797	3,017,847	32.9
November	9,645,932	6,437,790	3,208,142	33.3
December	10,001,859	6,648,879	3,352,980	33.5
January 1961	10,368,253	6,876,310	3,491,943	33.7
February	10,510,758	6,913,605	3,597,153	34.2
March	10,815,648	7,154,486	3,661,162	33.8
April	11,401,292	7,434,251	3,967,041	34.8
May	11,457,205	7,490,339	3,966,866	34.6
June	11,610,336	7,513,662	4,096,674	35.3
July	11,446,443	7,270,722	4,175,721	36.5
August	11,481,389	7,300,991	4,180,398	36.4
September	11,655,045	7,531,015	4,124,030	35.4
October	11,894,439	7,762,138	4,132,301	34.7
November	13,531,425	9,445,953	4,085,472	30.2
December	12,875,386	8,779,719	4,095,667	31.8
January 1962	13,692,364	9,249,180	4,443,184	32.4
February	14,471,071	9,662,715	4,808,356	3 2.2
March	14,666,208	9,793,898	4,872,310	33.2
April	14,153,028	9,530,290	4,622,738	32.7
May	15,319,701	10,139,619	5,180,082	33.8
June	15,161,588	10,018,981	5,142,707	33.9
July	12,651,461	8,030,435	4,621,026	36.5
August	12,524,592	7,938,799	4,585,793	36.6
September	13,218,073	8,633,866	4,584,207	34.7
October	14,920,803	10,218,813	4,701,990	31.5
November	14,604,472	9,931,365	4,673,107	32.0
December	14,697,430	9,937,625	4,759,805	32.4

Remarks : The figures for November and December are provisional.

Source : Figures prepared by the Committee based on data supplied by the Social Allowances Commission and by the Social Assistance Services.

TABLE X — DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL WELFARE
APPORTIONMENT OF EXPENDITURES ACCORDING TO THE DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF ASSISTANCE
APRIL 1960 TO DECEMBER 1962

Month	*Needy Mothers*	*Public Assistance*		*Schooling allowances*	*Allowances for the blind*	*Allowances for old age assistance*	*Allowances for the disabled*	*Unemployment assistance*	*TOTAL*
		Placement of Children	*Special Cases (adults)*						
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
April **1960**	1,873,470	1,267,952	91,417	—	161,974	1,698,876	1,376,005	1,434,031	7,903,725
May	1,906,359	1,319,884	90,251	—	162,715	1,828,149	1,370,356	1,449,024	8,126,738
June	1,864,682	1,287,389	81,293	—	163,035	1,825,712	1,353,060	1,668,080	8,243,251
July	1,852,402	1,047,612	83,810	—	162,899	1,820,919	1,345,575	1,943,444	8,256,661
August	1,850,278	1,085,476	84,197	—	163,783	1,838,226	1,345,597	2,297,306	8,664,863
September	1,836,839	1,281,144	80,099	—	162,932	1,833,675	1,327,539	2,423,091	8,945,319
October	1,784,325	1,398,218	95,019	—	160,813	1,814,482	1,318,922	2,609,865	9,181,644
November	1,737,262	1,475,549	93,919	—	160,907	1,865,790	1,323,584	2,988,921	9,645,932
December	1,756,526	1,509,232	104,335	—	164,183	1,850,880	1,311,340	3,305,363	10,001,859
January **1961**	1,798,996	1,566,184	95,311	—	159,507	1,846,079	1,308,014	3,594,162	10,368,253
February	1,779,299	1,512,675	102,844	—	160,189	1,858,779	1,289,977	3,806,995	10,510,758
March	1,780,624	1,685,187	103,260	—	159,697	1,755,148	1,301,003	4,030,729	10,815,648
April	1,784,001	1,668,339	95,437	—	160,592	1,849,677	1,281,041	4,556,205	11,401,292
May	1,750,928	1,759,194	90,703	—	156,397	1,825,494	1,274,073	4,600,416	11,457,205
June	1,748,261	1,655,475	86,640	—	159,486	1,834,677	1,271,558	4,854,239	11,610,336
July	1,725,743	1,359,351	83,936	—	157,180	1,843,553	1,264,086	5,012,594	11,446,443
August	1,725,559	1,385,880	85,992	—	156,539	1,831,684	1,254,852	5,040,883	11,481,389
September	1,899,690	1,521,396	57,080	—	155,269	1,832,173	1,244,272	4,945,175	11,655,045
October	1,815,642	1,853,082	36,382	—	155,937	1,830,979	1,235,266	4,977,119	11,904,429

August	1,725,559	1,385,880	85,992	—	156,539	1,831,684	1,254,852	5,040,883	11,481,389
September	1,899,690	1,521,396	57,080	—	155,259	1,832,173	1,244,272	4,945,175	11,655,045
October	1,815,642	1,853,082	36,382	—	155,927	1,820,030	1,235,966	4,977,410	11,894,439
November	1,756,446	1,860,933	31,027	1,785,930	156,709	1,835,446	1,227,088	4,877,846	13,531,425
December	1,782,588	1,932,257	37,670	1,006,520	157,546	1,814,218	1,223,697	4,920,890	12,875,386
January 1962	1,826,685	1,943,603	29,663	1,086,420	156,267	1,784,360	1,215,892	5,649,474	13,692,364
February	1,849,798	1,849,215	24,632	1,204,060	156,226	1,807,617	1,218,037	6,361,486	14,471,071
March	1,882,851	2,024,864	21,162	1,059,490	153,599	1,741,709	1,221,570	6,560,963	14,666,208
April	1,897,071	2,037,315	15,209	1,034,590	155,915	1,853,265	1,272,960	5,886,703	14,153,028
May	1,897,497	2,071,270	14,064	1,050,660	161,341	2,982,407	1,236,123	5,906,339	15,319,701
June	1,899,308	1,956,000	12,637	1,123,460	245,195	2,248,245	2,041,073	5,635,670	15,161,588
July	1,895,032	1,576,337	8,559	—	185,130	2,252,511	1,447,192	5,286,700	12,651,461
August	1,855,666	1,589,710	9,680	—	182,350	2,256,561	1,438,077	5,192,548	12,524,592
September	1,861,158	2,269,800	8,011	—	184,027	2,287,129	1,417,793	5,190,155	13,218,073
October	1,829,268	2,120,149	15,187	1,630,980	183,566	2,314,702	1,407,979	5,148,972	14,920,803
November	1,970,937	2,147,241	13,379	1,215,660	181,867	2,296,652	1,395,115	5,383,621	14,604,472
December	1,835,106	2,225,000	10,565	1,199,320	185,640	2,293,530	1,386,859	5,561,410	14,697,430

Remars : (a) The expenditures for December 1962 are provisional; (b) special cases (public assistance) have no connection with "special cases" of assistance as stipulated in the regulations governing unemployment assistance.

Source : Table prepared by the Committee based on data supplied by the Social Allowances Commission and by the Social Assistance Services.

TABLE XI — DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL WELFARE
NUMBER OF PERSONS DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY ASSISTED (BENEFICIARIES AND DEPENDENTS), ACCORDING TO ALLOWANCE CATEGORIES — APRIL 1960 TO DECEMBER 1962

Month	*Needy mothers*	*Placement of Children*	*Public Assistance*	*Schooling allowances*	*Blind Persons allowances*	*Old age assistance*	*Disabled Persons allowances*	*Unemployment assistance*	*TOTAL*
	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number
April **1960**	74,386	21,128	8,679	—	3,008	34,469	25,087	47,235	213,992
May	74,502	21,375	8,267	—	3,004	34,541	25,011	48,442	215,142
June	74,334	22,155	7,946	—	3,008	34,831	25,021	51,183	218,478
July	77,533	17,772	7,308	—	3,000	34,841	24,848	61,008	226,310
August	77,378	17,983	7,025	—	2,993	34,849	24,735	69,956	234,919
September	77,292	22,054	6,945	—	2,994	34,780	24,660	76,126	244,851
October	76,817	22,134	7,216	—	2,989	35,008	24,554	84,543	253,261
November	76,507	22,705	7,726	—	2,974	35,402	24,439	102,230	271,983
December	76,383	23,858	7,887	—	2,961	35,563	24,281	119,102	290,035
January **1961**	76,438	23,667	7,530	—	2,961	35,532	24,214	131,330	301,672
February	76,380	24,730	8,074	—	2,956	35,549	24,012	145,384	317,085
March	76,408	24,999	8,082	—	2,949	35,441	24,009	166,485	338,373
April	76,301	25,765	7,770	—	2,952	35,411	23,789	170,385	342,373
May	76,112	25,909	6,853	—	2,933	35,229	23,609	173,925	344,570
June	75,956	25,890	6,586	—	2,935	35,212	23,468	182,407	352,454
July	77,463	21,275	6,859	—	2,933	35,359	23,342	180,959	348,190
August	77,311	21,903	6,948	—	2,930	35,316	23,342	183,351	351,001
September	77,361	22,074	4,672	(40,000)	2,941	35,363	23,111	172,627	379,049
October	77,644	27,180	3,323	(55,000)	2,930	35,221	22,972	172,657	396,927
November	77,269	27,230	2,862	62,024	2,930	35,258	22,813	176,849	407,235

September	77,361	22,074	4,672	(40,000)	2,941	35,363	23,111	172,627	379,049
October	77,644	27,180	3,323	(55,000)	2,930	35,221	22,972	172,657	396,927
November	77,269	27,230	2,862	62,024	2,930	35,258	22,813	176,849	407,235
December	77,019	27,708	2,946	73,458	3,925	35,129	22,693	187,943	429,821
January **1962**	77,311	28,644	2,132	82,336	2,926	34,913	22,610	196,647	447,519
February	77,399	29,364	2,101	93,153	3,916	34,802	22,567	207,947	470,249
March	77,504	29,776	1,972	97,830	2,901	34,615	22,528	215,482	482,608
May	77,690	30,347	1,166	101,433	2,886	34,938	22,509	216,193	486,513
April	77,704	30,342	1,508	100,466	2,882	35,280	22,493	201,816	473,140
June	77,663	30,810	1,070	105,857	2,893	35,104	22,642	193,014	469,053
July	78,435	24,261	787	—	2,876	35,215	22,505	183,335	347,414
August	78,788	23,635	814	—	2,870	35,597	22,426	180,657	344,787
September	78,727	29,224	702	(78,000)	2,866	36,164	22,050	177,116	424,849
October	75,939	29,742	1,141	82,899	2,863	36,746	21,779	183,653	434,762
November	74,965	30,378	1,164	96,540	2,856	36,848	21,637	194,691	459,079
December	75,142	31,000	1,000	104,121	2,879	36,965	21,572	200,892	473,571

Remars : (a) The figures for December 1962 are provisional; (b) the beneficiaries of old-age assistance, blind persons allowances and disabled persons allowances were calculated without dependents, (c) the figures within brackets are approximate.

Source : Table prepared by the Committee based on data supplied by the Social Allowances Commission and by the Social Assistance Services.

TABLE XII

GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS
JULY 1958 TO DECEMBER 1962

Month	*Persons included in the Claim*	*Total Payments*	*Department of Family and Social Welfare*	*Other Departments and Municipalities*	*Average per Beneficiary*
	N.	$	$	$	$.00
July 1958	37,302	1,063,717	758,763	305,654	28.52
August	38,477	1,083,377	778,496	304,881	28.16
September	39,997	1,083,740	778,236	305,504	27.10
October	42,206	1,138,235	825,995	312,240	26.97
November	44,519	1,147,455	828,968	318,487	25.77
December	49,691	1,225,755	892,627	333,128	24.67
January 1959	52,773	1,250,299	910,906	339,393	23.69
February	54,269	1,192,406	845,890	346,516	21.97
March	55,145	1,280,736	933,087	347,649	23.22
April	51,941	1,218,385	901,006	317,379	23.46
May	46,155	1,202,754	901,223	301,581	26.06
June	42,942	1,163,162	869,499	293,663	27.09
July	40,612	1,162,680	895,568	267,112	28.63
August	41,480	1,184,136	914,344	269,792	28.54
September	41,915	1,178,481	895,958	282,523	28.12
October	42,846	1,202,647	925,336	277,311	28.07
November	46,949	1,267,553	986,737	280,816	36.98
December	50,967	1,355,680	1,049,295	306,395	26.60
January 1960	57,205	1,433,111	1,114,612	318,499	25.05
February	60,592	1,444,145	1,115,626	328,519	23.83
March	63,946	1,485,678	1,225,770	259,908	23.23
April (D et Hosp.)	66,690	1,665,886	1,434,031	231,855	24.98
May	62,859	1,676,961	1,449,024	227,937	26.68
June	67,896	1,884,135	1,668,080	216,055	27.73
July	75,091	2,216,625	1,943,444	273,181	29.52
August	84,376	2,526,786	2,297,306	229,480	29.95
September	89,688	2,642,847	2,423,091	219,756	29.47
October	102,945	2,827,115	2,609,865	217,250	27.46
November	119,543	3,212,136	2,988,921	223,215	26.87
December	135,777	3,531,909	3,305,363	226,546	26.01

TABLE XII — (Continued)

GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS
JULY 1958 TO DECEMBER 1962

Month	*Persons included in the Claim*	*Total Payments*	*Department of Family and Social Welfare*	*Other Departments and Municipalities*	*Average per Beneficiary*
	N.	$	$	$	$.00
January **1961**	155,436	3,863,183	3,594,162	269,021	24.86
February	167,898	4,009,493	3,806,995	202,498	23.88
March	175,165	4,253,133	4,030,729	222,404	24.28
April	203,839	4,703,684	4,556,205	147,479	23.08
May	196,751	4,781,590	4,600,416	181,174	24.30
June	206,030	5,023,715	4,854,239	169,476	24.38
July	206,855	5,205,153	5,012,594	192,559	25.16
August	202,651	5,328,319	5,040,883	287,436	26.29
September	191,069	5,225,598	4,945,175	280,423	27.35
October	196,144	5,311,676	4,977,410	334,266	27.08
November	192,563	5,150,390	4,877,846	272,544	26.75
December	209,052	5,255,613	4,920,890	334,724	25.14
January **1962**	219,359	5,950,752	5,649,474	301,278	27.13
February	240,880	6,597,271	6,361,486	235,785	27.39
March	253,584	6,845,839	6,560,963	284,876	27.00
April	238,304	6,114,196	5,886,703	227,493	25.66
May	220,246	6,176,295	5,906,339	269,956	28.04
June	207,491	5,866,709	5,635,670	231,039	28.27
July	190,652	5,528,447	5,286,700	241,747	28.99
August	187,956	5,429,930	5,192,548	237,382	28.89
September	191,428	5,452,219	5,190,155	262,064	28.48
October	196,571	5,673,959	5,418,972	254,987	28.86
November	196,898	5,383,621	5,383,621	—	27.34
December	202,037	5,561,410	5,561,410	—	27.53

Remarks : (a) Data for November and December 1962 are provisional.

(b) The figures that appear in this table are somewhat different from those given in Tables XIII and the following. This is due to corrections that can be made more or less after the audit and which do not in any way change the general scope of the data.

Source : Figures supplied by the Department of Family and Social Welfare and brought up to date by the Committee.

TABLE XIII

DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL WELFARE
UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS ACCORDING TO CATEGORIES
EMPLOYABLE AND UNEMPLOYABLE PERSONS
APRIL 1960 TO DECEMBER 1962

Month	*Employable Persons*		*Unemployable Persons*		*Total Payments*
	Number of Beneficiaries	*Payments*	*Number of Beneficiaries*	*Payments*	
	N.	$	N.	$	$
Avril **1960**	3,626	268,867	17,216	1,073,636	1,342,503
May	3,564	287,609	16,964	1,122,379	1,409,988
June	3,432	281,768	18,615	1,318,971	1,600,739
July	5,175	508,674	19,923	1,464,372	1,973,046
August	5,884	579,875	21,981	1,653,699	2,233,574
September	6,477	622,825	23,375	1,738,473	2,361,298
October	7,692	723,600	24,420	1,807,047	2,530,647
November	9,516	859,154	27,525	2,078,574	2,937,728
December	11,843	1,102,423	30,010	2,309,519	3,411,942
January **1961**	13,711	1,270,307	31,144	2,396,392	3,666,699
February	15,723	1,402,902	32,492	2,425,527	3,828,429
March	18,793	1,612,739	33,958	2,589,322	4,202,061
April	21,056	1,803,349	34,333	2,623,952	4,427,301
May	20,332	1,768,966	36,712	2,826,014	4,594,980
June	22,002	2,011,782	38,554	2,938,048	4,949,830
July	21,378	1,973,750	39,400	3,034,793	5,008,543
August	20,450	1,955,995	40,762	3,129,784	5,085,779
September	18,861	1,771,043	38,839	2,985,169	4,756,212
October	18,411	1,758,930	40,710	3,005,984	4,764,914
November	18,876	1,833,945	41,163	3,033,057	4,867,002
December	20,546	2,035,087	43,113	3,199,426	5,234,513
January **1962**	21,818	2,134,579	50,445	3,504,470	5,639,049
February	23,029	2,252,900	65,876	4,107,199	6,360,099
March	24,105	2,412,860	69,621	4,029,071	6,441,931
April	24,736	2,277,212	72,257	4,076,606	6,353,818
May	21,069	1,982,132	58,191	3,879,541	5,861,673
June	19,015	1,854,414	51,508	3,675,247	5,529,661
July	18,138	1,714,656	51,925	3,602,885	5,317,541
August	16,614	1,586,151	54,166	3,724,780	5,310,931
September	15,869	1,503,504	55,305	3,679,539	5,183,043
October	16,326	1,577,618	56,807	3,798,906	5,376,524
November	18,064	1,742,230	59,497	3,953,348	5,695,578
December	18,600	1,841,830	60,930	3,991,270	5,833,100

Remarks : (a) The figures for December 1962 are provisional;

(b) It will be noted that this table covers only unemployment assistance paid by the Social Allowances Commission and the Social Assistance Services.

Source : Figures prepared by the Committee with the assistance of data supplied by the Social Allowances Commission and by the Social Assistance Services.

TABLE XIV

DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL WELFARE
UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS AND BENEFICIARIES ACCORDING TO CATEGORIES OF EMPLOYABLE AND UNEMPLOYABLE PERSONS IN COMPARATIVE PERCENTAGES OF INCREASE
(APRIL OF EACH YEAR IS EQUAL TO 100%)
APRIL 1960 TO DECEMBER 1962

Month	*Employable persons*		*Unemployable persons*	
	Beneficiaries	*Payments*	*Beneficiaries*	*Payments*
	%	%	%	%
Avril **1960**	100	100	100	100
May	98	107	99	105
June	95	105	108	123
July	143	189	116	136
August	162	216	128	154
September	179	232	136	162
October	212	269	142	168
November	262	320	160	194
December	327	410	174	215
January **1961**	378	472	181	223
February	434	522	189	226
March	518	600	197	241
April	100	100	100	100
May	97	98	107	108
June	104	112	112	112
July	102	109	115	116
August	97	108	119	119
September	90	98	113	114
October	87	98	119	115
November	90	102	120	116
December	98	113	126	122
January **1962**	104	118	147	134
February	109	125	192	157
March	114	134	203	154
April	100	100	100	100
May	85	87	81	95
June	77	81	71	90
July	73	75	72	88
August	67	70	75	91
September	64	66	77	90
October	66	69	79	93
November	73	77	82	97
December	75	81	84	98

Source : Table XIII.

TABLE XV — DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL WELFARE
UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE TO EMPLOYABLE PERSONS — APRIL 1960 TO DECEMBER 1962

Month	*Families*				*Single persons*		*Total*		
	Heads of families	*Dependents*	*Persons assisted*	*Payments*	*Number*	*Payments*	*Total of beneficiaries*	*Total of persons assisted*	*Total payments*
	Number	Number	Number	$	Number	$	Number	Number	$
April **1960**	3,163	14,054	17,217	245,933	463	22,934	3,626	17,680	268,867
May	3,116	14,315	17,431	264,341	448	23,265	3,564	17,879	287,608
June	2,935	13,117	16,052	255,153	497	26,615	3,432	16,549	281,769
July	4,131	17,649	21,780	457,361	1,044	51,313	5,175	22,824	508,674
August	4,818	20,411	25,229	521,339	1,066	58,536	5,884	26,295	579,875
September	5,244	21,873	27,117	556,111	1,233	66,714	6,477	28,350	622,825
October	6,040	24,951	30,991	637,736	1,652	85,864	7,692	32,643	723,600
November	7,385	30,905	38,290	747,648	2,131	111,506	9,516	40,421	859,154
December	8,923	37,362	46,285	946,372	2,920	156,051	11,843	49,205	1,102,423
January **1961**	10,212	44,936	55,148	1,089,154	3,499	181,153	13,711	58,647	1,270,307
February	11,522	50,909	62,431	1,181,454	4,201	221,448	15,723	66,632	1,402,902
March	14,103	63,131	77,234	1,378,499	4,690	234,240	18,793	81,924	1,612,739
April	14,573	64,813	79,386	1,470,119	6,483	333,230	21,056	85,869	1,803,349
May	14,538	64,390	78,928	1,491,646	5,794	277,320	20,332	84,722	1,768,966
June	15,334	66,452	81,786	1,683,702	6,668	328,080	22,002	88,454	2,011,782
July	14,692	62,533	77,225	1,637,915	6,686	335,835	21,378	83,911	1,973,750
August	14,658	62,737	77,395	1,658,526	5,792	305,469	20,450	83,187	1,955,995
September	12,927	54,508	67,435	1,459,461	5,934	311,582	18,861	73,369	1,771,043
October	12,619	52,851	65,470	1,454,140	5,792	304,790	18,411	71,262	1,758,930
November	12,982	55,440	68,422	1,518,145	5,894	315,800	18,876	74,316	1,833,945

September	12,927	54,508	67,435	1,459,461	5,934	311,582	18,861	73,369	1,771,043
October	12,619	52,851	65,470	1,454,140	5,792	304,790	18,411	71,262	1,758,930
November	12,982	55,440	68,422	1,518,145	5,894	315,800	18,876	74,316	1,833,945
December	14,001	60,836	74,837	1,679,597	6,545	355,490	20,546	81,382	2,035,087
January 1962	14,966	65,640	80,606	1,773,474	6,852	361,105	21,818	87,458	2,134,579
February	15,890	70,770	86,660	1,862,078	7,139	390,822	23,029	94,799	2,252,900
March	16,975	77,446	94,421	1,997,861	7,130	414,999	24,105	101,551	2,412,860
April	17,020	76,378	93,398	1,873,661	7,716	403,551	24,736	101,114	2,277,212
May	14,554	66,670	81,224	1,649,004	6,515	333,128	21,069	87,739	1,982,132
June	13,450	60,101	73,551	1,551,106	5,565	303,308	19,015	79,116	1,854,414
July	12,695	54,758	67,453	1,429,951	5,443	284,705	18,138	72,896	1,714,656
August	11,626	51,189	62,815	1,319,390	4,988	266,761	16,614	67,803	1,586,151
September	11,266	48,407	59,673	1,256,742	4,603	246,762	15,869	64,276	1,503,504
October	11,653	51,086	62,739	1,322,847	4,673	254,771	16,326	67,412	1,577,618
November	12,549	55,409	67,958	1,439,385	5,515	302,845	18,064	73,473	1,742,230
December	12,800	55,500	68,300	1,500,000	5,800	341,830	18,600	74,100	1,841,830

Remarks : The figures for December 1962 are provisional.

Source : Table prepared by the Committee from data supplied by the Social Allowances Commission and by the Social Assistance Services.

TABLE XVI — DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL WELFARE
UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE TO UNEMPLOYABLE PERSONS, PAYMENTS ACCORDING TO CATEGORIES
APRIL 1960 TO DECEMBER 1962

Month	*Allowances*							*Supplements to categorized allowances*		*TOTAL*
	At home				*In establishments*					
	Heads of families	*Non-dependent adults*	*Category "D"*	*Category "F"*	*Private homes*	*Institutions*	*Pregnant girls*	*Social Assistance Services (excluding "D" and "F")*	*Social Allowances Commission (excluding "D" and "F")*	
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
April 1960	420,535	273,148	310	—	85,448	125,827	21,921	146,447	—	1,073,636
May	420,929	282,444	28,546	—	86,590	131,260	21,916	150,694	—	1,122,379
June	460,410	301,068	148,430	—	98,177	126,621	19,132	165,133	—	1,318,971
July	536,057	322,165	166,021	—	102,309	139,080	21,311	177,429	—	1,464,372
August	576,673	319,092	234,876	—	139,533	141,669	23,878	217,978	—	1,653,699
September	626,360	325,713	265,245	—	140,376	137,953	23,554	219,272	—	1,738,473
October	649,716	337,232	317,028	—	117,291	146,784	26,021	212,975	—	1,807,047
November	722,494	368,173	460,144	—	133,278	140,710	23,990	239,785	—	2,078,574
December	791,195	382,415	564,229	—	135,055	160,641	23,358	252,626	—	2,309,519
January 1961	809,572	383,100	614,679	—	146,378	162,940	25,588	254,135	—	2,396,392
February	858,167	386,209	674,159	—	103,556	158,497	24,977	219,962	—	2,425,527
March	910,897	408,196	721,404	—	111,156	187,166	26,479	223,524	—	2,589,322
April	900,171	411,116	749,523	—	111,538	180,115	33,903	237,586	—	2,623,952
May	942,750	439,859	827,172	—	121,781	210,715	33,479	250,258	—	2,826,014
June	1,005,070	466,313	860,161	—	110,688	194,387	32,689	268,740	—	2,938,048
July	1,037,947	477,940	881,797	—	115,000	229,687	33,803	258,619	—	3,034,793
August	1,101,097	495,722	904,126	—	126,114	186,666	32,588	283,371	—	3,129,684

June	1,005,070	466,313	860,161	—	110,688	194,387	32,689	268,740	—	2,938,048
July	1,037,947	477,940	881,797	—	115,000	229,687	33,803	258,619	—	3,034,793
August	1,101,097	495,722	904,126	—	126,114	186,666	32,588	283,371	—	3,129,684
September	1,060,757	489,681	872,071	—	28,736	350,384	34,848	107,143	41,549	2,985,169
October	1,080,304	503,044	880,947	—	117,441	192,454	35,863	144,865	51,066	3,005,984
November	1,106,102	518,561	885,458	—	116,804	177,645	36,348	126,399	65,740	3,033,057
December	1,174,136	546,402	889,061	45,515	118,127	181,202	36,103	121,092	87,788	3,199,426
January 1962	1,184,225	526,535	908,119	85,832	128,724	188,040	37,069	103,250	342,676	3,504,470
February	1,215,642	548,061	931,864	124,354	130,008	157,620	34,587	102,787	862,276	4,107,199
March	1,192,264	572,258	1,076,840	165,693	120,469	184,455	40,291	102,548	574,253	4,029,071
April	1,122,015	554,127	1,032,569	190,104	138,406	163,029	37,279	115,898	723,179	4,076,606
May	1,123,054	544,759	1,122,509	232,539	132,512	176,708	47,597	119,711	380,152	3,879,541
June	1,121,114	577,612	1,017,880	269,550	135,055	181,922	33,802	119,805	218,507	3,675,247
July	1,127,890	567,676	963,832	267,413	132,335	186,412	36,657	108,000	212,670	3,602,885
August	1,170,707	581,739	954,239	297,558	154,836	181,263	41,336	139,505	203,597	3,724,780
September	1,148,048	578,850	927,805	313,085	146,654	176,644	34,136	134,033	220,284	3,679,539
October	1,214,277	590,866	928,732	333,130	140,998	181,803	35,058	128,546	245,496	3,798,906
November	1,280,956	619,431	950,257	340,484	153,313	174,568	38,468	134,383	261,488	3,953,348
December	1,240,015	618,000	992,513	353,561	158,000	180,000	40,000	135,000	274,181	3,991,270

Remarks : The figures for December 1962 are provisional.

Source : Table prepared by the Committee from data supplied by the Social Allowances Commission and by the Social Assistance Services.

TABLE XVII — DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL WELFARE
BENEFICIARIES OF UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE ACCORDING TO THE GROUPS OF UNEMPLOYABLE
APRIL 1960 TO DECEMBER 1962

Month	*Allowances*							*Supplements to categorized allowances*		*TOTAL*
	At home				*In establishments*					
	Heads of families	*Non-dependent adults*	*Category "D"*	*Category "F"*	*Private homes*	*Institutions*	*Pregnant girls*	*Social Assistance Services (excluding "D" and "F")*	*Social Allowances Commission (excluding "D" and "F")*	
	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number
April **1960**	4,823	5,665	—	—	1,010	1,585	425	3,708	—	17,216
May	4,728	5,459	293	—	946	1,582	414	3,542	—	16,964
June	4,923	5,695	1,191	—	1,042	1,564	348	3,852	—	18,615
July	5,061	5,929	1,989	—	1,030	1,543	364	3,957	—	19,923
August	5,321	5,809	3,449	—	1,245	1,557	434	4,076	—	21,981
September	5,778	6,018	3,908	—	1,238	1,568	425	4,440	—	23,375
October	6,099	6,185	4,643	—	998	1,600	448	4,447	—	24,420
November	6,705	6,309	6,696	—	1,088	1,596	433	4,698	—	27,525
December	7,357	6,494	8,053	—	1,084	1,634	404	4,984	—	30,010
January **1961**	7,476	6,513	8,809	—	1,146	1,656	468	5,076	—	31,133
February	7,933	6,685	9,593	—	952	1.702	474	5,153	—	32,492
March	8.368	6.972	10.182	—	967	1,785	482	5,202	—	33,958
April	8,129	7,006	10,543	—	990	1,790	500	5,375	—	34,333
May	8,617	7,408	11,376	—	959	1,979	543	5,830	—	36,712
June	9,428	7,672	11,881	—	933	1,881	521	6,238	—	38,554
July	9,380	7,994	12,195	—	992	1,991	489	6,359	—	39,400
August	9,741	8,252	12,460	—	1,059	2,016	496	6,738	—	40,762

June	9,428	7,672	11,881	—	933	1,881	521	6,238	—	38,554
July	9,380	7,994	12,195	—	992	1,991	489	6,359	—	39,400
August	9,741	8,252	12,460	—	1,059	2,016	496	6,738	—	40,762
September	9,550	8,075	12,440	—	229	2,280	483	3,130	2,652	38,839
October	9,575	8,330	12,736	—	1,046	2,324	505	3,086	3,108	40,710
November	9,773	8,513	12,704	—	1,055	2,401	497	2,517	3,703	41,163
December	10,163	8,788	12,695	828	1,076	2,437	529	2,001	4,596	43,113
January 1962	10,209	8,544	12,765	1,580	1,091	2,475	546	1,402	11,833	50,445
February	10,452	8,802	12,864	2,159	1,252	2,515	563	1,465	25,804	65,876
March	10,298	8,745	12,892	2,609	1,122	2,554	586	1,553	29,262	69,621
April	9,831	8,773	12,955	2,951	1,210	2,559	554	1,539	31,873	72,255
May	9,764	8,654	12,998	3,316	1,128	2,537	580	1,516	17,698	58,191
June	9,797	8,904	12,686	3,899	1,165	2,577	546	1,482	10,542	51,508
July	9,905	8,331	12,159	4,419	1,103	2,625	508	1,468	11,407	51,925
August	10,200	8,938	11,901	5,030	1,191	2,623	463	1,597	12,223	54,166
September	10,312	9,066	11,585	5,354	1,166	2,657	453	1,664	13,048	55,305
October	10,548	9,247	11,480	5,615	1,152	2,674	467	1,712	13,912	56,807
November	11,425	9,549	11,616	5,755	1,225	2,680	507	1,772	14,968	59,497
December	11,400	9,600	11,876	5,929	1,250	2,700	525	1,800	15,850	60,930

Remarks : The figures for December 1962 are provisional.

Source : Table prepared by the Committee from data supplied by the Social Allowances Commission and by the Social Assistance Services.

TABLE XVIII

ANNUAL AVERAGE OF THE UNEMPLOYED IN PROPORTION TO THE LABOUR FORCE — CANADA AND PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

1950 - 1962

Year	*Canada*	*Quebec*
	%	%
1950	3.6	4.4
1951	2.4	2.9
1952	2.9	3.8
1953	3.0	3.8
1954	4.6	5.9
1955	4.4	6.2
1956	3.4	4.9
1957	4.6	6.0
1958	7.0	8.8
1959	6.0	7.9
1960	7.0	9.1
1961	7.2	9.3
1962	5.9	7.5

Source : *The Labour Force,* monthly publication of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue 71-001, Queen's Printer, Ottawa.

TABLE XIX

NUMBER OF ASSISTED PERSONS AND AMOUNTS PAID BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT UNDER THE TERMS OF THE UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE ACT IN PROPORTION TO THE POPULATION OF EACH PROVINCE APRIL 1961 TO MARCH 1962

Provinces	*Population*		*Persons assisted*		*Federal quote-part*	
	Number	*%*	*Number*	*%*	*Amount*	*%*
					$	
Newfoundland	457,853	2.5	59,397	9.6	4,064,063	4.6
Prince Edward Island	104,629	0.6	1,997	0.3	174,422	0.2
Nova Scotia	737,007	4.0	24,346	3.9	1,673,624	1.9
New Brunswick	597,936	3.3	30,316	4.9	1,526,972	1.7
Quebec	5,259,211	28.8	209,392	33.9	32,339,377	36.8
Ontario	6,236,092	34.2	109,504	17.7	18,741,458	21.3
Manitoba	921,686	5.1	27,917	4.5	4,285,212	4.9
Saskatchewan	925,181	5.1	35,927	5.8	4,525,334	5.2
Alberta	1,331,944	7.3	29,107	4.8	4,462,337	5.1
British Columbia	1,629,082	8.9	89,419	14.5	15,965,364	18.2
Yukon and Nothwest Territories	37,626	0.2	497	0.1	73,586	0.1
Canada	18,238,247	100.0	617,819	100.0	87,831,749	100.0

Remarks : Claims for the provinces of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba and British Columbia include the payments made to the categories of persons previously assisted under the program of needy mothers allowances.

Sources : (a) *Annual Report on Expenditures and Administration in connection with the Unemployment Assistance Act,* Department of National Health and Welfare, Ottawa, 1962.

(b) *Canada Census 1961, Population,* Bul. 1:2-2, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1962.

TABLE XX

FEDERAL SHARE OF UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE AND NUMBER OF PERSONS ASSISTED IN PROPORTION TO THE POPULATION OF EACH PROVINCE
APRIL 1961 TO MARCH 1962

Provinces	*Per capita of Federal quote-part in proportion to the population of each province*	*Persons assisted in proportion to the population of each province*
	$	%
Newfoundland	8.88	13.0
Prince Edward Island	1.66	1.9
Nova Scotia	2.27	3.3
New Brunswick	2.55	5.1
Quebec	6.15	4.0
Ontario	3.01	1.8
Manitoba	4.65	3.0
Saskatchewan	4.89	3.9
Alberta	3.35	2.2
British Columbia	9.80	5.5
Yukon and Northwest Territories	1.96	1.2
Canada	4.82	3.4

Source : Table XIX.

TABLE XXI — QUEBEC AND ONTARIO IN PROPORTION TO THE WHOLE CANADA RELATIVE TO OLD AGE ASSISTANCE, BLIND PERSONS ALLOWANCES AND DISABLED PERSONS ALLOWANCES
YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1961

Location	*Old Age Assistance*		*Disabled Persons Allowances*		*Blind Persons Allowances*	
	Beneficiaries in proportion to the total for Canada	*Beneficiaries in proportion to the population of 65 to 69 years of age*	*Beneficiaries in proportion to the total for Canada*	*Beneficiaries in proportion to the population of 20 to 69 years of age*	*Beneficiaries in proportion to the total for Canada*	*Beneficiaries in proportion to the population of 20 to 69 years of age*
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Québec	35.4	32.0	34.1	0.110	47.4	0.893
Ontario	22.7	13.1	21.4	0.054	26.3	0.388
Canada	100.0	21.3	100.0	0.090	100.0	0.528

Remarks : (a) These figures the latest data available at the time of editing this report;

(b) the data of previous years present approximately the same proportions.

Source : *Public Health and Welfare Services in Canada,* report prepared by the Research and Statistics Division, Department of National Health and Welfare, Ottawa, March 1962.

TABLE XXII

ANNUAL AVERAGE OF THE UNEMPLOYED IN PROPORTION TO THE LABOUR FORCE : CANADA, QUEBEC, ONTARIO AND THE ATLANTIC PROVINCES

1958 - 1962

Year	*Canada*	*Quebec*	*Ontario*	*Atlantic provinces*
	%	%	%	%
1958	7.0	8.9	5.4	12.5
1959	6.0	7.9	4.5	10.8
1960	7.0	9.1	5.4	10.6
1961	7.2	9.3	5.5	11.8
1962	5.9	7.5	4.2	10.8

Source : *Statistics of the Province of Quebec,* Bureau of Statistics of the Province of Quebec, January, 1963, p. 16.

TABLE XXIII

CIVILIAN LABOUR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYED IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC IN PROPORTION TO THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE

1959 - 1962

Year	*Civilian labour force*	*Unemployed*
	%	%
1959	28.13	27.00
1960	28.06	36.61
1961	27.80	35.82
1962	27.88	35.29

Source : *Statistics of the Province of Quebec,* Bureau of Statistics of the Province of Quebec, January 1963.

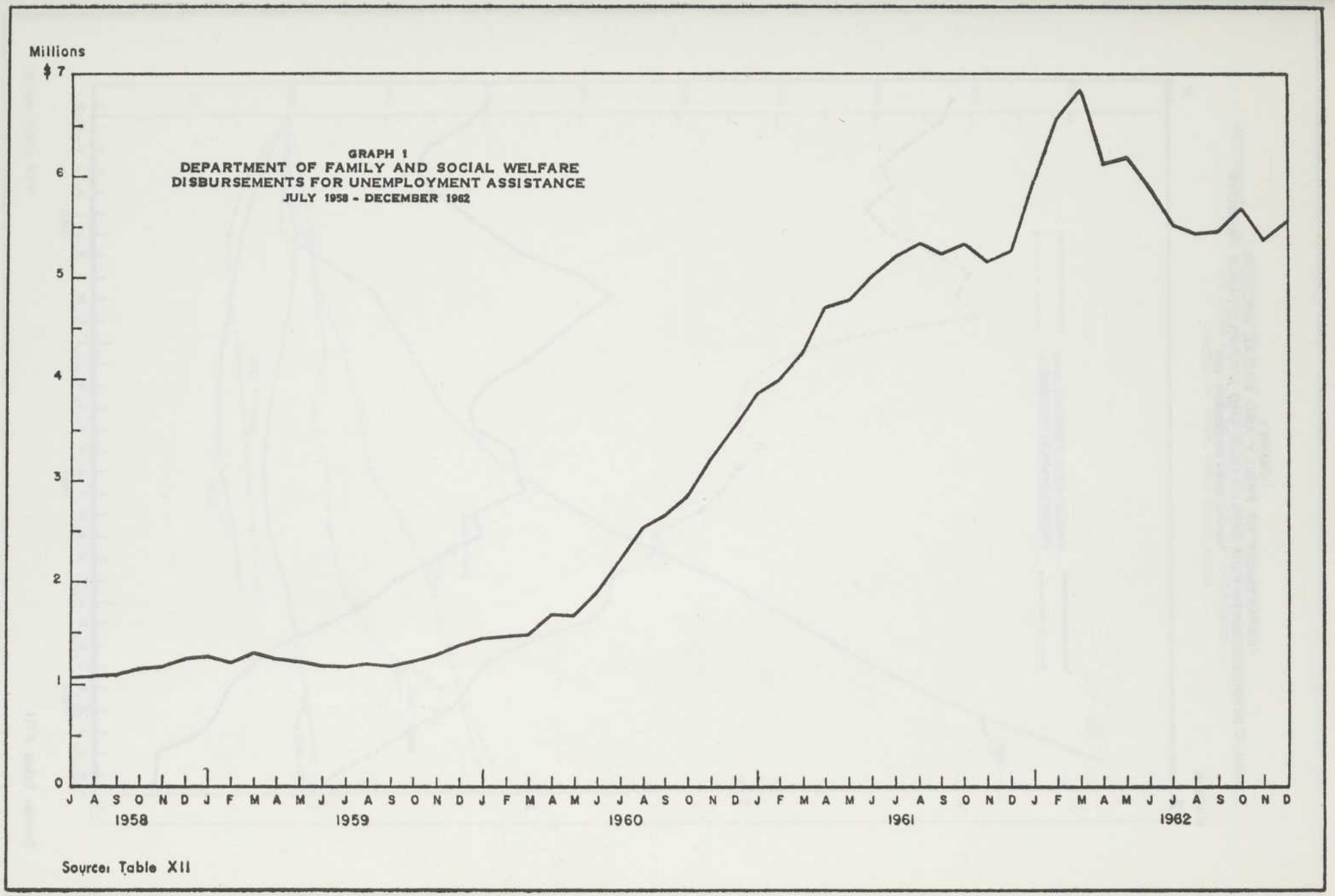
TABLE XXIV

LEVEL OF REGIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE AVERAGE NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT
1953 - 1959

National Employment Service Offices	%	*National Employment Service Offices*	%
Gaspé	210	Valleyfield	107
Rimouski	180	Joliette	105
Rivière-du-Loup	165	Drummondville	100
Montmagny	145	Rouyn and Val-d'Or	100
Lake St. John	135	Quebec and Levis	92
Thetford, Megantic and Saint George	132	Beauharnois	86
North Shore	130	Sherbrooke	85
Shawinigan	130	St. Hyacinthe	82
Trois-Rivières	122	Lachute and Sainte Thérèse	80
Ste-Agathe and St-Jérôme	115	St. John's	75
Sorel	115	Montreal	60

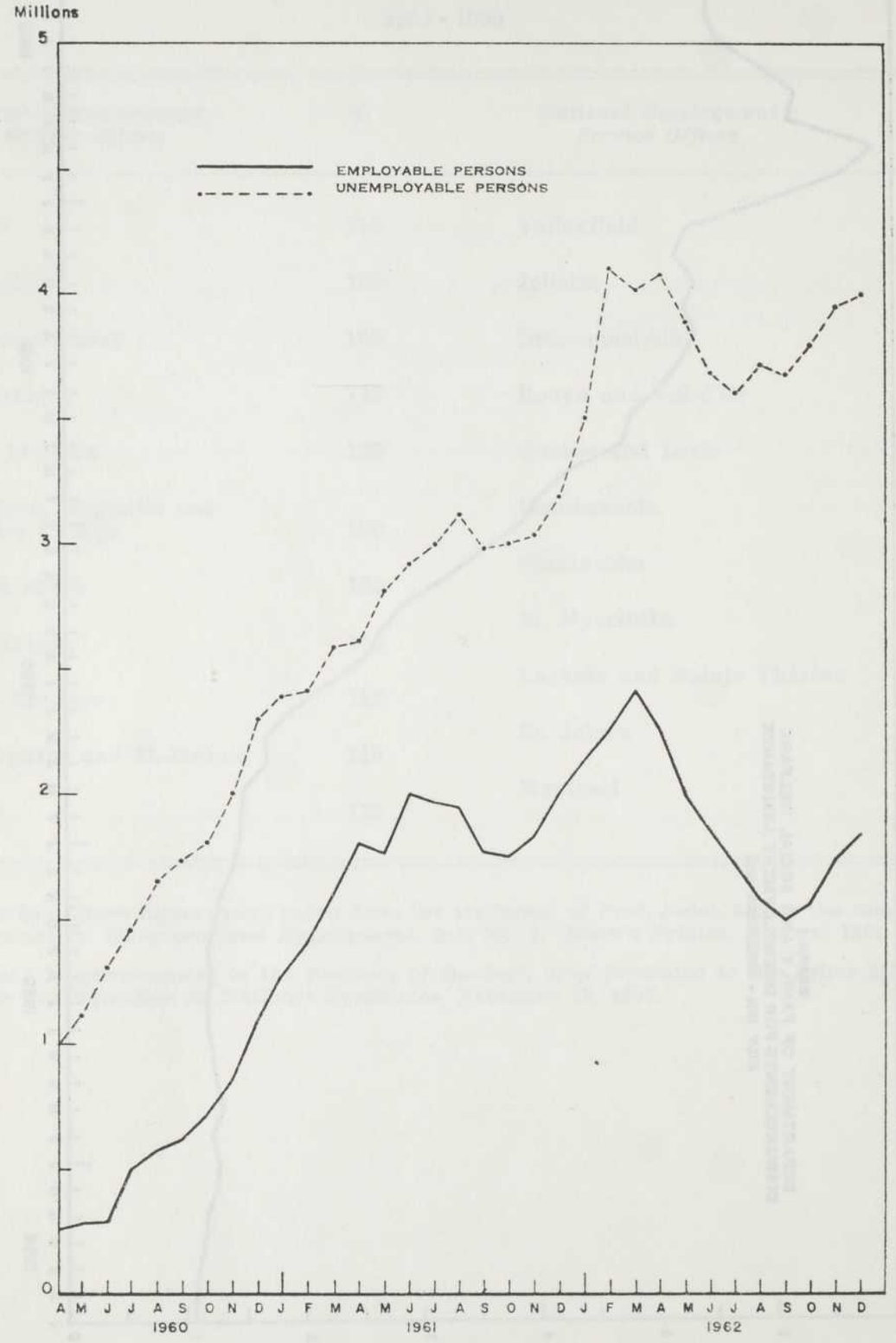
Remarks : These figures were taken from the testimnoy of Prof. Judek before the senatorial committee on *Manpower and Employment,* fac. No. 7, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1961.

Source : *"Unemployment in the Province of Quebec"*, brief presented to the Prime Minister by the Confederation of National Syndicates, February 19, 1962.



Source: Table XII

GRAPH 2
DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL WELFARE
DISBURSEMENTS FOR EMPLOYABLE AND UNEMPLOYABLE PERSONS
APRIL 1960 - DECEMBER 1962



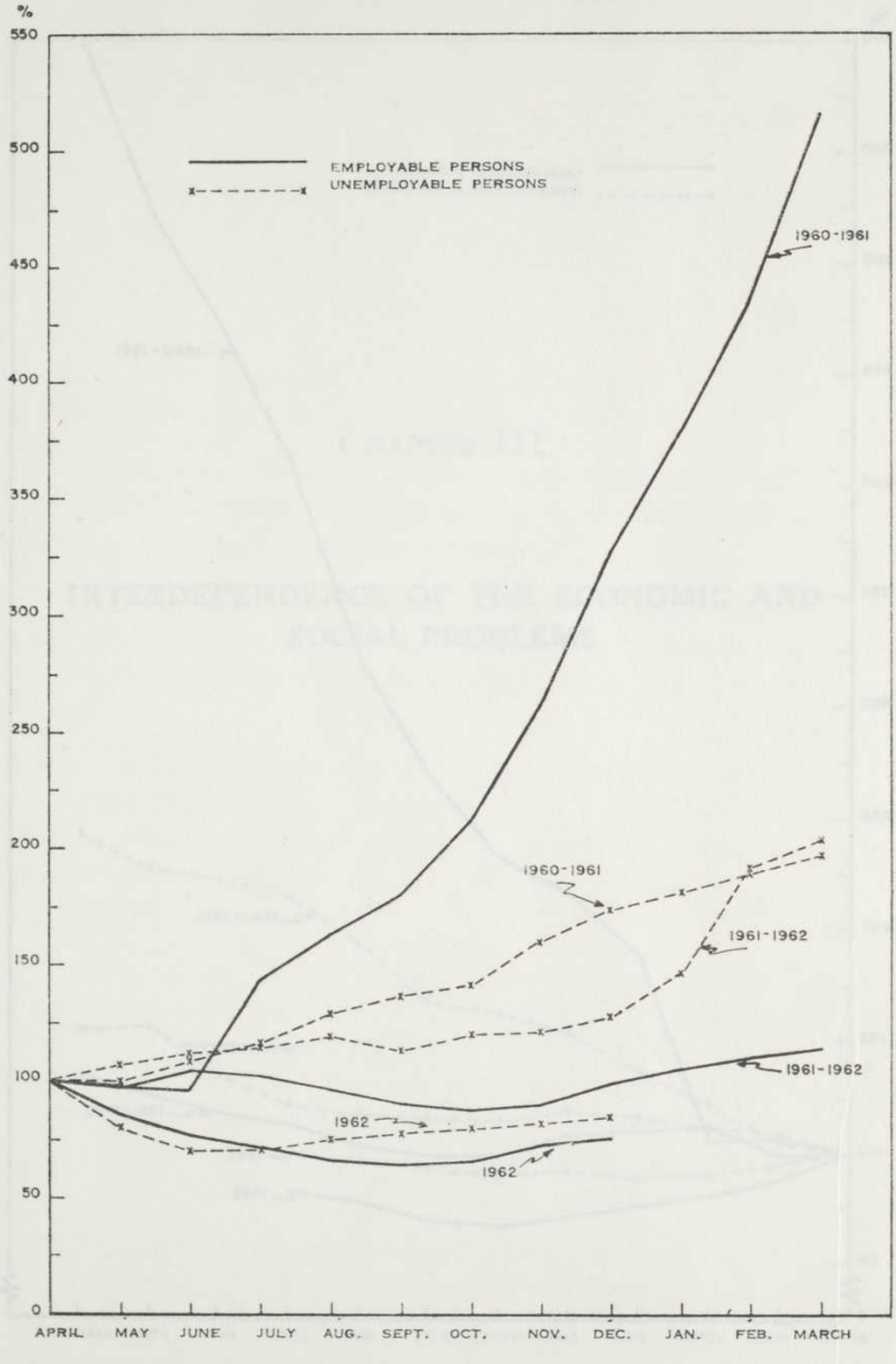
Source: Table XIII

GRAPH 3

DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

RECIPIENTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE, EMPLOYABLE AND UNEMPLOYABLE, IN COMPARATIVE PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE

(APRIL OF EACH YEAR BEING 100%)



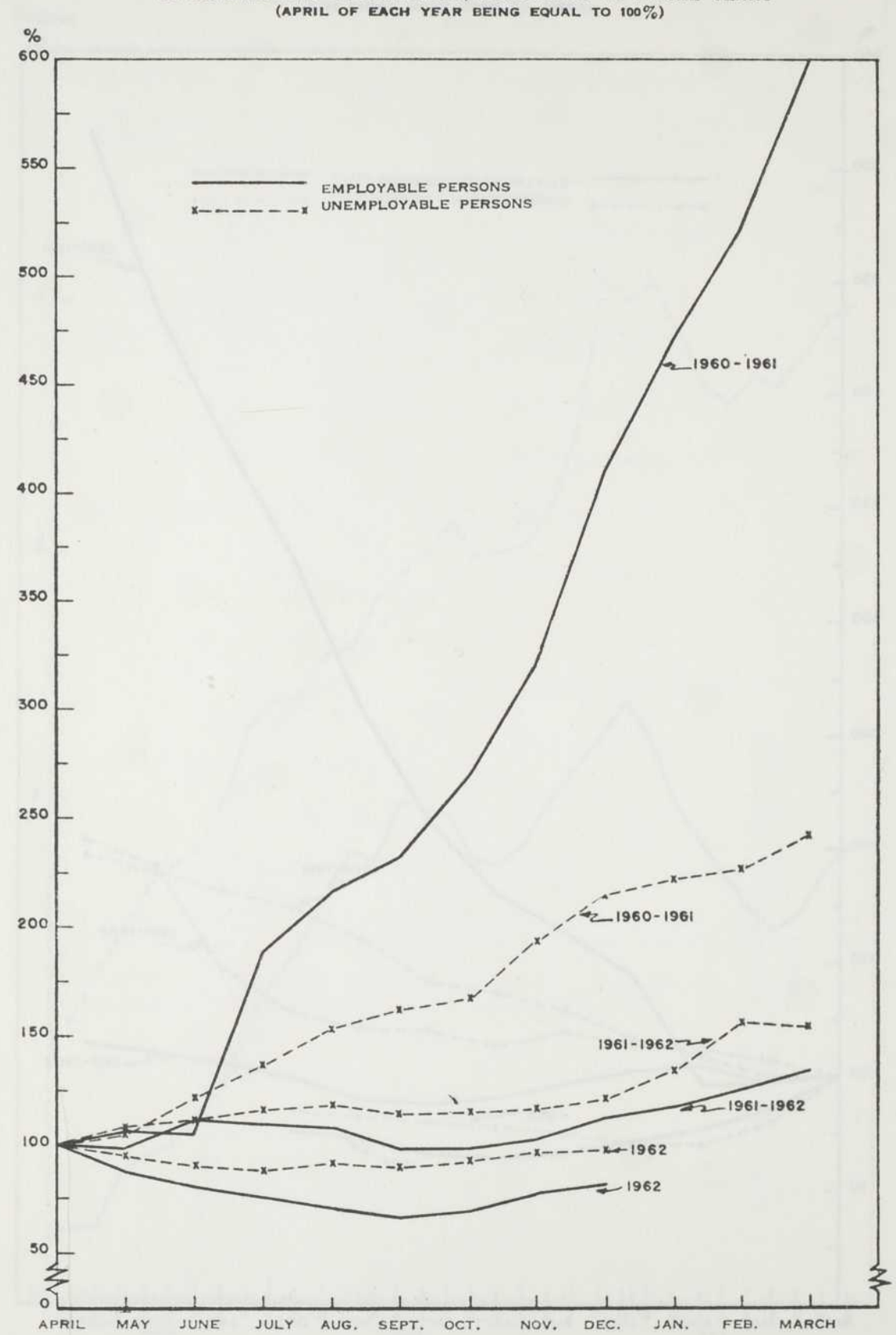
Source: Table XIV

GRAPH 4

DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE DISBURSEMENTS FOR EMPLOYABLE AND UNEMPLOYABLE PERSONS IN COMPARATIVE PERCENTAGES, ACCORDING TO FISCAL YEARS

(APRIL OF EACH YEAR BEING EQUAL TO 100%)



Source: Table XIV

Chapter III

INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

CHAPTER III

INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Social security in general and financial assistance at home in particular aim at relieving evils that are causes as well as consequences.

In the first place, these evils cause personal or domestic difficulties which citizens have to cope with. For instance, poverty may lead to sickness, ignorance desertion, crime discord and insanitariness.

They are also consequences, since they may in turn arise from the same problems. Poverty may result from the loss of employment, which may, in turn, be the result of changes involving technology or the structure of international trade.

These social ills frequently form a vicious circle, the first causing the second, the second aggravating the first, and so on. This is the reason why no specialist in the human sciences may think himself clever enough to discover which of the social problems is the primary cause of all the others and to set up a reliable order of causality.

In Canada, as in all other countries the world over, a minority of the people are in constant insecurity and their standard of living is lower than in the rest of the community in which they live. This marginal population, on account of lack of resources, is unable to provide against those risks to which it so often falls a victim. It is precisely in this social stratum that the largest number of problems are found. They are interrelated and tend to be mutually induced.

This social stratum usually includes about 6% to 7% of the total population (1), a percentage which tends to rise every time the local economic and

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(1) Bradley Buell and Associates. *Community Planning for Human Services*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1952.

social conditions deteriorate. During severe economic recessions it could easily affect 10, 15 or even 20% of the total population.

But it practically never falls below 5%, even if economic conditions are excellent, there are always persons and families who cannot benefit from them. It is in this group of persons and families that the most serious problems of social dependence and human misery can be found. Dependence is hereditary in too many cases and there is a risk that it will remain a continuing state of affairs unless more pertinent and more effective measures are adopted than the mere payment of financial assistance.

In the Province of Quebec financial assistance at home constitutes a form of social security intended for that segment of the population called the "economically weak". Unlike family allowances, old age security pensions or schooling allowances, financial assistance at home is paid only to those able to prove they need it for maintenance. It may be dispensed in accordance with various methods, including the means test and the needs test. This form of aid concerns 6 to 7% of the population which, for different reasons including personal irresponsibility, is constantly in need. It is likewise dispensed to a varying proportion of the remaining population which cannot provide for its needs when problems such as unemployment and sickness are acute and recur too frequently.

Thus, social problems are interrelated and tend to be more acute where the environment is favourable to their birth and development.

The Role of Government Policy

By its Constitution, the Department of Family and Social Welfare lacks the necessary means to act directly upon and to improve this social surrounding. This is not the Department's role, except to a very limited extent, because it was not constituted for that purpose. The improvement of the social environment rather depends, on the whole, upon government policy. However, it is often the Department which bears the financial repercussion of the absence, the ineffectiveness or inadequacy of policies related to other government sectors.

The situation is different in a certain number of other Departments. They already possess the ways and means to act or they can obtain the necessary power to do so, according to circumstances. Of course, their action is not always infaillible, but it can be effective if it reaches the root of the economic or social ills, the consequences of which the Department of Family and Social Welfare must alleviate for individuals and families, in accordance which its function. For example, the right way to assist the unemployed is not to pay assistance allowances but to offer them steady employment. However, the responsibility

for full employment is not within the jurisdiction of the Department of Family and Social Welfare; it rests with the common action of the government administration at the Federal, Provincial and municipal levels, as well as with private enterprise and individuals.

To sum up, there are two ways to fight indigency; financial assistance, which improves the situation of those who are its victims, and reforms aimed at preventing or overcoming indigency. A government action which aims at effectiveness must clearly rely on the second reforms and not solely on financial assistance.

A – FINDINGS

1 – Absence Of and Need For Cohesion in Government Policies

For many years, he Provincial Authorities did not give adequate attention to the application of necessary reforms because they ascribed to the State a more subordinate role in the economic and social fields. For some time, the question has been reconsidered and the Government has officially set itself objectives designed to apply the necessary remedies: a better-balanced economic growth, a higher level of education, full employment, improved farming methods, etc. These objectives arising from a new, although sometimes uncertain, conception of the functions of the State have not all been translated into concrete policies. Those which have been effectively adopted are merely in their initial stage. Most of them, notably the legislation pertaining to education, economic planning, the creation of the General Investment Corporation, the nationalization of hydro-electric power, rural improvement, aim chiefly at long-term results and it is too early for them to have deeply influenced the environment.

The effects of the new policies will be felt in time and some basic causes of indigency will be at least improved.

Besides noting that no government policies really attacked the roots of the Social problems (a situation of many years' standing), the Committee discovered th;at relations between existing policies were inadequate (a situation prevalent when the Committee was set up). Many examples will be given in this report. Both situations gave rise to practically the same effects, but it is only right to point out that the first was, by far, more damaging than the second. In fact, it helped delay the solution of latent problems, all the seriousness of which has only recently become apparent.

2 – Unrealistic Partitioning of Social Assistance

If the Committee wanted to use a word describing the general formulation of public assistance measures since their existence in the Province of Quebec, and especially from the time they reached their present scope, it would use partitioning.

When social assistance originating with the Government was financially less substantial in the Province of Quebec in relation to other types of expenditures, partitioning could be explained, even if it could not be accepted. Social assistance was at that time a rather secondary concern of the Government authorities. Similarly regarded were the first indications of the State's new and more extensive action.

The situation has greatly changed. Owing to the interdependence of the miscellaneous social problems and to the deep influence of weaknesses in government policies or even their defective orientation, the formation of partitioning at the very time social measures or new directives are established may conceal serious risks. The results of the new measures may, for instance, be quite different from those expected: instead of a financial saving, an unforeseen expenditure; instead of a solution, a problem; a contradiction of fact to a policy adopted in another Department; the public finds an easy way to circumvent an administrative requirement considered foolproof; attempts to fight abuses result in injustice; in trying to simplify the work of provincial administration, unlooked-for complications are met; directives aimed at improving certain administrative practices create others that are no better, and so on.

The Committee wishes to emphasize that such effects did not always automatically follow partitioning. The Committee believes, however, that those effects have been sufficiently numerous, since the existence of financial assistance at home, to deserve mention.

How did the partitioning system occur? First, there was a general cause, the habit of considering public social welfare as an entity, as a world in itself, without connection with other Departments or with the private sector. It is forgotten that public social welfare lies within a complex moving reality. We overlook the fact that measures adopted in other departments cannot be disregarded because those measures can influence reality from which public welfare programs are elaborated.

During its inquiry, the Committee repeatedly found the effects of this partitioning, within the Department as well as between the various sectors of government administration. Without going into detail, a few striking examples will suffice.

a – *Interdepartmental Partitioning*

There hardly ever was any real interdepartmental consultation for the elaboration of laws and regulations pertaining to assistance, nor for the application of social measures. Two main effects have resulted. In the first place, the former Department of Youth and Social Welfare (now the Department of Family and Social Welfare) did not avail itself of certain practical suggestions pertaining to methods of assistance. For instance, no thought was given to the collection of precise data on the cost of living in the different areas of the Province or the exploration of community ressources instead of resorting immediately to financial assistance. In the second place, a number of assistance measures thwarted policies established by other Departments.

On this latter point, the Committee has to mention that some assistance measures can seriously hamper farm policies applied by the Department of Agriculture and Colonization.

When unemployment assistance was set up, it was extended to include farmers. Subsequently, i.e., in March 1962, it was confined to those farmers who, due to physical incapacity, were unable to earn a livelihood on their farm. Four months later, this restriction was found unduly limiting and sometimes unfair to the agriculture class; it was amended. Now a special assistance rate applies to indigent farmers.

Since a very large number of farmers live on farms called "marginal", unemployment assistance found among them a "clientele" ready to accept financial assistance. As mentioned in chapter II, the availability of this assistance soon became general knowledge and the lists of persons assisted grew to unexpected dimensions. When the Department endeavored to react against the magnitude of this trend by making eligibility for assistance more difficult for farmers, some of the latter found a way to keep or recover as soon as possible this assistance, the regularity of which guaranteed the security the farm could not give them. They came to think of farm life in terms of productivity of the land, but inasmuch as it affected their eligibility for assistance. Since the essential condition of this eligibility consisted in the impossibility of living on the farm, they reduced their livestock and even left their land fallow. Others lost interest in farming because the meagre earnings from their work were smaller than any possible amount of assistance. Still others who could have leased or sold their farm to a neighbor and moved elsewhere failed to do so because life on a nonprofit-earning farm was considered as a condition which assured them of a small but at least regular income from the State.

In short, financial assistance to farmers proved an obstacle to consolidation of the farm; it hindered the desire for progress and renewal in many; it decided

others to dig in on farms unsuitable for cultivation and it limited the number of farm hands. In a word, it crystallized the latent dependence of a large segment of an underprivileged social class. The application of a long-term farm policy thus met, because of financial assistance, a resistance based on the artificial security offered by immediate relief.

This does not imply that farmers should not have been assisted. Nevertheless, in view of effects which could be anticipated from an assistance often higher than the income deriving from farm labour, it would have been well to work out, for this category of the population, methods of assistance other than those current in urban centres where social conditions are quite different. The Department would probably have come to this conclusion if it had seen fit, before adopting a policy of assistance of which one of the main advantages was the simplicity of administration, to systematically consult with specialists of the Department of Agriculture and with persons acquainted with the economic and social problems of the agriculture class.

The "farm" case is astriking example of interdepartmental partitioning. Other examples would not be hard to find and if submitted in detail would resemble a list of grievances. Consultation would have made it possible to work out relief measures which would not have been exclusively financial,such as assistance in the form of services. For certain classes of the population, simple financial relief is considered "a reward for indigency" and leads some persons to refrain from doing their best to improve their situation.

There are also instances where the Department of Family and Social Welfare bore the brunt of measures adopted by other Departments, without their diffuse repercussions having been foreseen. This is what happened with hospital insurance.

The benefits of this social measure are considerable and the public in general appreciates them, with the possible exception of the indigents and the economically weak, who already received through Public Charities a sort of health insurance before enabling legislation had been passed. With the advent of hospital insurance, their hospital treatment is still free, but the same cannot be said of their medical care, unless the physician can identify his clients as indigents and agrees to treat them free of charge. Indeed there is a large number of indigents whose situation was worsened, as it were, by hospital insurance because many physicians no longer discriminate between their clients when they send their bills. Yet no special assistance is provided for these cases by the Department of Family and Social Welfare or by the Department of Health.

b – *Intradepartmental partitioning*

Partitioning exists not only between the Department of Family and Social Welfare and other Departments, specifically between financial assistance and the

other governmental policies, but a similar situation exists between the financial assistance measures within the Department itself. This question will be taken up in greater detail in chapter V, which deals with administrative structures of the Department.

Overexaggerated partitioning inevitably prompts the senior staff of the Department to narrow its field of vision, to consider only the particular sector for which they are directly responsible, to disinterest themselves in all matters not directly related to current administrative problems. Indeed, since administrative responsibility for financial assistance at home derived from several separate requests, the growth of public assistance measures in the Province of Quebec resulted in a collection of unrelated measures, each governed by its own regulations and carried out regardless of whatever related or complementary measures might exist in other divisions of the same Department.

Given the absence of relationship between government policies, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, financial assistance at home developed into a hanging administrative mosaic, its pieces difficult to assemble coherently and its operation ineffectively controled by the Family and Social Welfare Department alone.

B – **RECOMMENDATIONS**

Problems of miscellaneous nature facing families and individuals, due to economic or social difficulties, cannot be permanently relieved except by an action which strikes at the root of their ills and which employs effective ways and means. Payments of social welfare by the State can be reduced or containing only if this fundamental condition is observed. Otherwise, irrespective of what is done, the burden of social assistance for the rest of the community becomes steadily heavier one way or another, directly or indirectly. It is illusive to hope that financial assistance costs will be reduced or even contained by relying solely on assistance payments and eligibility requirements.

Due to the complexity of the factors involved, the preventive action in depth, essential here, cannot be brought to a successful issue solely by the Department of Family and Social Welfare or by private initiative. The task is beyond either one, particularly as the possibilities of joint action have never been explored until the present time.

Yet the Quebec Government as a whole is vested with the constitutional powers and the administrative structures to undertake such an action through its different Departments, alone or with the co-operation of other governments.

Recommendation 1

The Quebec Government should, within the limits of its powers, intensify the application of an overall economic and social policy directed towards the solution of problems the consequence of which the Department of Family and Social Welfare has to bear, in great measure, without however being in a position to act upon all their causes.

The Committee wishes to point out that certain Government initiatives are exactly included in the perspective outlined by recommandation I. They form part of a far reaching action, the only one likely to reach the very roots of the economic and social ills of which the growing costs of assistance are but the signs and the results. The Committee has in mind, for instance, the Economic Advisory Council, the General Investment Corporation, ARDA (for the organization of resources and for agricultural development), nationalization of electricity and the policy pertaining to education.

The work to be done is immense. In fact ,the Government of the Province of Quebec must pursue objectives as diverses and as complex as rural modernization, regional development, decentralized industrialization, education and technical training, the improvement of standard of health, of family housing, etc. To be effective and harmonious with one another, the measures designed to achieve these various objectives must be prepared with logic and method.

Recommendation 2

It is important that the overall economic and social policy of the Quebec Government be coordinated in its parts and coherent in its orientation.

A global policy will serve no useful purpose unless these two conditions are met. Measures proceeding therefrom must therefore be related, and the agencies responsible for these measures must cooperate with each other. For instance, rural development assumes simultaneous action by the Departments of Agriculture and Colonization as well as Lands and Forests; regional development is the common of the departments of Industry and Commerce, of Agriculture and Colonization as well as Natural Resources. In the concept and application of all these measures, the Quebec Economic Advisory Council can be very useful since it is responsible for economic planning, a much desired

necessity. Besides, the very existence of this Council is evidence that the Quebec Government accepts the principle expressed in Recommandation II.

What is true for the Government as a whole also applies to the Department of Family and Social Welfare. This Department is responsible for individual and community rehabilitation, but will never reach its goal without the close cooperation of the Departments of Youth and of Health.

Since collaboration between the different Departments is not as dynamic as it should be, save in a few exceptions, and since the general Government policy has barely made a start, the Department of Family and Social Welfare is more like a "Department of Consequence", that is, one which has to compensate for the possible deficiencies of Government action or private enterprise.

Recommendation 3

In the conception and the application of social welfare measures or others pertaining thereto, constant relations should be established between the Department of Family and Social Welfare and the other Departments.

Recommendation 4

In order to institute these relations solidly and to make them efficient, a permanent interdepartmental committee should be constituted at the level of the Deputy Ministers.

It is not up to the Committee to determine in detail which deputy ministers, other than the Deputy Ministers of Family and Social Welfare, should be on this permanent committee. It suggests however that the Committee include a permanent nucleus composed of the Deputy Ministers of the Departments of Family and Social Welfare, of Youth, of Health, and, on occasion, one or several other deputy ministers, depending on the subjects under discussion. This Committee should be under the authority of the deputy minister of Family and Social Welfare, who would convene it when necessary.

Its essential role would be to discuss measures taken or to be taken by Department most likely to influence social welfare policy.

It is obvious that such a Committee could not hold very frequent meetings, owing to the heavy responsibilities of its members. However, it is essential that their duties should have a certain continuity. Moreover, to be useful, these meetings should be preceded by frequent contacts and adequate preparation. The Committee believes it is necessary to entrust the continuity of interdepartmental communications to a responsible official.

Recommendation 5

In order to ensure efficiency, continuity and cohesion of the interdepartmental committee's proceedings, a liaison officer should be nominated in the Department of Family and Social Welfare as well as in the other Departments concerned.

The coordination of social welfare measures will require other structures in addition to the interdepartmental committee recommended. Moreover, such a co-ordination will not be accomplished at the Government level only, but should also include the entire private sector of social welfare. These matters are dealt with in Chapters V and VI.

Chapter IV

THE ROLE OF THE STATE

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It may appear incongruous that a Study Committee, whose terms of reference are to investigate the administration and distribution of financial assistance at home, should examine the function of the State in this field. This is not the case however. The Committee decided to devote a chapter of its report to this apparently theoretical question because it is one which has a great and concrete influence on the administration of assistance as well as on the methods of distribution.

A – FINDINGS

The Commitee does not intend to go into academic considerations, still less to comment in detail on the voluminous literature on the subjetct. However, the Commitee has arrived at a basic conclusion concerning the Quebec Government's concept of its function in the field of social assistance. This conclusion emerging from a number of past or present-day facts, reveals the reasons underlying the attitudes and behaviours encountered by the Commitee in this survey. It also explains certain decisions or lack of decision which had considerable impact on the daily application of social measures.

The Commitee realized that there had long existed in Quebec a profound misconception of the true role of the State in social welfare matters and particularly with regard to social assistance. Failure to define this general conclusion would diminish its effectiveness, and might give rise to ambiguous or even contradictory interpretations. Therefore, this misconception will be developed from the triple standpoint of philosophy, administration and legislation.

1 – The Philosophical Aspect

In Quebec, the advent and expansion of the State's role in the field of social assistance did not develop from a philosophy partial to the systematic expansion of this function for the general welfare. In other words, the present

importance of the State's role is not the result of a dogmatic mental attitude based on the explicit desire to amplify the participation and influence of the Government. On the contrary, every Quebec Government elected over a period of some forty years has always proclaimed openly and officially its non-socialistic attitude and its confidence in private enterprise. Each government always protested vehemently when accused of encroaching in a field which, it was claimed, belonged first and foremost to the private sector. The statements made in 1921, when the Public Charities Act was presented in the legislature, are professions of faith in private enterprise. Their echos have resounded to our times and directly or indirectly inspired the social philosophy of subsequent governments. It was only very recently that these attitudes began to change and that the distance between reality and official views contracted.

The historical transformation that took place in Quebec does not appear in the evolution of social security elsewhere in Canada or in other countries. The private and the public sectors had for a long time agreed that the function of the State in social assistance should be restricted as much as possible. The expansion of this role was against the oft-expressed desires of responsible representatives in both sectors. Social needs were therefore responsible for a development feared by the private sector and not desired by the public sector. In the long run, these needs upset a balance of forces to which the people were accustomed and which were accepted as normal and consistent with the general opinion of the Church's social doctrine. This philosophical background explains why the gradual transfer of private responsibility to the public sector was not carried out systematically or impelled by a well-defined purpose expressed in a comprehensive programme, but in spite of the Government, which maintained an appearance of reticence toward the acceptance of new responsibilities.

On the other hand, the private sector had always sharply opposed the gradual ascendency of the State in a field which the former had eventually considered its own monopoly. When circumstances required, it froze in a rigid and suspicious attitude, hardly more realistic than the Government's.

Since social problems by their scope led unavoidably to a transfer of responsibilities, while additional powers devolved to the State, no attempt was made by the latter to effect organic changes in the private sector. Instead of participating directly in the administration of monies paid for social assistance, the Government preferred to leave the administration to private agencies; the traditionnal image of welfare organization in the Quebec community thus remained intact. The concept of the State's supplementary role was officially protected since the prerogatives of the private sector remained considerable, despite the reality of social problems which private agencies would have been incapable of solving by their own financial means. By distributing State funds,

the private sector was able to make a substantial contribution to the solution of social problems, without it being neccessary for the State to take over the task. This particular solution has endowed Quebec's social assistance regime with a composite administrative organization over which neither the public nor the private sector has full authority.

Such an administrative organization, characterized by the presence of private social agencies distributing State funds, satisfied the growing needs and presented real advantages. On one hand, it was not necessary for the State to assume functions for which it was not prepared and which it did not desire. On the other hand, the private sector accelerated its rate of growth and finally took over a field towards which it had been moving since its beginning. The traditional institutions of social assistance were not markedly disrupted despite the fact that the nature and seriousness of social problems underwent unavoidable changes. Various measures of assistance had to be specially adapted in the wake of fundamental economic and social changes ,such as industrialization, urbanization, the decline of agriculture and the change in family life. Nevertheless, the Quebec system of social assistance always retained on the surface the same characteristic traits. Thus, casual observers might easily beleive that private initiative still played a leading and almost exclusive part.

It should be added that the Quebec Government's lack of dynamism and forward-looking approach in matters pertaining to social assistance, particularly in the post-war period, greatly facilitated the introduction in Quebec of assistance by category, devised at Federal level and conceived in a perspective entirely different from that of the Public Charities Act. As the Provincial Government only seldom took the initiative, it could not be accused of consciously trying to augment its share of responsibility to the detriment of the private sector. However, the new measures, derived from Anglo-Saxon inspiration, mark the beginning of a long process which contributed in fact to the future assumption by the Quebec Government of greater responsibility in the field of social security. Unfortunately, legislation passed by the Quebec government was based on standards and on mentality inconsistent with the character of the population and with the intent ot its system of social assistance.

The day was bound to come when the division of powers between the private and public sectors would be bitterly challenged. From 1921 to 1960, the problem had been avoided, to the advantages of all parties, by having state-financed aid distributed by private agencies. It was not generally realized that those conflicts which were the logical sequence of the social evolution had been prevented from breaking out by deferring them to a later date. This "later date" was the period between 1960 and 1961, subsequent to the signa-

ture of the agreement concerning unemployment assistance. Because of the rapid and unforeseen spiralling cost of this measure, it was apparent to everyone that the State and not the private sector would bear the cost. Of course, the disproportion between the financial participation of the private and the public sectors in social assistance had never been a secret, but the Government realized at that moment that the former policy of distributing public funds could not be continued. The challenge might well have been issued some years before, but the private sector as a whole objected to a revision of functions, lest it lose some of its traditional prerogatives. The issue was not raised, however, except perhaps in private conversations between representatives of the two sectors, but nothing concrete transpired.

In 1960, both parties were faced with spirally costs and a clientele numerous beyond expectations, and their positions changed sufficiently to undermine the common front of the private agencies and to make the alarmed public sector aware of the new function it would have to assume.

Therefore, long after the fact, it was realized that the State had played a leading role in financial assistance at home for several years and that the theory of the "State's supplementary function", the fundamental concept of the official social philosophy, shared by the public and the private sectors during one or two generations, had to be revised because it was inconsistent with the facts.

The foregoing rapid survey may give the false impression that relations between the private and public sectors were always friendly. Although both agreed in principle about a division of their respective fields, in practice, the areas of conflict - and the conflicts - were numerous. It could hardly have been otherwise, because before the problem of these relations had never been brought out in the open. The points of conflict involved matters of minor importance, however, and arose largely from the fact that both sectors had ill-defined responsilibities fields.

2 – The Administrative Aspect

When the cost of financial assistance at home rose to impressive heights and the State decided to assume openly certain new administrative functions, it did not do so to relieve the private sector of unduly heavy responsibilities or to play a dynamic role in the evolution of social assistance. The State's motivations were confined to a well-defined and limited aspect of social administration; its function was restricted to one of strict control. The rapidly mounting cost of social assistance could be considered a sound basis for this attitude.

There had been very little concern on the part of the public sector regarding the social and human aspects of financial assistance at home measures; these were considered the responsibility of the private sector and the necessity and scope of these measures were not clearly understood. After this impetus, it was natural that the State should consider that the role it could play in this field was one of rigid and strict control of the private sector's use of public funds. With only a few incidental exceptions, due to the training, earlier experience or personality of a very small number of officials, the public sector of financial assistance at home, in the new role that circumstances forced upon it, hardly ever ventured beyond the stage of exclusive financial control over social assistance. This fragmentary notion of functions which might have been much more varied, as shown by the experience of other provinces and other countries, resulted largely from unpreparedness, and the latter in turn prevented the Department of Family and Social Welfare from playing a more extensive and more constructive role. This Department naturally confined itself to developing the only functions which it beleived itself able to perform with relative success, that is to say, those related to budgetary control. It did so with all possible dispatch because it was suspected for a time that the private welfare sector was spending public funds without discrimination or restraint.

Paradoxically, in 1961 the Department of Family and Social Welfare became less intent on spending necessarily limited public funds as usefully as possible, than on arresting the increase in costs and if possible, reducing expenses. In the last analysis, it was concluded that the role of the State in the field of social assistance should be negative or restrictive. The concepts of public administration and budgetary control were even considered synonymous. A number of officials, who were aware of the Quebec Government's large financial obligations and the problem posed by any increase in expenditure, supposed they would enhance their reputation with Government authorities and show proof of their sense of duty by making the control more and more inflexible and narrow, and they even tended unconsciously to effect immediate economies even if these were to be nullified in the long run by higher expenses.

The will to control and to supervise, acceptable and desirable in itself, but odious and sterile when carried to the point it had reached when the Committee began its work, ultimately excluded from the actual objectives of the Department (but not from its official objectives as stated in the Act constituting the Department), nearly every initiative toward a systematic policy of social prevention and rehabilitation. Because such a policy would have entailed immediate expenses while the effects would not have been noticeable in a short time, it was in direct opposition to financial control, considered the ultimate goal of the social assistance administration. For all practical purposes, the work of prevention and rehabilitation was left to the private sector, although the

latter received no encouragement from the Department for its activities in this field.

Even measures adopted by the Department in recent years were primarily motivated by a concern to further develop the administrative instruments of financial control. When regional offices were established throughout the province as early as 1957, it was partly to speed up the procedure of decision, but also and above all, beginning in the spring of 1960, to keep closer supervision over welfare organizations. The same motive had influenced the setting up, in 1957, of the Social Assistance Services. When fixed, rigid rates of assistance were establihed in 1961, this decision was not so much prompted by a desire to be fair toward all classes of the population as to reduce the amount of assistance as much as possible and prevent the cost from increasing. When, in September 1961, the Social Allowances Commission was entrusted with the administration of allowances formerly administered by Social Assistance Services, the intention was not to give more rapid service to the population, but rather to gain closer control of the assistance payments. It was expected that the Social Allowances Commission, being more inflexible and more centralized, and where all the allowances were tightly categorized, was better able to perform the task than the Social Assistance Services. This illusion was all the more alluring because the number of categorized recipients had stabilized and was even decreasing by the fact that numerous cases had been transferred to unempoyment assistance. The Committee does not doubt the obvious necessity of controlling public funds; it merely gave a few examples to show the state of mind which dictated some of the Government's decisions.

For all the reasons mentioned in this chapter, it is easy to understand that the Departement of Family and Social Welfare only recently decided to hire professional personnel in welfare and in human sciences. As such personnel would have had altogether different views from those of the Department's employees concerning the nature, goals and methods of financial control, little need was felt for such workers, and their presence was even feared. Social workers, and even those persons who rightly or wrongly were thought to belong to the profession, were the object of this phobia. Such an attitude seems strange, to say the least. What would be said of the Department of Agriculture if it ever kept agronomists from its administrative structures ? And what would be the reaction if the Departement of Revenue were to stand aloof from chartered accountants and lawyers ?

At this point of the chapter, the Committee wishes to revert to a remark in the preface of this report. Its statement concerning the Family and Social Welfare Department's fairly narrow concept of its role in the field of social assistance is not meant as criticism of officials. The situation, or more accura-

tely the atmosphere of the Departement, is merely the inevitable result of fields of faction allocated to the private and public sectors was bound to create attitudes like those described. Surprising as it may seem, the Quebec government is totally inexperienced in the direct administration of financial assistance at home, as such; it always looked at it from the outside and became seriously concerned only because of its financial repercussions. The novice was suddenly confronted with problems beyond its understanding in some ot their aspects. The only instruments at hand to solve them were those the government had itself forged about 1957, to keep closer supervision over the system of financial assistance at home. It was only natural that they should be used as the principal technique of administration and that the Department did not immediately understand the positive role it would be required to play in co-operation with the private sector in the fields of social prevention and rehabilitation.

The Committee has deemed it advisable to write this chapter on the role of the State because the broad lines at least of the historical and sociological background were needed for a clear understanding of the present situation of social assistance administration in the Province. To the Committee's knowledge, it is the first time in Quebec that the development of social assistance has been studied from the perspective employed here. In this capacity, and without claiming in fallibility, the Committee sincerely beleives that some elements of this brief account will help to place this development in its true perspective. It also hopes that in future years the Department of Family and Social Welfare, as well as the private sector, will keep this document in mind to re-assess their reciprocal positions.

3 – **The Legislative Aspect**

If it is considered that the Quebec government had a very narrow conception of its role in the field of financial assistance at home, limiting its action to control of the budget, it was natural that it did not introduce, despite the social development in Quebec, a new spirit in the administration of such assistance. Major changes certainly occurred in the application of social laws in Quebec, but they nearly always concerned eligibility, permissible income or amounts to be paid. Briefly, here also the budgetary conception prevailed. Actually, Quebec's social assistance legislation is no longer consistent with the reality in which it operates.

a) *The concept of indigence*

In Quebec, the concept of indigence is out-of-date. There is still a general tendency to think of indigents as "destitute" whereas the needy per-

sons are more and more "economically weak persons". Moreover, amendments to the regulations have increased the number of persons to whom the term "indigent" applies. The indigents, in the traditional sense of the word, are in fact much fewer now than the economically weak. Social assistance in our time is generally considered as a system of aid to the latter rather than the last recourse of the indigents in the strict sense of the word. This development stems from an improvement in the standard of living in industrialized countries and from the wage earning system, whereby an individual or family may be in need without being necessarily deprived of everything. However, the provisions of the Public Charities Act do not take any account of the new situation, save for an exception to the general rule of absolute indigence, and it creates anachronistic attitudes resulting in misunderstandings concerning the scope of an act which now embodies a large number of miscellaneous programmes. One of the main objectives of the May 1960 regulations was to enlarge the field of application of legislation in itself restrictive and already behind the times. These changes did not aim at re-writing the Act in line with the new problems to which it would have to adapt itself to answer the needs of the community in a more adequate fashion.

It may be countered that the terminology used in the Act and its regulations was of little import if both the Act and the regulations extended eligibility for social assistance to persons actually in the group of the economically depressed. It is true that the terminology applies only to what it covers according to a context or by virtue of some jurisprudence. It cannot be denied, however, that the automatically restrictive character of the word "indigent" often suggests that the legislation is only by exception applicable to the economically weak.

Re-writing is inevitable in legislation of this kind, but it was only in part in this case. It would be wrong to contend that the Act was never amended, but the necessary changes were made with slowness and delays. This was notably the case in the domicile clause and the principle of responsibility of persons obligated by law to give support.

It had been obvious for many years that the legal domicile clause, contained in the Act of 1921, could no longer apply as such in the post-world War Quebec society. The geographic movement of the citizens had become such that this clause ran counter to a new social and demographic reality. Yet it was changed long after it was recognized as out-of-date. It should be mentioned that these amendments were accelerated by the virtual discontinuation of municipal participation in financial assistance at home. It might well be asked what would have happened to the domicile clause without this important administrative change.

The principle of responsibility by the persons obligated by law to support could have made sense and been relevant when Quebec families lived together, when they were numerous and geographically stable on farms or farm communities where everybody knew everybody else. Today, the Quebec family is largely urbanized and dispersed by the marriage of the children. It bears little resemblance to the family type which prevailed a generation or two ago. The interdependence of the members of a same family has decidedly not the same character, and the principle of family responsibility must necessarily take this new fact into account, although it should not be completely discarded.

There is a normal delay between legislation and the reality to which it should apply. However, when delay is unduly protracted, as is still the case with several provisions of the Public Charities Act, it becomes unacceptable. The legislation no longer corresponds to the needs and must be revised. It was for that precise reason that the Committee earlier emphasized the fundamental difference between the two possible meanings of the word "indigent" meaning "destitute" or "economically weak". The Act was worded in line with the first meaning, whereas the reality of present-day indigence stresses the intensity of the second.

b) *Categorization*

Like many other observers, the Committee noticed that the present social legislation and regulations tend to classify economically weak persons too conclusively, according to the immediate cause of their financial problem, and not according to other criteria. For instance, some persons are weak economically due to total disability, blindness, old age, temporary disability but for longer than twelve months, and temporary disability for less than twelve months.

Categories are necessary to some extent, and the problem does not arise from categorization as such, but from the spirit that animates it and from the way it is used. Until now categorization has been practised chiefly for administrative convenience and not with possible rehabilitation in mind. The category is based on the immediate cause of the recipient's present situation and not on assessement of his potential self-sufficiency. He is administratively established in a situation which should be modified at all costs, yet nothing indicates to the staff of the Department whether this or that case in a certain category is likely to make progress. It is true that a distinction is made between permanently disabled persons, persons disabled for twelve months or more, or temporarily disabled persons (less than twelve months). This distinction was not made with a view to eventual rehabilitation of the recipient, but because of the larger number of persons to whom disability allowances could be granted.

Two reasons explain the procedure of categorization which has existed for many years in the Quebec system of social assistance. As mentioned before, there is administrative convenience. The other reason is the influence on Quebec's regulations respecting financial assistance at home of the social allowances proposed by the Federal government and applied in collaboration with the provinces (disabled persons allowance, blind persons allowance, and old age assistance) ; these allowances had themselves been categorized at their starting point.

If the subject of social assistance categories is raised, it is not because categorization is bad in principle and should be discarded entirely. However, as conceived and applied at present, it leads to excessive rigidity and unrealistic stringency between groups who are thereby often labelled permanently. Consequently, it becomes difficult to incite some of these recipients to live by their own resources when a whole, vast administrative structure condemns them to permanent social deprivation but not trying to rehabilitate them on the one hand and by quasi-final categorization on the other hand. When a change is made from one category to the other, it is for reasons of classification and not because of a successful attempt to guide a person toward ultimate independence from public funds.

Categorization also leads to the formation of claimant pressure groups which give social laws an irreversible character. Another effect is the resultant "recruiting". The inauguration of a categorized allowance is attended with much publicity and this prompts would be recipients who rightly or wrongly think they answer to the definition of a category to avail themselves of its benefits or to attempt to achieve eligibility under the terms of the new category. In this connection, one need only mention the avalanche of application following the creation of the category providing for windows and spinsters aged 60 to 65, also the sweeping rise in the number of handicapped for 12 months or more — two large blocks cut off from the Public Assistance Act and forming two practically autonomous welfare programmes.

As in many other states, new recipients in Quebec are constantly swelling administrative records, but the Government has never attempted by systematic action (save in rare exceptions) to guide these persons living on public funds back to the road of independence. In all this, the regulations respecting financial assistance at home discount the fact that modern technology, medicine and the rapid development of society run counter to permanent categorization of individuals.

Categorization of individuals, as now practiced, is obviously contrary to any family policy in the field of social assistance. The Public Charities Act is certainly not instilled with a family orientation. As it has not been

thoroughly revised since 1921, the measures that it generated are so deeply tinged with individualism that the interest of the family as such is secondary. For instance, it is hardly normal that more than half the recipients of unemployment assistance are single persons. Moreover, the sums paid to these persons are too liberal by comparison with those paid to large families. This will be underlined in chapter VII.

For all those reasons, the techniques of categorization must necessarily be re-directed from a passive trend of administrative convenience to the more dynamic and more realistic goal of social rehabilitation. Not all recipients of social allowances can be rehabilitated, but their number is sufficiently large for the Government to take this action, if only for the sake of good financial administration and economy.

B – RECOMMENDATIONS

One outcome of the normal evolution of Quebec society was a considerable increase in government functions in the field of social assistance. These functions had not been foreseen or wanted, nor were they accepted in their profound significance.

RECOMMENDATION 6

The Quebec Government should acknowledge in theory and in practice an increasingly dynamic and creative role in social security matters and especially in the matter of financial assistance at home; it should therefore accept in a positive and realistic manner all consequences resulting from this necessary role.

This recommendation means that the Quebec social legislation should adopt a more realistic attitude in the application of the Public Charities Act.

Social security, including assistance at home, rests on the strict principle of distributive justice and implies the state's right to legislate in welfare matters; at the same time, it is the state's duty to aid its needy citizens. Further, and as a corollary of its privileges and functions, the State must recognize that its expenditures in matters of social security are neither accidental nor temporary. They are a permanent fact. It follows that the state is the principal and most important distributor of assistance. Its right to this leading role can no longer be challenged seriously.

This factual situation thrusts upon the state a positive role in the field of social security. Whether or not it is wanted, this role must necessarily be accepted. The state cannot disclaim its obligation; it must perforce fall into step and display flexibility as well as ingenuity in the way it discharges its new duties.

Recommendation 7

The Quebec Government should recognize explicitly, in its social legislation as well as in the regulations governing its application, the principle according to which any individual in need is entitled to assistance from the state, whatever the immediate or remote cause of this need may be.

Explicit acknowledgement of this right would denote recognition by the Quebec government of the principle it accepted implicitly when called by circumstances to play a role in social assistance, particularly in unemployment assistance. Admission of this right would reject the latent and inadmissible concept of public charity which may often actuate the State when it prepares social policies, and in its place would be injected the principle of social justice, a more accurate proposition and much more consistent with the facts. Application of this principle would eliminate any danger of arbitrary action, ever a possibility as long as it is supposed that the principle of charity can be satisfied by legislation and regulations. The state need not worry about being charitable, but it has the duty to be fair. It is important therefore that the right of the citizen to assistance when in need should be clearly recognized.

At the present time, the implicit respect of this right is no longer sufficient, given the growing scope of financial assistance at home in recent years and extension of this assistance to social groups other than "indigents", this word being used in its most restricted sense. In fact, as long as "indigents" were involved, it was easy to discover them and grant them the necessary assistance, whether it proceeded from the public or from the private sector.

Nowadays, the old concept of indigence is out of date, because it is opposed by the facts. Actually, if all indigents are in need, all who are in need are not necessarily "indigents", that is to say, destitute and stripped of all resources. It is important, therefore, to determine who in reality is entitled to assistance. A line of division or demarcation is necessary. Otherwise, arbitrary decisions are the rule and there is danger of refusing assistance

to economically weak citizens who really need it, or of granting it to persons who could quite well extricate themselves from their difficulties.

The resources at the disposal of needy persons are not necessarily a remedy for their social ills, because they are not always sufficient to assure the minimum standard of living considered humanely acceptable by society in general. Before the present era, this minimum standard consisted of a sound roof, a few articles of clothing sufficient to prevent freezing and enough food to keep body and soul together. This is no longer the case. What is considered the minimum standard of living consists in suitable lodgings, proper clothing, a diet that promotes physical growth and good health, adequate medical services and a degree of education that will enable the citizen to earn an honest living. The individual would normally be in a position to provide these vital necessities through his own endeavours. If he cannot, for one reason or another, it is up to society, not to give them to him directly except in some cases, but to help him to obtain them.

One of the most frequent obstacles to obtaining this minimum standard of living is the insufficiency or the absence of financial resources. It was formerly believed that when a person was poor, it was his own fault. It is now better understood that poverty is often due to economic or social factors beyond the control of the individual. Consequently, it is recognized that if a person is deprived of financial resources, it is in various degrees the fault of society as well as his own. For instance, it may well happen that an individual will find himself in a situation from which he cannot extricate himself by his own efforts. In such cases, it is up to society to help him; the citizen has the right to such ad, because he belongs to this society and he can contribute to its progress in proportion to his means. On the other hand, a lack of interest in his plight may in some circumstances create still more serious problems which will have to be resolved sooner or later at a much higher cost to the community. Moreover, the principle of the citizen's dignity in a democracy is motive enough for society to accept its responsibility; all modern countries accept group responsibility for their members.

In the field of financial assistance, only the State possesses the means of action commensurate with the work to be done. It is not a matter that can be left entirely to private initiative. At least not in Quebec, where for a variety of reasons the private sector cannot assume this enormous responsibility.

The individual, as citizen and as member of the community, is entitled to financial assistance from the State if he himself or his family is in need. To be blind to such a principle leads inevitably to unreality. The fact that

it is not openly explicit, when it is known that it exists, is almost tantamount to depriving the citizen of a fundamental right.

How far should this right be extended in practice? The question is not easily answered because it is impossible to arrive at an exact and objective assessment of the socially acceptable minimum standard of living. The latter does not give the same degree of individual satisfaction to every citizen.

Moreover, it changes as society progresses. It is essential that legislation should rule on merit. A certain degree of discretionary power will necessarily be retained, but it shoud be reduced to a minimum. It would be largely decimated by the acceptance of the principle of the right to assistance. In this way, it would be known who should be assisted, even if the schedule of rates were still unknown.

The schedule of rates should be expressed in terms of money, approximately equivalent to the cost of the minimum standard of living, after taking inventory of the resources already available to the individual. This minimum standard of living, varying with each person according to his geographic situation and his family obligations, should theoretically be calculated for each individual case. As this may be difficult from the administrative standpoint, general criteria should be established, but they should be sufficiently flexible to prevent the systematic creation of injustice. The Committee will return to this problem after it has studied the methods of dispensing assistance in chapter VII. It will be enough for now to indicate the principles underlying the recommendations.

Recommendation 8

Financial assistance at home should enable an individual (or a family), momentarily of definitely deprived of regular means of subsistence, to nevertheless meet essential needs, in a constant and autonomous manner, without attaint to human dignity, without discrimination based on nationality, race or creed.

Any system of assistance should be developed in the light of its financial and social implications, that is, with due regard to the repercussions on the government's budget and the effects on the standard of living of families and individuals in need and on the unity of the family group. Furthermore, the system of financial assistance at home should be considered as an investment of sorts in that it must prevent unfortunate human situation and prevent

family and personal problems from worsening beyond recall; on the other hand, it must foster the return to a normal life of those who were obliged to request assistance.

Recommendation 9

The Public Charities Act should be repealed and replaced by a new General Social Assistance Act.

As stated in the early part of this chapter, the Public Charities Act apparently drew much of its inspiration from the concern of former legislators to restrict the State's role in the field of social security. Subsequently, this measure moved steadily away from the reality of its initial conception and also from the changing situation of indigence. Its title even has a pejorative connotation. The entire history of the Act is marked by the practice of giving discretionary powers to the Bureau of Public Charities, under the jurisdiction of the Minister and to the municipalities. In sum, it was necessary to apply these powers in order to adapt the Act more or less effectively to the new circumstances. Successive amendments to the Act have altered it almost beyond recognition, to the point that any further addition would merely make it more complex and incoherent.

Recommendation 10

The new General Social Assistance Act should form an integrated whole adapted to present and future requirements of welfare; to accomplish this it should absorb all other similar social legislation.

This new legislation would become the one and only Act to provide for financial assistance at home. Therefore, the other measures at present administered by the Social Allowances Commission, namely the Act concerning Needy Mothers' Assistance, the Act concerning assistance to persons between 65 and 70 years of age, the Act concerning Blind Persons Allowances, and the Act concerning Disabled Persons Allowances should be repealed. The recipient persons or families would henceforth fall within the new legislation.

It would then be possible to administer a coherent program of financial

assistance at home, avoiding the formation of compartments, overlappings, complications and needless delays. Uniform application of the regulations could at last be achieved.

The legislation pertaining to Needy Mothers is exclusively within provincial control, but the other categorized allowances are included in joint programmes largely under Federal control. This however would not preclude the carrying out of the two precious recommendations, as shown by the experience of other provinces.

The Committee believes that the introduction of these various program within a single comprehensive Act — perhaps eventually within an actual social code — should be effected gradually, to avoid creating needless panic in the public and disrupting the Department's administrative machinery.

Recommendation 11

Before the new General Social Assistance Act incorporates all assistance payments, a period of readjustment should be allowed for; allowances previously granted should continue for a while to be paid in their present form.

It is a foregone conclusion that the current administration of financial assistance at home will need a period of adjustment before the new General Act becomes effective. At first, this new General Act should apply only to new cases, or only to a portion of new cases, leaving the others under the present system. This situation could in principle continue until the cases already granted represent only a small number of the total assistance allowances. In fact, the group of categorized allowances will necessarily diminish with time, given the normal turnover in the number of recipients and the absence of new ones. This will be particularly the case with old age assistance.

Recommendation 12

The New General Social Assistance Act should exclude all elements alien to financial assistance at home.

When the new General Social Assistance Act is formulated, it is important that certain elements which are still contained in the present Public Charities Act and which are ambiguous be eliminated. This Committee wishes to draw particular attention to the articles still dealing with hos-

pitalization, child welfare and placement of elderly persons in institutions. Certain other articles of the Public Charities Act do not seem to correspond either, at least as a whole, to the present practice resulting from official regulations. These anomalies should be made to disappear. For example, it is sufficient to mention the role attributed to courts of various instances, the terms and conditions of refunds of amounts paid for assistance, the formalities of admission to assistance and the prerogatives of the municipalities.

Recommendation 13

The Quebec Government should promulgate distinct and unified legislation respecting child welfare as well as the admission of the aged and other adults into institutions.

The inauguration of the new General Social Assistance Act would be a good time to consolidate in a single legislative and administrative programme all the measures pertaining to child welfare and under the authority of the Department. This action would have the added advantage of making possible to elaboration of norms specific to this field and outside the influence of those governing financial assistance at home. It will be of utmost importance, however, that there should be close communication between the services concerned with financial assistance at home and the placing of children, to ensure that measures adopted under one or the other programme do not run counter to the prime objective of the Department, the fulfillment of family life.

Welfare measures for aged persons and other adults, particularly those pertaining to their placement in establishments for special care, should form the subject of distinct programmes on the legislative and on the administrative levels. Because of the added importance of this sector in years to come, special provisions for these persons are a necessity.

Recommendation 14

The Quebec Government should pursue and intensify its efforts in order to obtain the withdrawal of the Federal Government from joint social assistance program and have the Federal Government compensate, through extension of taxation fields, the Province of Quebec's increased expenses arising therefrom.

The recommended General Act will enable Quebec to assert its right to conceive and carry out the social welfare programme of its choice. Section 92 of the British North America Act confers on the provinces the right to pass their own social security legislation. All the provinces, Quebec included, have long played a passive role in this field, and have been satisfied to follow the lead of the Federal government by agreeing to joint programmes. Too often, their sole concern was centered on recuperationg sums reverting to them. In a word, the social legislation of Quebec should be the product of its own thinking instead of a meeting point of several different statutes more or less inter-related and inspired by a context quite different from that of Quebec.

Recommendation 15

The Quebec Government, faced with its responsibilities, should direct its social action towards individual and collective prevention and express this in its legislation.

Financial assistance at home should draw inspiration from and be accompanied by earnest and systematic preventive action. This objective is, in substance, the protection of individuals, of families and groups against economic and social failures. Prevention must be viewed here as a concerted action designed to create and to maintain an economic and social climate conducive to the normal satisfaction of essential needs and also to normal and productive behaviour as well as to the promotion of stable and harmonious human relationships.

This recommendation presupposes the application of a comprehensive economic and social policy. It also assumes that collectives efforts will be made to protect certain groups of society against a dependence whose consequences would be heavier expenditure on the one hand and a state of indigence on the other. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, this task should be shared by the different departments of the Government, because it involves the development of natural resources, the improvement of health and the raising of educational standards.

The Department of Family and Social Welfare should urge and develop a policy to help individuals and families to overcome situations likely to worsen and should promote means of action within its powers. In this connection, further benefit would be derived from preventive measures designed to reduce the possible breakdown of individuals and families.

Recommendation 16

The Quebec Government should furthermore complete its preventive social action by a constantly renewed concern, explicitely recognized in its social legislation, for individual and community rehabilitation.

Prevention cannot be separated from rehabilitation. These goals are essential to a dynamic social policy. Rehabilitation stems from concerted efforts to reinstate individuals and families in acceptable living conditions to cope with their individual and family responsibilities and become self-sufficient. From all standpoints, this objective is advantageous.

Rehabilitation efforts are often successful although not generally brought to light. The American press recently made public the astonishing number of families who has been set back on their own feet after having been supported for years from the public funds of St. Paul, Minnesota. Besides the considerable savings involved, this action underlined the possibility of making groups and individuals self-sufficient and economically free and independant. This endeavour is not the only one, however. Conscious of the ever-increasing cost of social assistance, a large number of American states initiated projects aimed at restoring family life and fostering the return to work of thousands. These attemps were not unproductive and resulted in real savings for society and a better balanced and more normal existence for a large number of assisted persons.

Amendments to the American social security legislation were passed in 1962 to promote additional measures of prevention and rehabilitation. To emphasize the meaning of this new orientation the "Bureau of Public Assistance" was re-named the "Bureau of Family Services". Prior to this decision of the American government, Quebec had already set up the Department of Family and Social Welfare.

Recommendation 17

The Quebec Government, and especially the Department of Family and Social Welfare, should undertake pilot-projects centered on well defined social problems.

Thanks to these pilot-projects, it would be easy to develop programmes and methods aimed not only at lightening the economic burden of indigence,

but at giving the citizens further cause to become self-sufficient in a society where respect for the individual is of the highest value. Prevention and rehabilitation are to indigence what health and convalescence are to sickness.

The mere payment of assistance may in some cases deaden the recipients' initiative if it is not accompanied by rehabilitation efforts. In such cases, assistance often produces social dependence which proves all the more costly for society as a whole as it is transmitted from generation to generation and infects entire groups of human beings. The only way the State can make genuine savings in social assistance is to combine its function in financial assistance with a prior concern in the field of prevention and rehabilitation. It will have the co-operation of the private sector in this task.

Recommendation 18

The Department of Family and Social Welfare should financially assist welfare organizations devoted to social preventive and rehabilitation measures.

This recommendation is inspired by suggestions that the State should be assigned a positive and dynamic function in the field of social work. It is not always possible or necessarily desirable that the government should take direct action in this role. It must however ascertain that the task is done, because it would be unrealistic to limit responsibility in social welfare strictly to the payment of assistance. If this were done indefinitely, (it is now common practice), factors of dependence and social disruption would be generated, leading to a steady and uncontrollable increase of expenditure for financial assistance.

Several welfare organizations, with or without the administration of financial assistance at home, have already in varying degrees made some headway in prevention and rehabilitation work. However, these agencies can do effective work only if they receive the necessary aid. Generally speaking, the diocesan Federations of social agencies are their largest contributors of funds. Because of their effectiveness, the Quebec Government should encourage the expansion of these societies and the extension of services to recipients of financial assistance. The State would then be spared the necessity of setting up numerous new services, and greater social use of existing resources would result.

Of course, the Provincial Government would not be required to assume the entire financing of welfare organizations. The latter do not wish it and they would even refuse. However, the Government could provide a percentage of the money paid to them by the diocesan Federation of Social Agencies.

This would not interfere with the local objective; indeed, it would encourage it. The Government could also work out subsidy standards which would take strict account of special situations and of the tasks to be accomplished.

It is essential that those sums should be granted for very definite purposes directly related to the expressed objectives. The grant would tend to reduce proportionately immediately or in future, the appropriations for financial assistance.

Chapter V

THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES

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In the previous chapters, the Committee underlined the spirit in which social assistance measures had developed in Quebec. Serious shortcomings were mentioned : lack of cohesion in Government policies, compartmented social measures, misunderstanding of the function of the State, the distance between the social problems and the spirit of the legislation aiming to correct them.

As could be expected, these defects are reflected in the administrative structure of the Department; after all, the measures had been conceived to solve immediate problems rather than to formulate a logical harmonious whole. Under pressure to find quick solutions to the problems at hand, the administration had very little time to study and ponder. Improvisations all too often had to suffice.

It must be acknowledged that events unfolded at a hurried pace, especially after the signature of the Federal-Provincial agreement on unemployment assistance. On the political scene, it should be mentioned that four Premiers successively held the reins of government. In the Department itself, three ministers succeeded each other in barely two years. The cancellation, in May 1960, of the municipal contribution to financial assistance at home wiped out an administrative structure on which the Department had relied for the reorganization of the distribution system of financial assistance.

Lastly, the energetic moves to check the mounting cost of unemployment assistance, particularly from May 1960 to June 1961, led to many significant administrative changes, including the transfer to the Social Allowances Commission of the financial management of a substantial portion of the Public Charities Act.

A – **FINDINGS**

1 – **Administrative Divisions**

In Chapter III, the Committee explained the anomalies caused by forming compartments not only interdepartmentally, but also within the Department

of Family and Social Welfare. Concrete instances have already been mentioned in this connection.

The Committee hardly understands why the social Allowances Commission shares with the Social Assistance Services the administration of a same part of the Public Charities Act. Until 1960, the Commission administered, under a mass of distinct statutes derived from Federal-Provincial agreements, a group of categorical allowances : old age assistance allowances, blind and disabled persons allowances. It also administered the Needy Mothers Assistance Act according to regulations similar to those governing the allowances mentioned above. This system was completely changed in 1960. The Commission was given the administration of one section of public assistance when it was assigned responsibility for the group of persons unemployable for twelve months or more, commonly called "Category D".

A short while later, it was entrusted with another sector of public assistance, pertaining to widows and spinsters aged 60 to 65 years, called "Category F". Then, in 1951, the entire field of supplements to allowances paid by the Commission was turned over to the latter; this seemed logical. Although all financial assistance at home had been officially entrusted to the Commission by Order in Council number 1665 of July 27, 1961, the Social Assistance Services continued the administration of allowances to persons unemployable for less than twelve months and to employable persons.

The Committee realized the drawbacks of this situation from its contacts with welfare organizations, from the perusal of directives from the miscellaneous services and from talks with officials of the Department. The Committee found that interoffice directives or the use of the staff were often unilateral in that they were not communicated from one branch to another at the time they were formulated or even when they were applied. For the same family, there may be a file at the Social Allowances Commission and with the Social Assistance Services. Sometimes also the registration forms of the two organizations were different and were often prepared without prior consultation. No central card-index system exists.

What is more serious is that the separation of financial assistance at home into two very distinct groups of allowances involved different conceptions in the field of financial assistance.

The result has been variations in the eligibility requirements and in the amounts allowed for types of allowances otherwise similar (for example, allowance "D" and allowances for unemployable persons). Some of these variations may be warranted, but many others are altogether artificial and even accidental. For instance, the Social Allowances Commission includes

medical expenses in computing the indigent's essential needs, whereas the Social Assistance Services refuse to do so. It is certainly necessary, as was probably the intent, to distinguish between short-term and long-term cases. But in dealing with medical expenses, this distinction cannot be applied without shades of difference, as will be seen in Chapters VII and VIII of this report.

The Committee believes this situation may lead to confusion and may needlessly encumber administrative procedures. Fragmentation also prevents the Department from making an accurate assessment of the problems and needs of needy persons and families.

A similar fragmentation is to be found concerning child welfare. In fact, within the Department, the Youth Protection Services oversee the placingout of children believed to be in situations of moral or physical danger, in accordance with the provisions of the Youth Protection Act. To this end, they resort to the institutions and to the organizations under the authority of the Public Charities Act. Yet the Social Assistance Services have under their jurisdiction a Childrens' Service of their own, responsible for children placed under the Public Charities Act. It would not appear that these two services confer frequently in relation to policy making. It should also be pointed out that the children placed are often the offspring of families who are receiving assistance either rom the Social Allowances Commission or from welfare organizations under the jurisdiction of the Social Assistance Services. Such an administrative structure is lopsided and bound to produce incoherent direction and dissipation of efforts.

2 – Strongly Centralized Administration

The Committee also found that two principal agencies responsible for the administration of social assistance at home, that is, the Social Allowances Commission and the Social Assistance Services, were planned to operate according to structures strongly centralized in Quebec City.

All the decisions pertaining to legislative measures administered directly by the Commission are made by the Quebec office personnel. The few regional welfare offices of the Commission, in so far as they concern allowances paid by the Commission, excluding pay offices, are in reality merely centres of information for the public and stopping places for the inspectors. No records are kept and the staff has no discretionary power in the granting of allowances. Furthermore, the duties of the inspectors, who are scattered throughout the province, are limited to completing the forms to be used by Head Office in deciding eligibility to assistance and the amount of the allowance to be paid.

The Social Assistance Services had at the outset indicated a wish for

decentralization, with the result that an office was opened in Montreal in 1957. This office had the authority to approve applications transmitted by welfare organizations in the west of the Province, but its territorial jurisdiction has never been absolutely defined. It was only three years later, in 1960, that a similar office was opened in Quebec City. The concept of regional welfare office passed through several phases between that date and the fall of 1961. It was first of all decided, by Order in Council, to set up regional welfare offices, subsidiaries of the Social Assistance Services, in each diocese, to work in co-operation with the diocesan agencies on the same geographic basis. These offices were to have sufficient authority to ensure the rapid and satisfactory settlement of assistance claims. They were also supposed to keep an up-to-date inventory of all the community resources available for the implementation of a satisfactory welfare policy. They were also to form the nucleus of a community organization designed to answer the needs of each area and encourage various enterprises.

But this role assigned to regional welfare offices was entirely changed by the application of the September 1961 regulations, which aimed at centralizing the administration of financial assistance at home, in Quebec. Henceforth, under the aegis of the Social Allowances Commission, it was planned to set up much smaller offices, whose sole purpose whould be to supply assistance forms and the necessary information to the public. However, in response to pressures from senior executive and welfare organizations, the function of the regional welfare offices was restored and, from December 1961, a number of senior clerks were appointed.

This wrangling between opposite concepts resulted in vacillations which are still apparent. The welfare organizations and the Department are still uncertain concerning the definite functions and duties of the regional welfare offices. To add to the confusion, their personnel is officially hired by the Social Allowances Commission, but trained and supervised by the Social Assistance Services !

This strong centralization in Quebec was not calculated to familiarize the Department with the problems and situations prevailing in the different areas of the province nor to encourage consultation with social agencies in these regions; instead, it generated systematic distrust of work performed outside the city of Quebec. Because it was impossible to judge on the spot, the astounding rise in assistance cases was ascribed to the irresponsibility of welfare organizations or to abuses. Had centralization been less thorough, the Department whould have been more conversant with social problems and would not have been led to form hasty judgments.

3 – Distant Administration

Distance also led the Department to treat the needy as well as the welfare organizations in an impersonal fashion.

Irrespective of the environment and special circumstances of indigents, the Social Allowances Commission follows a uniform method in determining the amount of assistance payments. The employees of the Commission work in Quebec, they are far from the areas where the persons assisted live and they have only an imperfect idea of their socio-economic situation. Although the Commission has inspectors in the four corners of the Province, the psychological distance between the applicants and the Quebec Government employees remains the same.

The situation is practically the same with the Social Assistance Services. There is a tendency to study problems as they appear from an examination of the monthly accounts forwarded by the paying agencies instead ,of approaching these problems realistically by calling on them. It is considered sufficient to send instructions by circular letter to all the welfare organizations. This procedure has frequently resulted in misunderstanding and a wrong application of the directives. It is quite normal that a circular letter to various agencies operating in very diversified environments should not be correctly interpreted by each one. This is particularly true in the field of welfare, where administrative measures must take into account the character of the population served and must facilitate the development of preventive and remedial services.

4 – Ill-defined Delegation of Powers

The Committee found the position of the Social Allowances Commission with respect to the other divisions of the Department somewhat confused. Even if the Acts specify that the President of the Commission comes under the jurisdiction of the Minister, the official connection between the President and the Deputy Minister is not clearly defined. A large section of the Public Charities Act administration is under the authority of the Commission, and the Committee believes that this lack of precision is not conducive to good administration and tends to bring discord or at least misunderstandings between these two senior officials. A situation of this kind may have unfortunate repercussions in the entire Department and produce partial paralysis of the administration. It does not create a good climate for the requisite communication between the Social Allowances Commission and the different services under the direct authority of the Deputy Minister, such as the Social Assistance Services, the Youth Protection Services and the Department's Secretariat.

In addition to the problem created by the relative autonomy of the Social Allowances Commission, the Committee noted at the intermediate level that the officials in charge of the different administrative branches had insufficient authority to do their work efficiently. Because of this inadequate delegation of powers, the officials concerned are often assigned routine tasks and must perforce neglect important duties in their field, such as programming, organization and general supervision of operations.

Satisfactory organization charts of the Department were unavailable. The charts examined looked like rough drafts which had been prepared as an afterthought and did not follow a general plan for setting up an organization capable of achieving the disired results.

So much confusion and uncertainty at various levels clearly indicate suspicion with regard to the delegation of powers and the definition of responsibilities. For instance, it is difficult to make the essential distinction between the functions of administration and operations. Such a distinction would appear fundamental, given the considerable development of the Departmet of Family and Social Welfare in recent years. In this connection, the Committee quotes two paragraphs from the Glassco Commission — Report on Government Management :

> The size and complexity of departments also create a growing need to distinguish between the actual conduct of operations and the task of departmental administration. The former requires skill in special operating techniques, the latter in the more generalized functions of management. To confuse the two functions within a department may be as damaging as to confuse the respective functions of departmental management and central directing agencies.
>
> This distinction between administration and operations is of particular importance to organization. Administration is concerned with functions which must be performtd at the directing centre of each department, regardless of its size, its programme responsibilities, or the geographic dispersion of its activities. The organization of operations, on the other hand, must be devised with precisely these considerations in mind. Unless operations are dispersed and operating responsibility delegated, administrators may be diverted from their essential tasks by the intrusion of operational questions. Where operations involve dealings with the general public, dispersion and delegation will make departments most responsive to public needs. (1)

5 – **Wavering Supervision**

In view of the large sums appropriated for welfare, it is quite obvious that the Government has the duty to ascertain whether the money has been

(1) *Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization*, Vol. 1, Management of the Public Service, page 59, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1962.

spent in accordance with the regulations. The Committee believes that the Department of Family and Social Welfare is primarily responsible for the sound administration of its budget and should implement adequate methods of supervision.

Until recent years, the Quebec Government left decisions of assistance eligibility largely to the municipalities and to the courts. There was no section within the Health Department to supervise the distribution of allowances. It would indeed appear that the private and municipal welfare organizations as well as the institutions were trusted to discharge this duty.

The Department of Family and Social Welfare has now inherited the administration of most of the social welfare program, but nowhere in the Department has the Committee found positive machinery of supervision; quite the contrary; until now, financial control has been viewed in a strictly negative fashion, as mentioned in the previous chapter, in that it was mainly directed to the correction of possible abuses and the detection of fraud. The modern methods of control, consisting in directing and providing guidance to paying agencies, have apparently not been applied.

When unemployment assistance is paid by agencies outside the Provincial administration, the methods of checking files on needy families or individuals appear incoherent and leading to considerable waste of energy. To illustrate to what degree this kind of negative control can be niggling, the successive phases of checking an assistance record will be outlined :

1st check – The application, prepared by a social worker or welfare officer, is first verified by his group leader at the welfare organization level. When this organization is a diocesan social agency, a recommendation is generally required from the municipality wherein the applicant resides.

2nd check – A copy of the application is forwarded to the regional welfare office and there verified.

3rd check – Another copy is forwarded to the Social Assistance Services in Quebec. The application is verified carefully and granted, modified or rejected, wheter or not it has been approved by the regional welfare office. Marginal cases are even referred to the Family and Home Assistance Service for further verification.

4th check – Monthly accounts (of which five copies are made) submitted to the Department by the Welfare organizations are verified and further reference is made to the indigent's file. Occasionally, previous decisions are reconsidered.

5th check – Subsequently, a mobile unit attached to the Social Assistance Services calls on all the welfare organizations on behalf of the Provincial Auditor and verifies in detail every document of the indigent's file. It is to be noted that these cases had already been approved both by the regional welfare office and by the Social Assistance Services.

6th check – Then the accountants of the Auditor's office carry out a spot check of accounts and files of certain agencies.

Over and above this, the municipalities as well as the private agencies have their books audited once a year by independent public auditors. It may be observed that anxiety to protect public funds, while commandable in itself, becomes exagerated and costly when carried to such lengths.

The regional welfare offices which pay unemployment allowance are likewise submitted to a process of auditing and supervision, but the method is different from that used with welfare organizations. Audits are not so numerous but the delays resulting from the fact that each case must be submitted to the Commission's Quebec office before payment is made risk compromising one of the fundamental purposes of regional welfare offices, that of speeding up assistance to the needy.

6 – Elementary State of Research

The Department possesses an embryonic research and documentation service. However, the duties of this service and the status of its staff are not clearly defined. It has been used occasionally and sporadically to make very superficial studies of special problems, with possibly one exception – a survey in the Gaspe and St-Maurice districts, jointly with the Department of Industry and Commerce. It is a case of the exception proving the rule.

During its survey, the Committee discovered, after a number of distressing experiences, that there was an almost total absence of accurate information in the Department. The upshot is that date is very incomplete and submitted in general terms with alarming delays. Evidence of this sort cannot be relied upon

to reveal the true nature of certain problems, like that of the mounting cost of assistance. No date seems to exist concerning the nature of the people assisted by the Department, the causes and effects of poverty and the potentialities of social rehabilitation. In their present state, the statistics compiled in the Department can furnish no accurate or speedy information to the Deputy Minister concerning the present situation. The only data collected at present is the cost of assistance according to purely artificial divisions, and this sheds very little light on the problem of social assistance. Thus, the distinction between employable and unemployable persons, apparently the pivot of all the Department's statistics, is far from giving a true picture of the real situation of individuals and families who live on the budget of the Family and Social Welfare Department.

Measures as costly as unemployment assistance and decisions as fraught with consequences as repeal of municipal contributions to public assistance were implemented before the Provincial administration had any idea, for want of research and for various other reasons, of the financial burden and the administrative complications it would involve. The Committee was unable to locate the financial forecasts prior to the adoption of these new measures or decisions, not because the information was withheld, but simply because no such figures existed.

As in many other instances in this report, there is no intention to place the blame on anyone. The Committee merely notes a matter of fact attributable in large part to the narrow conception of welfare in Quebec and to the morbid fear in former administrations of research workers in economic and social sciences.

7 – Faulty Administrative Standards

The Committee also noted the lack of administrative standards to orient the action of the Department. This shortcoming was noticeable as much at the upper levels as at the intermediate levels, and it produced a constant teetering between the fear of higher assistance budgets and the use of a certain amount of discretionary power (sometimes too complaisant). It is true that, lacking exact standards, some officials of the Department were not always in a position to give adequate justification for their decisions and to support them.

The report reverts to Chapter VII concerning the question of administrative standards, notably those which should govern the administration of financial assistance.

8 – Lack of Qualified Personnel

In view of the tremendous increase in the programme and budget of the Department of Family and Social Welfare and also in view of the new tasks which will eventually be assigned to it for the rehabilitation of the population receiving assistance, the Committee gained the impression that the actual personnel of the Department is not generally sufficiently qualified to carry out the duties which will henceforth be assigned to them. There is not a sufficient number of specialized personnel. It appears that quality was sacrificed to quantity and that specialists were systematically pushed aside. Furthermore, the present personnel were able to receive in the Department only elementary and often fragmentary training, with the exception of the Socio-pedagogic Centres attached to the Youth Protection Services. This situation is unfortunate because a more appropriate training would have allowed them to fully understand the objectives of the Department.

B – RECOMMENDATIONS

In Chapter IV, the Committee recommended (recommendations 9 and 10) that the Public Charities Act and the various acts regarding different categories of allowance be replaced by one General Social Assistance Act. This will therefore require a complete modification of the administrative structures of the Department. These must be adapted to the role that the Quebec Government and the Department of Family and Social Welfare in particular will be called upon to play in the social assistance field.

Recommendation 19

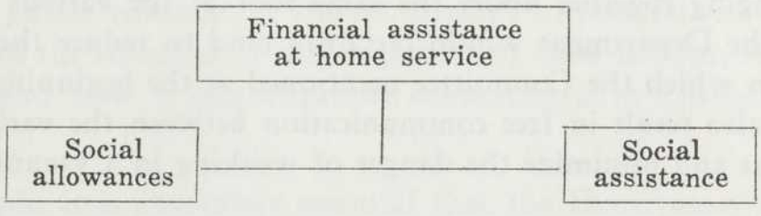
All the Department's financial assistance services should be structured anew by elimination of the partitioning which exists at present between the Social Allowances Commission and the Social Assistance Services, as well as of the duplication proceeding therefrom. The whole service henceforth responsible for financial assistance should come under the complete jurisdiction of the Deputy Minister.

In spite of the great services rendered in the past by the Commission, and the Committee is the first to recognize this fact, the distinction between it and the rest of the Department is not justified at a time where it is important that said Department orient financial assistance toward the family rather than toward the individual and directed toward prevention and reabilitation; the Commission, in its present form and in its present state of mind, appears ill prepared to pursue these objectives. Since a reform of the Commission in this direction

would entail an almost complete reorganization through the merger of many of its services and the creation of new ones, and as there is, on the other hand, no valid reason to retain within this rigid organization the compartmentalization of the administration of such varied allowances as old-age assistance and assistance to needy mothers, it would be preferable to regroup the whole administration of financial assistance allowances according to a new concept that would take into account their diversity, their probable duration, the interdependence of social problems and the necessity of centering financial assistance on the family and not on the individual while at the same time mobilizing all the family resources.

The Committee cannot see why it is necessary to have a semi-autonomous Commission. That measure might have been valid at the time of its formation when it was encased inside a structure (Department of Labour) where financial assistance seemed extraneous to the dominant concerns of this structure. Today, the situation is completely different; the Department of Family and Social Welfare must coherently and under a single direction muster all its resources toward the realization of a policy which is really directed toward the family and not the individual. Furthermore, this integration would allow the Government to clarify its policy and to supervise its application more closely. The Federal laws which administer the shareable social allowances do not require the presence of a Commission but only of an officer in charge of the supervision of the administration of these allowances.

It will be some time before the Federal Government withdraws from the joint plans relative to the different categorized allowances. This implies that some of these allowances will continue to be paid as such for some time to come. Here is how the different allowances might be administered at the beginning, within a single financial assistance service. This service would come under the responsibility of the Deputy Minister as are, as a matter of fact, all the other services of the Department of Family and Social Welfare :



a) Old-age assistance allowances
b) Disabled Persons allowances
c) Blind Persons allowances
d) Allowances to widows or unmarried women aged from 60 to 65 years.

a) Assistance to needy mothers
b) All other social assistance at home.

It will therefore be seen that the so-called "permanent" allowances are separate from those of a different nature. Whatever decisions the Government may arrive at on the score of fusing together the various social assistance acts, all financial assistance coming henceforth under one single authority, it will be relatively easy to make any further changes which are deemed advisable at a later date without radically changing the recommended setup.

What is more, even a general social assistance Act does not necessarily exclude all categorization providing that the Act be written according to the spirit indicated in Chapter IV.

The suggested changes should be made gradually in order not to prejudice the beneficiaries. As a fiirst step, the Social Allowances Commission and the Social Assistance Services should be brought under the same authority, that of the Deputy Minister. It would involve, actually, uniting under one roof all the financial assistance services of the Department of Family and Social Welfare. As a second step, all common services, such as the medical service, central filing, legal service, etc., should be grouped together.

The reader has probably noticed that the "D" allowances (temporary disability) and the schooling allowances were omitted from the proceding outline. The Committee in fact is of the opinion that the "D" allowance should not be continued as such because it tends to catalogue, for practical purposes, the beneficiary as unemployable at too early a date and to render more difficult all attempts at rehabilitation where a particular subject is concerned. As for schooling allowances, the Committee believes that these should come under the Department of Youth because these allowances are more of the nature of an aid to education rather than a form of social assistance.

Recommendation 20

All the Department's administrative structures should be grouped within a same building.

The bringing together under the same roof of the various administrative structures of the Department would certainly tend to reduce the partition and the duplication which the Committee mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. It would also result in free communication between the various services of the Department and minimize the danger of working in a vacuum.

Recommendation 21

If it is essential to merge the financial assistance services and to group all the Department's administrative structures under the same roof, some of its activities should nevertheless be decentralized by furthering the establisment of a regional welfare office network.

The deconcentration process has already begun and should be continued. It is unthinkable that the administration of financial assistance at home should be concentrated entirely in Quebec city. The Committee makes a clear distinction between decentralization and deconcentration. Both terms imply a delegation of authority. In the case of decentralization, the transfer of authority is carried out between two relatively autonomous administrative levels. Thus, there would be decentralization if the Government of Canada gave over to the Provinces certain new spheres of economic or social activity. On the other hand, deconcentration means a delegation of responsibility within one particular administrative structure. Thus, deconcentration would signify the authority for making decisions as well as increased responsibilities accorded to the regional welfare offices which would, however, remain completely under the general direction and supervision of the Department's authorities.

In the view of the Committee, the regional welfare offices appear to be the result not so much of a physical extension of the department overflowing out from the Provincial capital but indeed an effort toward deconcentration aiming at making its services more efficient and more adequate for all the areas of the Province. In other words, the Committee is of the opinion that regional welfare offices make sense only if they aim to accelerate the social assistance procedures and to adapt the services of the department to the various regions where these offices are situated. It would be erroneous and even dangerous, from an administrative point of view, to consider them simply as branches of the Department, without any authority whatever and serving only, in the last resort, to help the public to fill out applications for assistance.

The Committee is of the opinion that, in a field such as that of social welfare, it is important that the department responsible for the administration of a social assistance program should be on the spot where problems which are under its jurisdiction arise and that, through positive approaches centered on a policy of good public relations, it should attempt to integrate in a community plan of action all the resources of each region. For these reasons, the Committee cannot understand how a centralization concentrated in Quebec city can be really effective.

For example, it is absolutely essential that the Department coordinate its activities in a region as large as that of Montreal. In fact, because of the great concentration of population, the monies spent on welfare, the multiple problems and the special problems which arise and because of the different agencies that participate in this field of activity, the Department should, by dynamic measures, make its presence felt at all times in this particular area. The Department can attain this objective by installing permanently in that area a number of senior officers from its services.

Recommendation 22

The establishment, the structure and the geographical extension of the regional welfare offices should be carried out within the framework of and efficient delegation of authority.

This recommendation is complementary to the preceding one. The Committee in this case expresses its opinion on the principle of delegation of authority within a framework of deconcentration more than it does on the procedures of application of this principle. However, it is necessary that this delegation of authority be sufficiently effective for the regional welfare offices to justify their existence to the fullest extent.

Recommendation 23

The powers of decision corresponding to each level of authority should be based on clear and precise standards, including the definition of situation involved and the determination of the amounts of assistance pertaining to each level of authority.

The Committee wishes to insist upon the importance for a department such as that of Family and Social Welfare to formulate administrative standards and management techniques which would assist its personnel, when in contact with the public or the different welfare agencies, to carry out its responsibilities. In particular, the delegation of authority must enable the local officers to work with efficiency, responsibility and flexibility. This objective cannot be attained unless sufficent authority is delegated at all levels to the officers in charge. The hierarchic routine responsibilities must be clear and precise, in such a way that each employee will know on which level he stands and that the relationships among the different levels, both horizontal and vertical, can operate smoothly and without hindrance. These two conditions appear to be indispensable if the Department, on the one hand, is to give to the population the services that it has a right to expect and on the oher hand, if each employee is to be enabled to operate with the utmost efficiency.

Further on this report, when it will deal with the administrative structures which relate to the distribution of public funds to assisted persons, will go into greater detail concerning the precise role that may be played by the regional welfare offices designed according to the spirit of recommendation 23.

Recommendation 24

The department of Family and Social Welfare should establish a system of administrative supervision which would not be rectricted solely to the Department's decentralized financial operation, but which, by dealing with all aspects of management, would be charged with the supervision of application of Government policy respecting financial assistance at home, the guidance of work to be carried out by the regional welfare offices and by the organization entrusted with financial assistance, and, from reports submitted, the production of suitable documentation for the formulation of new directives by the qualified officers of the Department.

Recommendation 25

Auditing procedures should be simplified and reduced in number, to be based increasingly on modern methods of sampling.

The audit, as understood in recommendations 24 and 25, could be carried out by teams which would comprise both administrative supervisors and auditors. These teams could tour the Province in order to supervise generally the work carried out by the regional welfare offices and by the distribution agencies. They would fulfill a real need and would permit the regional officers to be regularly guided in their work.

This new approach to financial control would result in the elimination of a large part of useless and niggling auditing which drains the public treasury and which wastes valuable energy. The Committee, which, moreover, has a chartered accountant among its members, does not recommend in any way the doing away with auditing of books. This audit is an indispensable part of all administration and particularly of government administration. But it is necessary to avoid excess. The practice and procedures of auditing have greatly evolved during recent years with the mechanization of accounting systems. Technical errors have been practically eliminated, but it is important to prevent errors which could result in a false conception of false understanding of the problems. It is therefore more important to prevent the occurrence of errors through adequate planning than to try to detect them after they have been made.

The welfare agencies do not object at all to control by the State which, after all, supplies them with funds for assistance purposes. What they object to, in particular, are the methods and the general tone of this control. They would

all willingly accept a positive control accompanied by technical services dealing with administration, bookkeeping, social surveys and other related matters in the field of public welfare. These services would be placed at the disposal of the welfare agencies and of the regional welfare offices in order to help them to understand more completely the general lines of policy and to organize their work accordingly.

Recommendation 26

The Department of Family and Social Welfare should constitute a Programming and Research Bureau under the direct authority of the Deputy Minister.

The role of this Bureau would be to contribute to the formulation of dynamic and realistic thinking in the field of public social welfare in such a way that the Department would be enabled to approach effectively the social problems of the Province of Quebec. Its responsibilities would therefore include research and consultation.

It is quite unecessary that this Bureau should be composed of a large permanent personnel. It must, on the contrary, call upon the present personnel of the Department whenever possible, such as the department chiefs, because it is absolutely necessary that this Bureau should not function in a vacuum. This permanent personnel could include a director, assisted by five or six specialists. The director would be responsible for calling meetings and inviting the chiefs of other departments or other officers, whose presence might be of value, to attend.

The general duties of the Bureau would be the study of all questions leading to the establishment of new administrative standards and it would then present its suggestions to the authorities concerned. Its sources of information or inspiration would be numerous: regional welfare offices (through the reports and the commentaries of their directors), diocesan social agencies, welfare institutions, family organizations and personnel in the Department. The present Research and Documentation Service in the Department should logically be attached to this Bureau and become one of its component parts.

Recommendation 27

For the smooth running and the well-ordered administration of financial assistance at home, the Department should recruit personnel trained for the new tasks.

In the preceding recommendations, the complexity of the administration of the Department of Family and Social Welfare will have become apparent.

In a word, it means that the Department should have a function other than that of being simply a Government machinery for the distribution of allowances cheques. Therefore, at this point, qualified personnel become an indispensable factor, inasmuch as indigents are human beings often struggling with extremely delicate problems. The Committee is of the opinion that it is absolutely essential to enlist the services of personnel who have already been trained in the various disciplines of social welfare. This is the most important and basic condition for effective action on the part of the Department, particularly since it has taken in hand the orientation of the social welfare program in the Province and that its role has been considerably expanded and transformed. Moreover, it is the Department which comes closest to the population in its most intimate aspects: family life, child welfare and the welfare of physically and mentally handicapped persons. This is the reason why the Department, staffed by a personnel who is equal to its task, will be in a position to sponsor and to give rise to individual and community activities and to prepare the population in this way for active participation in the human, social and economic development of the Province of Quebec.

The Department has an urgent need of university graduates in the social, economic and administrative fields. One way the Department could achieve its purpose of recruiting necessary personnel would be to make its requirements known to the graduating students of universities and other schools. More and more, the representatives of the Civil Service Commission, like those of the Federal Government and the large commercial and industrial firms, visit the universities in search of serious and qualified candidates for certain department such as that of Revenue and that of Natural Resources. Why could it be otherwise where the Department of Family and Social Welfare is concerned ?

Recommendation 28

It should be made possible for a greater number of officials and intermediaries to acquire more advanced university training in social welfare and public administration.

At the present time, certain civil servants can enroll in university courses. These courses are generally part of a special program for persons who cannot devote their full time to study. In certain definite cases, special leave of absence for study purposes with financial assistance or remuneration could be awarded in order that civil servants could enroll in regular university courses. In the other cases, when courses are given in the daytime during working hours, special arrangements could be made. The administration of the Province would be the first to profit from such an arrangement. In the business world, where such practices exist, the investment has proved rewarding.

The science and the techniques of social welfare as well as its administration are constantly and rapidly undergoing a transformation. The civil servants in the Department should not let themselves be outdistanced by employees of the various private walfare organizations.

Recommendation 29

The Department should provide for its personnel a continuous in-service training program.

It is generally recognized that the efficiency of workers is improved if the exact place they occupy in the organization which employs them is explained to them. The efficiency is still more notable when management takes the trouble to train those employees who are called upon to occupy positions of responsibility. It is not always possible to find on the labour market the type of specialists or technicians required; the firm which employs them must therefore train them in their particular field.

The same situation obtains in the field of public welfare. This sector of Government activities has developed so rapidly during these last few years that teaching institutions have been unable to train all the specialized personnel needed to fill the new and present requirements. It would appear that these teaching institutions will not succeed in the near future to fill the gap which exists between the available vacancies and the specialists qualified to occupy these positions. The Department of Family and Social Welfare can remedy the situation by organizing in-service training courses and specialization programs.

Recommendation 30

The Department of Family and Social Welfare should give very special attention to the choice and training of those of its employees who, on account of their duties, are called upon to come in direct contact with the public.

The public image of an organization is not created so much by what the organization really is but rather by the impression it creates at large. Thus, a structure which is well organized and logically regulated in its various sections can be considered by the public to be ineffective, cold and inhumane. This feeling then colours the relationships which exist between the administrative structure and the population as a whole. Conflicts may even ensue therefrom.

As has been previously mentioned, the Department of Family and Social Welfare is probably the one which is in closest contact with the public. Further-

more, it comes into contact with that segment of the population whose private difficulties or family problems renders it particularly sensitive to consideration and therefore also to lack of consideration on the part of the department of which it believes it has become a victim.

Because of the role that the regional welfare offices will be called to play, the Department will greatly increase its contacts with the population. It is therefore of the utmost importance that it should throughly train the personnel who will be in personal contact with the public so that it can be in a position, without necessarily satisfying all the demands of the people, at least to be able to understand them and to be able to explain to them the policy of the Department.

This personnel must be conscious of the fact that it is applying laws which were formulated to come to the help of persons in unfortunate circumstances: it must therefore relieve human suffering without arrogance and without inappropriate condescension. It must try to evaluate objectively the problems which are submitted and in a spirit of public service, to enlighten the needy regarding their real requirements and regarding the limits of the assistance which the State is prepared to give them. This personnel must also be prepared to orient them to the community resources which are available in their case.

The civil servants who must, by letter or otherwise, inform certain citizens that the Department cannot accede to their request should adopt a similar policy and give, on a sympathetic note, the reasons for which the Department has arrived at such a decision.

In a word if society wishes to prevent families from foundering in a state of social dependence and if it also wishes to enable them to adapt themselves to a normal life, it is imperative that the personnel who comes into contact with this segment of the population should be sufficiently trained in the field of social welfare and human behaviour. It is a matter of plain common sense. Otherwise, the employees of the Department will simply become clerks whose job it is to write out allowance cheques to a population that will founder more and more into social dependence.

In other words, we must avoid treating the needy in a cursory fashion, as is unfortunately too often the case. A measure of Christian charity, sometimes referred to as "human relations", in a field which is of such a delicate nature as social welfare would eliminate many frustrations and would greatly improve the public image of the Department and therefore of the Government.

Chapter VI

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS OF WELFARE

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The Committee has stressed many times in the preceding chapters the partitioning that marked the evolution of welfare in the Province of Quebec. This partitioning which became manifest between the different departments and within the Department of Family and Social Welfare itself is found also in the relationships between the private and public sectors of social assistance. However, Section 5 of the Public Assistance Act stipulates, among other things, that there should be an :

> "intimate and effective co-operation with public charitable works in aid of needy persons".

In spite of the clear intent of the legislator, the Committee has found that this much hoped-for co-operation was unfortunately non-existent. There has developed on both sides a climate of mistrust unfavourable to the burgeoning of a sound policy of welfare.

A – FINDINGS

1 – Policy of "laisser-faire"

From 1921 to 1957 the Public Charities Act came entirely under the Department of Health. In view of the institutional character of the Act and the stress being placed on health, it seemed reasonable that this Department should be in charge of its enforcement. As such, welfare did not receive a great deal of attention, probably because it was only a secondary activity of this Department. It appears that no effort was made in the field of research nor were appropriate standards of welfare developed. The accepted policy appears to have been one of assisting the existing organizations whenever they requested assistance. There was no overall established policy.

On the other hand, this period witnessed the birth of a large number of charitable organizations designed to answer to the needs of a society which was in full economic and social evolution. In view of the concept of welfare that

was prevalent at that time, the public sector was content to recognize a situation such as it was. It was the era of palliatives: problems were solved or attempts were made to solve them as they arose, generally through special grants.

On the pretext that it had great faith in the welfare agencies, the Government left them alone in the face of situations over which they had practically no jurisdiction. Under the impetus of local interests, certain welfare agencies, financed for the most part by public funds, came into being whereas it would have been preferable that others be established.

2 – Attitude of Municipalities

While the Government of Quebec left the private welfare agencies on their own, the Act gave the municipalities the responsibility of deciding the eligibility to assistance. The Province did not give the municipalities precise directions on the pretext that they themselves were aware of the needs of their citizens and that they would not be too open-handed since they had to pay a large of the cost of assistance. This lack of initiative on the part of the Government where welfare was concerned was at the root of many injustices suffered by the indigents. Since each municipality was entitled to draw up its own regulations, this resulted in great difference from one municipality to the other. While some, like Montreal, were concerned with social welfare, others, because of the financial onus which social welfare represented, systematically refused all requests for assistance. Their lack of interest was such that they did not even appear at the inquiries set by the judges. Furthermore, pleading financial difficulties, a large number of municipalities did not reimburse the monies which the Department paid out on behalf of these bodies to the welfare agencies. This is why, in 1960 at the time of the abolition of municipal contributions, the municipalities owed the Provincial treasury a sum of some $12,000,000.

In order to stress still further the negative attitude of certain municipalities when faced by human misery, we need only mention the almost incredible application that many municipalities made of the clause of legal domicile, manifesting a concern which was totally different from that intended by the legislator. In fact, all was mobilized to throw the responsibility upon the shoulders of anotoher municipality.

Some even went so far as to pay the moving costs of certain indigent families and to help them to survive in another locality for a period of twelve consecutive months so that they would thereafter come under the jurisdiction of this new locality.

Obviously, all the municipalities did not behave in this way. In many regions, a more positive attitude was adopted but it must be admitted that the complexity of human problems often was beyond the ken of the municipal councils or at least of some of their employees who, in spite of their good will,

did not have the necessary knowledge to judge adequately the situations which were submitted to them. It is deplorable that Government authorities did not think it necessary, during all these years, to supply to the personnel of municipal administration sufficient training to permit these employees to carry out their responsibilities.

3 – New Orientation at the Government Level

Under the impetus of economic, social and demographic factors described in the preceding chapters, the total cost of public assistance continued to increase. There was an attempt made to explain the reasons for this increase in various public statements. Some averred that the increase was due to the increase of assistance rates while others attributed it to the gradual decrease in municipal contributions. However, this increase in the cost of assistance was attributed primarily to the development of diocesan social services which were many times accused of recruiting customers". It is moreover in this spirit that the Honorable Paul Sauvé expressed himself when he was minister of Youth and Welfare during a radio broadcast on December 10, 1958 and entitled "The Reorganization of Welfare Services" :

> I sincerely believe that the time has come to proceed with a general self-examination on all levels. Some say that we should not be surprised at the increase of monies which the Province supplies for welfare purposes, since the population itself is on the increase. This explanation of the situation is much too simple, since there is no possible comparison between the increase index of the Government budgets and the demographic progression. Others attribute the increasing amounts of the credits which the Province sets aside for welfare purposes on the fact that it is taking upon itself an ever larger proportion of the cost of public assistance in order to relieve the municipalities : they are right, since on two occasions, in 1954 and 1957, the contribution of the municipalities was reduced, and even on a third occasion, through the medium of an increase in the social allowances paid directly to the needy. But this is one factor only... There is yet another factor and this one is an alarming one : the multiplication and development of social agencies and services of all kinds and this, in recent years during a period which was marked by unprecedented prosperity.

In April, 1957, the Government decided, for reasons which appear to stem from purely budgetary considerations, to transfer to the Department of Youth and Social Welfare part of the responsibilities contained in the Public Charities Act which had previously belonged to the Department of Health. These responsibilities involvel financial assistance at home and the placement of children in institutions or foster homes as well as the placement of adults in institutions not recognized as charitable organizations.

At the beginning, the welfare agencies accepted this transfer of jurisdiction with satisfaction because they considered it to be a desire on the part of the authorities to unify all social measures under one single authority which would finally permit the creation of a definite, conscientious and well-planned orientation of all social assistance. Unfortunately, the first steps taken by the new

officials responsible for the administration seemed to be directed primarily toward the rectification of possible abuses rather than toward a positive approach as stipulated in the Public Charities Act. This tendency appears in various reports, minutes of meetings, circular letters and confidential documents which the Committee was in a position to examine.

4 – Unilateral Lines of Policy

As mentioned in Chapter II, the signing of the Federal-Provincial agreement on unemployment assistance in 1959 and the abolition of municipal contributions in 1960 brought about deep-seated changes in the Quebec plan for financial assistance at home. A large number of economically weak persons became eligible to social assistance. The task was a formidable one and, as it was noted in other chapters, the Department did not have the necessary administrative machinery to face this new situation. In order to find a solution to the problem, the Department called together the diocesan social agencies and asked them to distribute the unemployment assistance themselves. To this end, the Department asked them to create within their own administrative structure a new so-called socio-economic section which it proposed to pay for. In spite of certain misgivings, the diocesan social agencies accepted this arrangement. They were also invited to designate the municipalities which, in their opinion, would be capable of setting up a municipal welfare service for the same purpose. The diocesan agencies suggested several names and agreed to co-operate with the other municipalities regarding the requests for assistance and to attend to the preliminary evaluation of the merits of each request.

Less than a year after this plan was put into effect, it became obvious that a new general meeting was necessary between the Department and the private welfare agencies. The problems brought about by the new plan had to be studied jointly. This meeting took place in Quebec City on May 10, 1961. According to the minutes of the meeting, the atmosphere appeared to be congenial and the exchange of opinions encouraging. However, barely three months later, when the Government realized the extent of the vertiginous increase in the cost of unemployment assistance, is adopted a series of restrictive and unexpected measures which were interpreted by the social agencies as a criticism of their administration of public funds (all the more surprising since the ministers and Members of the Legislative Assembly had often accused the agencies of being too closefisted). The previous atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust between public and private sectors once more reared its ugly head.

The general instructions became more and more numerous and more and more negative. They hardly ever stemmed from exchanges of views but appeared to be solely formulated unilaterally. Whenever meetings took place between Government authorities and the representatives of the private sector of welfare, it was simply to confront the latter with instructions which were

already a *fait accompli*. At the time the Committee was formed, all hope of a loyal co-operation or of a new era in the field of social welfare seemed definitely and irreducibly on the wane.

5 – Attitude of the Private Sector

The responsibility for this unfortunate state of affairs, however, should not be laid entirely at the door of the public sector. The private welfare organizations must also recognize their shortcomings. They have not always understood and accepted the *rôle* of the Province in social welfare matters and have often adopted a lofty and suspicious attitude toward the Government.

By tradition, the private sector has always considered itself to be responsible for the continuity of the welfare or charitable institutions of the Church in Quebec. It will be remembered that, from 1921, at the tim eof the adoption of the Public Charities Act, fears were expressed regarding the possible interference of the state in the field of charity.

Until 1957, the private agencies were relatively autonomous *vis-à-vis* the public welfare services. Moreover, they tended to defend jealously this autonomy in the name of the confidential and private nature of their charitable services and, more recently, in the name of the principles of social service. Such an attitude, with a few exceptions, was largely a part of the manifestation of a wish to keep the monopoly of social assistance, and stemmed from a profound scepticism regarding the competence of the State in this particular field. This scepticism derived primarily from the fact that modern social service techniques had been principally used by private agencies while the Provincial and municipal services appeared to challenge them systematically.

In such a context, it is not difficult to understand that the private sector should have entrenched itself in an attitude of superiority, then in one of mistrust and finally one of fear. The private agencies, primarily after the rules and regulations established in September 1961, were under the district impression that an attempt was being made to oust them from the field of social assistance. This fear was particularly manifested in the agencies in rural settings or semi-rural settings which depended, to help keep them alive, on the sums received from the Department to pay for the administration of financial assistance at home.

The private sector lacked co-ordination and had a tendency to divide up into different groups according to the setting in which the social agencies happened to be or according to the various schools of thought to which they happened to belong. Thus, some of them came out strongly against the administration of financial assistance while others hung desperately onto it. Some claimed that they were incapable of carrying out their task of social care of their caseloads without the administration by themselves of financial assistance : on the other hand, others advanced the diametrically opposite point of

view, namely that the administration of financial assistance interfered with the work of social rehabilitation. Finally, the private social agencies generally adopted an attitude of insisting upon their claims, although these were note always based on objective and thorough research.

At times, the private sector, particularly in the case of certain institutions, gave rise to short-lived organizations which were costly and of doubtful usefulness. The private sector then would call upon the Government (and these requests were sometimes accompanied by threats) to assume the financial responsibility of organizations of which the latter had neither foreseen nor desired the establishment.

6 – New function of Municipalities

As was previously noted, the municipalities generally found that the onus of assistance was too heavy a burden to be borne and therefore requested a greater financial participation on the part of the Provincial authorities. At the time of their almost complete abandonment of any financial contribution, in May, 1960, the municipalities were inclined to unburden themselves of their responsibilities onto the shoulders of the Government insofar as assistance to the needy was concerned. In 1960-1961, they accepted, however, at the request of the Department of Family and Social Welfare, to distribute financial assistance themselves or to co-operate in the determination of eligibility of applicants when such eligibility came under the control of private agencies.

With the exception of certain towns, notably the City of Montreal which may possess the most developed and most efficiently structured municipal welfare system of the Province of Quebec, the Committee found that, in general, the municipal welfare services were not sufficiently well organized. The administration of welfare is in the hands of persons who have had very little training in this field. Furthermore, in some smaller municipalities, partisan considerations appear to have come into play when the eligibility of applicants to financial assistance was involved.

The former animosity of municipalities regarding welfare agencies has not disappeared and because of this fact, it has been responsible for various criticisms. With a few exceptions, there has not been established, between the social agencies and the municipal services, the type of co-operation which would have enabled families and individuals who received assistance to benefit from indispensable professional services. In short, the rôle of the municipalities appears to be limited to the recognition of eligibility of applicants to assistance and to the distribution of financial aid.

B – RECOMMENDATIONS

In Chapter IV, we have already explained why, in the Province of Quebec, contrary to what prevails in the other provinces and in other countries,

public funds for social assistance have mostly been distributed by agencies that come under the category of private undertakings. The time has come to point out what policy should be adopted by the Government of Quebec regarding this matter.

The Committee first of all states that it is in favour of the generally-recognized principle that the Province itself should be in charge of the administration and distribution of public funds.

RECOMMENDATION 31

The administration and the distribution of public funds appropriated by the Government for social assistance, save for certain exceptions, should be assumed by Government services themselves.

However, the Committee does not consider, in view of the Government administrative structures which prevail at the present time (lack of preparation, absence of standards, lack of trained personnel for new tasks and necessary changes in certain services of the Department), that it would be advisable to proceed rapidly in this field. The Department would, in fact, take on a responsibility for which it is not yet sufficiently equipped. The beneficiaries of social assistance would suffer thereby, not to mention the act that financial outlays would increase because of the confusion which would necessarily accompany the direct and sudden takeover of tens of thousands of assistance cases. We have already had a bird's-eye view, during the months which followed September 1961, of what can happen to serious problems in this complex field as a result of hasty though wellmeant activities.

It can be noted that recommandation 31 makes provision for certain exceptions. The Committee, in fact, believes in another principle which is applicable to the relationships that must exist between public and private sectors. It is important, as far as possible, to take full advantage of the existing resources regardless of which sector they belong to. This principle is not in contradiction to the preceding one : on the contrary, it complements it.

Social agencies are certainly community resources and they possess, to a certain extent, a greater and richer experience than that of the Government in the administration and distribution of public funds for assistance purposes. Furthermore, the majority of these agencies, taking circumstances into account, have accomplished the task assigned to them in an efficient manner. Most of them have even set up administrative structures which permit them to combine the distribution of public funds with social rehabilitation. The Committee is of the opinion that those which satisfy the requirements of the Department could continue in the path into which they were led by the historical evolution of the social welfare in the Province of Quebec.

Recommendation 32

Social agencies, recognized by the Lieutenant Governor in Council, should be able to continue to administer public funds devoted to financial assistance at home.

The practice of turning over to private enterprises certain tasks or responsibilities which the Province could itself assume is not a new one. It exists here and there throughout the world, in Canada and even in the Province of Quebec. For example, the Roads Department and that of Public Works turn over the construction of roads and buildings to general contractors. It is also according to this same principle that the Department of Health depends on private hospitals for the application of hospitalization insurance. There is therefore nothing abnormal in the fact that a similar practice could exist relative to the distribution of financial assistance in the matter of social security, insomuch as this practice is also in effect elsewhere, notably in Nova Scotia.

However, the spheres of activity could be established according to certain criteria, one of which would be administrative efficiency. On this score, the Committee is of the opinion that, in general, the social agencies, in spite of their difficulties of orientation and their initial gropings, have managed to come through. In spite of often contradictory and hazy instructions, they have accomplished their task in a conscientious manner.

It would appear wise, moreover, to leave to citizens the community responsibilities that they are prepared to accept. In a democracy, this is a normal state of affairs.

The Lieutenant Governor in Council should therefore himself designate those agencies to which the government could explicitly turn over the administration and distribution of funds for financial assistance at home. This "designation", however, should apply only to those agencies which are willing to accept the responsibility; none should be obliged to maintain this responsibility against its will. In such cases, the Department should hasten to take over directly a task which in principle belongs to its jurisdiction. However, for reasons already stated, nothing should be decided in haste in the case of both parties.

Recommandation 32 could be applied without difficulty until such a time as recommandation 9 were applied, recommendation that refers to the promulgation of a general social assistance Act.

At such time, nothing needs prevent the government itself from distributing all funds for public assistance nor to continue, in certain cases, to call upon private or municipal agencies to do so.

Recommendation 33

In order to be recognized by the Lieutenant Governor in Council as a distributing agency, social agencies should meet certain common and uniform administrative requirements.

In the opinion of the Committee, the social agencies to which the Province would continue to entrust the responsibility of the administration of financial assistance at home, should conform to the following requirements :

1 – to be incorporated as non-profit organizations according to the provisions of the third part of the Companies Act in the Province of Quebec;

2 – to have a board of directors of at least nine members representing the different groups of the population as adequately as possible and holding meetings at regular intervals;

3 – to establish an organic distinction between the socio-economic section in charge of financial assistance at home and the other services;

4 – to demonstrate that their responsibilities regarding financial assistance do not interfere in any way with those which they would normally assume regarding social rehabilitation.

Recommendation 34

The Department of Family and Social Welfare should determine the relations which should exist between the Department and the recognized social agencies by means of a contract and should also assume for the agencies financial responsibilities deriving therefrom.

Before an agency can be recognized by the Lieutenant Governor in Council, the Department should clarify the relationship between the two parties and the tasks assigned to each one by means of a contract of at least three years duration and renewable on expiry. Notice of renewal or termination of contract should be given at least six months before the date of expiry. The social agencies need to know what to expect some time in advance to enable them to retain the services of their personnel. Good administrative procedures require a certain amount of planning. It is undestood, of course, that the Department should continue to assume the administration and other costs in the socio-economic sections.

The establishment of continuous and precise relationship between the Department and the social agencies is bound, at the beginning, to create conflicts because of particular situations. The Committee is thinking specifically

of problems of salaries and working conditions of the personnel in the socio-economic section : to avoid misunderstanding which might become serious, the Committee recommends that the Department retain the status quo at the beginning, particularly as far as salaries are concerned but that, gradually, it should arrive at an acceptable adjustment one way or another.

Recommendation 35

Some municipalities, recognized by the Lieutenant Governor in Council, could distribute provincial funds devoted to financial assistance at home.

The municipalities with which we are here concerned are those which at the present time already participate in the administration of financial assistance at home through what is called a "municipal assistance service". The Committee is not of the opinion that these services should be increased in number, inasmuch as the municipalities do not seem to be particularly interested in them. The latter have, however at their, disposal, certain taxation privileges but they do not contribute directly to the amounts paid except in the case of the placement of normal and legitimate children. Neither do they represent "community resources" to the same degree as do the social agencies and their rôle is probably more effective in the field of direct action where the agencies might be less so.

Therefore, the first condition for a municipality wishing to be designated as a distributing agency of financial assistance at home would be for this municipality to belong to a network of distribution already in operation. The other conditions should be the following :

1 – to wish to continue discharging this duty;

2 – to undertake the cost of administration of assistance, which in some way would represent the "municipality's share" in this field;

3 – to conform to the administrative standards required by the Department;

4 – to retain the services of trained personnel;

5 – to refer cases of social and rehabilitation treatment to the social agencies.

The last two requirements are fundamental.

In the case of the municipalities as well as in the case of social agencies, it is the Lieutenant Governor in Council who finally decides which ones are to be designated.

The hesitancy regarding the designation of new municipalities as agents of distribution of financial assistance at home does not imply that the Committee is of the opinion that municipalities have no rôle to play in matters

of social welfare. It believes, on the contrary, that there are certain duties that they are better able to discharge than social agencies or even the Government itself.

Recommendation 36

Municipalities should be incited to assume, with respect to social welfare, responsibilities more consistent with their nature.

The responsibilities mentioned above are those which stem from the very nature of any municipality, a form of local government which is in closer touch with the population than any other administrative structure. This is to say that municipalities should be particularly concerned with facilitating certain local undertakings, encouraging their formation of taking charge of them altogether. They can do a great deal in the field of leisure or of combatting delinquency. They can also take part in combatting slum housing conditions. They can, furthermore, develop certain institutions such as night hostels or shelters. A whole field of activity could therefore be developed whose role of prevention, though difficult to evaluate, would be nonetheless very real.

The municipalities (and many are already doing so), could give important financial aid to the various welfare federations. Such contribution would enable the private welfare sector to expand further and to discharge all the duties that it is in a position to do efficiently. The municipalities could also cooperate closely with the regional welfare offices of the department or with the social agencies by referring the cases with which they come into contact.

These suggested ventures are given here only as examples of what might be done, because the Committee did not particularly study the new role of the municipalities in the field of social service. There is here a whole sphere which could be explored with the aim of establishing services which are complementary to the existing social measures.

In a word, it is absolutely necessary to redefine the responsibility of the various municipalities insofar as social welfare is concerned. The population of the Province of Quebec cannot in the future do without the services that they can render. Moreover, article 26-a of the Cities and Towns Act already indicates which steps should be taken on this score.

Recommendation 37

It is essential that the regional welfare offices of the Department of Family and Social Welfare should collaborate with all other community organizations, local or regional, whether they be directly or indirectly related to social welfare.

It is absolutely necessary that the regional welfare offices co-operate closely with the social agencies, regardless of which organization happens to distribute the funds concerning financial assistance at home. If the regional welfare office is in charge of this measure, it should refer to the agency the cases of which the latter can undertake the rehabilitation. On the other hand, the agency can send to the regional welfare office those persons who require financial assistance. If the agency is in charge of the financial assistance, it can go to the regional welfare office to obtain details regarding Government policies or to ask for general instructions regarding complex or marginal cases. In brief, there should be a constant and reciprocal consultation between the two bodies because it is to these two bodies that the public will apply for the solution of all its problems. In order to achieve this end, it will be necessary to provide and to call for frequent meetings between management and personnel of the regional welfare offices and the social agencies.

The regional welfare offices must also extend this co-operation to other organizations, institutions, or local or regional groups interested in social welfare councils of the Province, they will be able to make use of all possible groups for a common cause.

It is finally highly recommended that, on the regional level, the regional welfare office chiefs be in close contact with the other Government representatives whose work, although not directly associated with social welfare, may be connected with it. The Committee has in mind among others the Provincial agronomists or regional representatives of the Department of Industry and Commerce. In principle it would be desirable that the regional welfare office chiefs become part of a team for community development. In fact it is quite possible that their daily responsibilities occupy them to the extent that they cannot devote the necessary time for this important function. Thus it would be advisable that the Department set up a special team which would be specifically concerned with community development.

All public welfare programs that would not encourage the active participation of private organizations whether they are called welfare federations, welfare councils or social agencies, might conceivably alter adverseley the normal activities of intermediary groups and would deprive the Province of an important contribution which it would then have to replace at great cost.

Recommendation 38

The Quebec Government should proceed to the establishment of a Superior Council of Family and Social Welfare which would act as an advisory Committee to the Department.

The Superior Council of Family and Social Welfare would be an organization concerned with constant re-thinking of problems. It would serve as a link between the private and the public sector of social welfare. It would keep alive the spirit of co-operation which has become absolutely indispensable in the complex field of social security. Modern democratic states are moreover more and more inclined to institutionalize this policy of cooperation and concerted planning in all possible spheres. This Council could also be responsible for suggesting pilot experiments which could be used by the Government administration as a basis for the development of its policies and primarily to continue the work of the Committee from the point where the latter was forced to leave it.

The programming and Research Division, suggested in Recommandation 26, could serve as a technical team attached to the Superior Council of Family and Social Welfare.

Recommendation 39

This Superior Council of Family and Social Welfare should be instituted by Act defining its status, its composition and its powers.

In order to be useful, a consultation committee must perforce be consulted. This is the reason why the Committee suggests that the Superior Council of Family and Social Welfare be constituted under an Act which would define its duties and responsibilities. It should hold meetings periodically and should not be composed of too large a number of members. It could consist of three representatives of the Quebec Government, of whom two would come from the Department of Family and Social Welfare, three representatives of the private sector of welfare and three persons invited individually to represent the population at large and the interests of the family.

The Interministerial Committee suggested in Recommandation 4 and the Superior Council of Family and Social Welfare would each have separate duties to perform. The same obtains in regard to the Programming and Research Division described above. All these new bodies would therefore not create duplication of tasks nor confusion of any kind. On the contrary, they would increase new undertakings on the part of each and put on end to nefarious compartmentalization, to rivalries, to suspicion and to the absence of overall perspectives which have too often to date characterized the development and application of the various social assistance measures in the Province of Quebec.

Chapter VII

TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF ASSISTANCE

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The daily administration of financial assistance at home, since it presents many concrete problems, must be founded on clearly expressed guiding principles. These guiding principles must themselves be directly inspired by the objectives proposed by the Department, and subsequently translated into precise administrative standards. Only thus will it become possible to develop efficient and logical regulations, essential condition for a sound administration.

This chapter will deal at length with what we have called the "terms and conditions of assistance", that is, the rates, the forms of assistance and the appropriate administrative procedures.

As this chapter will deal with a large number of practical considerations which are not always connected, but rather distinct subjects, the recommandations of the Committee were inserted progressively in the text of the chapter as it became logical to present them. This should make for easier reference to the text which follows.

A – THE CURRENT METHOD OF ESTABLISHING RATES

Before coming to an account of the method used at the present time for the establishment of assistance rates, it is important to present the method which was in use prior to May, 1960.

1 – The "Per diem" Method of Compensation

Previous to the promulgation of the first regulations regarding public assistance in May, 1960, assistance at home was calculated according to the per diem compensation established for the maintenance of adults and children in institutions.

This calculation method did not tally well with assistance of the home type. Compensation was of a rigid nature, the budget had to be "fabricated"

in an artificial way by playing about, one might say, with the composition of the family unit; its members were entitled to variable amounts, according to their age and state of health. The total amount paid was almost always smaller or larger than the essential requirements. Since the municipalities established their own scales, it was inevitable that arbitrariness should be rife in matters of assistance, and this was not always to the advantage of the needy families.

The accounts presented to the Government became very complicated and were long to prepare. They had the disadvantage of being established in relation to the "per diem" compensation rate and did not permit, for statistical purposes, the regrouping of the assistance paid out to any one family. As this compensation was allotted both for the placement in institutions and for financial assistance at home, its analysis became virtually impossible. It also happened that increases which may have been valid in the case of placement in institutions were also automatic increases for financiel assistance at home.

Such increases were almost always retroactive for several months and simultaneously concerned whole categories. This practice was at the root of part of the "reserves" accumulated in the social agencies, which resulted in a number of disputes later.

Therefore, from the social as well as from the administrative point of view, this method of establishing amounts of social assistance gave rise to dissatisfaction and complications. Because of the static state that was current at the time, this method remained in force from 1930 until 1960, in spite of reiterated criticism.

2 – The Rates Provided for by the Regulations of May 1960

The regulations of May 1960, drawn up to fulfil the requirements of the Federal-Provincial agreements on unemployment assistance, improved the situation. For the first time, appropriate rates for assistance at home were promulgated by the Government of the Province of Quebec, and this contributed greatly to the elimination of the arbitrariness, at the municipal level.

However, these rates applied indiscriminately to employable and unemployable persons, and did not take into account the possible duration of the state of indigence. They were calculated on a monthly basis and appeared in a table labelled "maximum initial rate". These terms introduced the notion of a maximum and, as it was an "initial" maximum, there existed the possibility of an increase, without an authorized ceiling, in this case. The amount of the increase was left to the discretion of the Social Assistance Services and the Social Allowances Commission.

The establishment of the rates in May 1960 does not seem to have been set as a result of previous research; the administrative convenience prevailed. Thus, one can trace in the rate tables the obvious influence of the rates applicable to categorized allowances. For example, an adult living away from his family could receive $55.00 monthly, on the same basis as the beneficiary of an old age assistance allowance, or that of an allowance for disability or blindness. In the case of an adult with a dependent child, $60.00 monthly was provided, which was the allowance paid to needy mothers. For each extra child, up to the seventh inclusive, an extra amount of $10.00 per month could be paid, as was also the case with allowances to needy mothers. In short, the May 1960 rates copied the rates of permanent allowances, and they could therefore not correspond to the variable needs of the assisted persons.

Furthermore, the regulations officially recognized for the first time, over and above regular assistance, new categories of assistance at home : emergency assistance, supplementary assistance and special assistance. Further on in this chapter, the Committee gives its opinion on emergency assistance and special assistance. Regarding supplementary assistance, it applied solely to allowances paid by the Social Allowances Commission. Thus, a practice which had been in force for many years was confirmed and clearly defined.

3 – The Rates Provided by the Regulations of September 1961

The rates decreed in September 1961, and still in force at the present time, have retained several of the features of those of May 1960. They have, however, some new added features, aimed at stopping the steep rise of the cost of social assistance. Finally, they do not permit the application of a true family policy in the assistance field.

a – *Features Retained*

Among the features retained, we must point out the absence of any distinction between the case of persons who are employable and those who are unemployable, as well as the absence of criteria regarding the duration of the period of indigence. Where the influence of categorized allowances is concerned, it is still prevalent. From a psychological point of view, these rounded amounts remind the beneficiaries of public allowances and government officials of the old age security pensions and other allowances of the same type. In this way, it is impossible to attain the flexibility that should be expected in the case of allowances based on need. The unemployment assistance, because it also takes an aspect of permanence, is in danger of becoming another categorized pension, with all the implied rigidity. In fact, it does not encourage the beneficiary to put forth the necessary effort required to emerge from his state of dependence; he believes in all good faith that he

is receiving a permanent pension, with a fixed rate and fixed date af payment.

b – *New Features*

Three important innovations appear in the rates established in September 1961.

i – *Ceiling on Rates*

First of all, a ceiling which cannot be exceeded without the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council is established. This was intended to curb the rise in the cost of assistance and to remove the danger of discretionary measures. However, the decrease which was contemplated did not take place because the new rates generally constitute an increase compared to the old rates.

ii – *Regional Rates*

A gradation is also introduced in the rates. This gradation is based on two considerations : The creation of three types of regions, each one having its one particular scale of rates, and the recognition of a minimum and maximum within each rate scale.

The three types of regions are the following :

— The municipalities coming under the Municipal code and certain other cities ;
— Cities which are specified ;
— The cities and towns of the Corporation of Greater Montreal as well as certain others in the Montreal and Quebec City areas.

From the very beginning, this classification proved to be an artificial one. It gave rise to claims on the part of municipal councils who wished to have their municipality admitted to the most favoured region. It also stirred up recriminations from the beneficiaries who lived on the periphery of municipalities where higher rates were paid, but where there was no difference in the cost of living between their own municipality and that which paid higher rates; this situation, from their point of view, did not justify the disadvantage they incurred. The solution for these beneficiaries was to move away to a municipality where rates were higher. This type of exodus is hardly to be recommended.

As far as the existence of a minimum and maximum in the amounts of allowances is concerned, it is closely linked to the three types of regions mentioned. In all types of regions, basic uniforms rates apply according to needs. If the indigence of assisted persons and families require them, variable increases are possible. The possible increases are established as follows : $10.00 for the first region, $25,00 more, that is $35.00, for the second region and $15.00 more, that is $40.00, for the third region (see tables in Chapter 1).

It should be noted that the increase from one region to another is granted beginning from the maximum of the preceding region.

This method of taking into account the state of indigence fosters a constant tendency to increase the cost of assistance. It is obvious that the beneficiaries will try to obtain the maximum provided in the case of their own municipality, if they are aware of its existence. Furthermore, since some day or other the rates will have to be changed, there is the danger that the present maximum might become the new minimum and so on, because of the fixing of the rates in relation to one another and because of the differential that would have to be maintained between the different types of regions. It must also be admitted that every granted increase tends to be general and linear, by the very fact that it must be grafted onto the global fixed rates, within which it is almost impossible to distinguish the elements which merit an increase to the exclusion of the others.

iii – *Permissible Income*

Finally, in the rates which were established in September 1961, there is a new element which greatly influences the calculation of assistance allowances : the income which is permissible. This was an attempt to encourage the assisted citizen to engage in some measure of remunerative activity. However, for various reasons, some of which will appear in the following paragraphs the desired objective has not been attained. For the moment, suffice it to say that the majority of the beneficiaries are at the present time unemployable for any type of remunerative work (see Chapter II) and, consequently, this clause is devoid of meaning for these people.

c – *Lack of Consideration Regarding Family Responsibilities*

i – *Family Allowances*

Since the family allowances paid by the Federal Government are included in the calculation of permissible income, the amount of assistance the beneficiaries would be entitled to is therefore reduced by the same amount. Thus, a family composed of two adults and eight children would theoretically be entitled to an assistance allowance of $165.00 per month. The permissible income, besides this allowance, being $25.00 and the family allowances amounting to $48.00 (at the rate of $6.00 per child per month), the amount of financial assistance paid will be lowered by the amount of $23.00, this is, the difference between $48.00 and $25.00, and will therefore be set at $142.00 instead of $165.00. In other words, this assisted family would normally be entitled to a total maximum income of $190., that is, an allowance of $165.00 and a permissible income of $25.00; since the family allowances are considered as income, this family will only receive in actual

fact an assistance allowance of $142.00 ($190.00 minus $48.00). If this family received, in fact, an earned income of $25.00 per month, the amount of assistance paid would be reduced to $117.00, that is, the difference between the maximum possible allowance, $165.00, and the family allowances, $48.00. This therefore means that the bread-winner of a family loses the benefit of his family allowances at the very time that he is making an effort to improve his unfortunate financial situation.

If we thoroughly examine the question of family allowances, we will note that these allowances completely absorb the income permissible, beginning with the fifth child, and progressively decrease the amount of possible assistance as the family increases in number. It therefore follows that, on this score, single persons have an advantage over the family group, without mentioning the fact that this situation does not in any way stimulate the head of a family to work for an added income. In the metropolitan areas of Montreal and Quebec City, where the assistance rates and the permissible income are not the same as elsewhere, the possible amount of assistance, because of family allowances, begins to decrease from the second child on.

ii – *Increase in Rates*

Of course, as the Committee pointed out previously, the September 1961 regulations brought about a general increase in rates. Unfortunately, it was single persons and small families who benefited most, because of the inclusion of the family allowances in the calculation of permissible income. Consequently, certain large families receive less than they received according to the old scale. Furthermore, the increases granted to medium-sized families are less than those granted to single persons and small families.

iii – *Permissible Available Assets*

The lack of consideration regarding family responsibilities can equally be traced in that part of the 1961 regulations dealing with permissible available funds, that is, liquid assets a person may have and still receive an assistance allowance. For example, in the case of unemployables for a period of twelve months or more, liquid permissible assets amount to $1,000.00, whether a single person or the head of a family with many dependent children is involved. Similary, the permissible available assets to beneficiaries of old age assistance allowances is $2,000.00 while those for the unemployable head of a family is $1,000.00 ("D" allowance). The tables in Chapter I show up the important differences between the various Acts regarding permissible available assets.

The preceeding remarks regarding the 1961 rates clearly indicate that, besides being arbitrary and not taking sufficiently into account the state of indigence, they do not help the Department of Family and Social Welfare to pursue the aims to which it aspires, namely, the improvement of the family

unit. In fact, they tend to reduce assistance for those who really need it and give relatively too much assistance, proportionately speaking, to those for whom it would be less necessary.

B – METHOD PROPOSED FOR DETERMINING RATES

The Committee has already recommended, in Chapter IV (Recommandation 8), that financial assistance paid by the Government should correspond to the essential needs of assisted persons. In fact, this is the fundamental standard that should guide the payment of assistance at home. It is moreover not a new standard since, at this time, all social assistance plans in the western world, including those of the Province of Quebec, recognize that it is sound and respect it in varying degrees.

1 – Factors to be Considered

From the existence of essential needs to be satisfied derives ,for the public organization responsible for public assistance, the obligation of fixing realistic rates that will be as equitable as possible. The very notion of "needs" is not clear. Indigency varies from one person to another, and even from one time to another, in the life of each of these. For this reason, it is indispensable to recognize that the degree of indigence is influnced by four factors : a) the economic and social setting, b) the characteristics of the persons receiving assistance, c) the circumstances which create a state of indigence and d) the duration of the state of indigence.

a – *Characteristics of the Economic and Social Setting*

A fact which emerges rather brutally from the studies of the Committee is the inequality of economic development in various regions of the Province, which means that the average income and the standard of living are not on the same level throughout the Province. However, the needs of individuals and families, as well as their aspirations, have now a tendency of become uniform from one region to another, thanks to communications media and modern publicity methods. (1) Thus, if we take into account merely the essential needs of people, the Committee does not understand the necessity for keeping regional rates. In fact, essential items such as clothing, certain articles of furniture and medical expenses, contrary to current opinion, cost relatively as much in rural regions as in prosperous communities. The possible savings on food and lodging, in a rural or a non-industrialized area are in part cancelled out by other items in the family budget, the transportation costs

(1) *Living conditions, needs and aspiratoins of salaried French-Canadian families,* Summary of reports on studies carried out by Marc-Adélard Tremblay and Gérald Fortin of the Centre of Social Research of Laval University, presented by the Fédération des Caisses Populaires Desjardins, 1963.

of certain essential goods, the absence of competitive prices and discount sales as well as the insufficiency of community ressources in general. It remains true, however, that the amounts of assistance paid to indigents must in no way create an upheaval in their habits and standard of living.

In order to take into account all these complex factors, which are difficult to evaluate, the Committee will present further on a recommendation on the means of calculating the amounts of assistance to be paid. This recommendation will aim to do away with the establishment of regional rates. The Committee believes, in fact, that such rates are necessarily arbitrary because of the difficulty of calculating them. Even if regional rates were fixed as equitably as possible, financial assistance could not possibly be adapted to all particular situations which inevitably arise within the regions themselves. This is, no doubt, the main deficiency of the method of regional rates. Numerous well-founded recriminations would inevitably result. Even in dividing up the Province of Quebec into carefully determined regions, sub-regions where the rate is too high or too low would inevitably be discovered within these regions. There would thus be a risk of disrupting the economic balance of the setting and even, on occasion, destroying all encouragement to work on the part of the assisted persons. One can foresee into what administrative meanders this would lead.

Recommendation 40

Amounts of assistance to be paid should not be computed on the so-called method of "regional rates" ; it would be preferable to use a system of calculation, less artificial, which would take into account, without administrative complications, the multiplicity of particular circumstances and the place of residence of the beneficiary.

b – *Characteristics of Assisted Persons*

Essential needs can vary in nature and intensity as individuals or families are involved. Assistance, in order to be fair, must take into account, somehow or other, the age, sex and marital status of the beneficiaries as well as the size of the family unit. For example, a bachelor of 18 to 21 years of age in good health obviously cannot be treated in the same way as the father of a family who is ill and who is between 30 and 35 years of age.

The Committee was particularly concerned with family charges, since the main objective of the Department is precisely to help the family fulfil its role. When evaluating needs, it must be remembered that the children of assisted families are the citizens of tomorrow and that assistance measures

that are inadequate and therefore likely to hamper their physical, emotional and intellectual development, will be to the future detriment of society as a whole. This false economy might even become, in the relatively near future, the primary cause of the increased financial burden of social assistance. The Committee has specifically in mind the case of needy mothers.

Recommendation 41

In a true family policy viewpoint, amounts of assistance should be proportionate to family responsibilities ; that is, they should take into account, as adequately as possible, the number, age and sex of the children.

At the present time, the amounts of certain allowances (unemployment assistance to unemployable and employable persons) vary according to the size of the family unit, but only in a rudimentary fashion and by means of increases arbitrarily fixed in round figures and hardly realistic. The preceding recommendation is designed to improve this practice to an important degree.

It remains to be stressed that the needs of these families do not necessitate an increase in the assistance which would be in direct proportion to the number of dependents. The cost for feeding ten persons is not twice that for five people. The same applies to clothing, because, in a family, thanks to the ingeniousness of the mother, many garments can be used in turn by two or several children. Neither is there any direct relationship between the cost of rent and the size of the family unit.

To illustrate this point, let us mention the study entitled "Budgeting for Basic Needs", prepared in 1961 and sponsored by the Montreal Council of Social Agencies. A table that summarizes the family budget, including food, clothing, personal care and household articles shows that there is a progressive decrease in the monthly maintenance cost of each person according to the size of the family.

	Monthly expenditures for a person living in a family of :	
	3 persons	*8 persons*
	$	$
Girl of 10 or 11 years of age	29.57	27.61
Boy of 10 or 11 years of age	30.41	28.45
Mother living at home	30.55	28.44
Father at work	39.64	37.12

The same method of calculation is also found in the General Assistance Act in Ontario. In fact, in that Province, the assistance rates are calculated from a pre-added budget. The basic monthly allowance for different types of families includes the following amounts which apply to food, clothing and the upkeep of the household :

2 adults and one child	$ 61.10
2 adults and 2 children	86.55
2 adults and 4 children	121.20
2 adults and 6 children	161.75

It must be made clear that the amounts allowed vary according to the age of the children but never in a purely mathematical way. Moreover, the established rates are set according to a scientific computation, which is also the case for occasional modifications that they might undergo because of changes in the cost of living. Further on in this chapter, we shall show how the rates established according to the budget of a minimum family unit can be applied without difficulty to all types of household.

c – *Circumstances Which Bring About a State of Indigency*

The assistance must also take into account the circumstances which brought about a state of indigency as well as the physical, psychological, moral and other factors which directly or indirectly influence the situation in which the beneficiaries find themselves. Obviously, the situation of a mother with a large family, whose husband has died, is disabled, has disappeared or is confined to an institution, does not in any way resemble that of an unmarried person living alone.

If we seriously wish to put into effect a policy which would not be satisfied to maintain individuals or families at a subsistance level, and if we also wish to put an end to the state of indigency or to prevent its increase, the assistance amounts must be based on an equitable evaluation of all pertinent factors.

Recommendation 42

Financial assistance should be high enough and flexible in its rates in order that through such assistance and the use of other means of support, it may be possible to eliminate situations which otherwise become permanent and thus more costly in the long run.

d – *Duration of the State of Indigence*

The nature of the needs of indigent persons can vary according to the duration of the period of assistance. The prolongation of a situation of

great need is likely to cause serious prejudice to an individual or family if the assistance amounts are completely independent of the duration of the state of indigence. The Committee is of the opinion that, for example, a family should not be allowed to go into debt more than is reasonable, in its search for a vital minimum of subsistence; the Province would be the loser because the problems of this family might multiply to the extent of requiring further measures that might be still more costly. The dispersion of this family and the placement in institutions of its members could be the result of a policy of assistance which is too stingy.

The vital minimum involved here varies exactly in relation to the duration of the situation which requires financial assistance. In itself, the maintenance of this minimum supposes that the following essential needs are provided for : food, clothing, medical care, lodging (including heating, lighting and certain pieces of furniture, etc.). Now, in a very short time, three or four months, for example, the assisted person or family may, in most cases, subsist without having to buy new clothing or new furniture; it is also possible to put off expenses and to use its credit temporarily in various commercial establishments. It can also, on occasion, count on the help of charitable groups or close relatives. On the other hand, such is not the case for a person or family whose situation requires financial assistance for a lenghty period. The essential needs are in this case always to the fore. The same situation applies to the persons assisted who claim financial aid at a time their situation became very serious.

Recommendation 43

When feasible, a distinction should be established between short-term assistance and long-term assistance : the former would exclude, from the calculation of assistance to be paid, amounts which would normally be included in the calculation of the latter.

Short-term assistance should not include, except for rare cases, more than a sufficient amount to satisfy the essential needs to be determined by qualified authorities. Furthermore, long-term assistance should include payments which also apply to other essential needs which only arise if the situation of the person assisted requires extended financial help.

Short-term assistance, as we understand it here is in fact but a temporary assistance. It might cover a period of four months, for instance. Long-term assistance could cover more than four months (the expression "permanent assistance" should be discarded).

The necessity of distinguishing between short-term and long-term assistance implies, on the part of the distributing agency, a regular contact with the beneficiaries and complete information regarding the situation in which these beneficiaries find themselves.

Recommendation 44

The transfer from short-term assistance to long-term assistance should not be made automatically, but after a serious analysis of the case by the organization paying tho assistance.

In this whole matter, it is necessary to maintain a certain flexibility which takes the realities of life into consideration. Thus, it might happen that, from the very begining, certain persons appear to be really entitled to assistance for more than a period of four months. These cases should immediately be entitled to receive long-term assistance. It is also obvious that the recommended distinction cannot at the present time be applied to the so-called "categorized" allowances, as long as they exist in this form, with the exception, perhaps, of allowances to needy mothers.

2 – **Recommended Method**

a – *Nature of this Method*

The preceding recommendation, which involves the factors to be taken into account in the determination of the amounts of assistance, could easily lead to serious administrative complications. In fact, it is difficult to reach rapid decisions and be fair to the needy persons at the same time. Generally speaking, one cannot be hasty and fair at the same time. It can also happen that one's actions are neither expeditious nor judicious.

However, there is a way out of this dilemma. Its application is already in use almost everywhere in North America and its results show that public administration may become very effective, without thereby neglecting the variable needs of thousands of citizens who are different one from another. To achieve this, the present method of fixed rates must be abandoned and replaced by a method based on the amily budget. In Canada, this method is found under various names, two of the principal ones being the pre-added budget in Ontario and the budget deficit method in Saskatchewan and Alberta.

The present method of fixed rates is not more expeditious than the one recommended by the Committee and it does not permit the individualization of financial aid. Furthermore, it applies rather difficultly to an inter-

pretation of cases in view of prevention and rehabilitation; on this score, it is contrary to modern concepts in social assistance matters.

A more complete adaptation of assistance to variable situations would moreover conform to the terms of the Federal-Provincial agreement on unemployment assistance. The Committee is inclined to have serious doubts as to the validity of joint plans as such, but here, it is interesting to extract the meaning o fthe one which involves unemployment assistance. In fact, this Federal-Provincial agreement aims at "giving assistance to unemployed persons who are in need". According to the Federal officials consulted by the Committee, the meaning given to this expression is that all persons assisted under this joint plan should receive the assistance corresponding to their established and accepted needs. Thus is laid down a principle according to which it is necessary to consider each case on its own merit, instead of adhering to the concept of categorized allowances in force at the present time. It should be noted on this score that British Columbia had to modify its schedule of supplements to categorized allowances in order to comply with the Federal-Provincial agreement and benefit from the share paid by the Government of Canada.

Be that as it may, it is important to bear in mind that a closer attention to individual requests for assistance encourages an understanding of all the circumstances which brought about the state of indigence and its particular characteristics.

Recommendation 45

Financial assistance at home should be based on the budget method and not on fixed rates, as is being done at present.

The budget method does not imply that the assistance payments must satisfy the requirements of the family budget as it would be drawn up by the applicants themselves. On the contrary, it is the government authorities who determine in advance what should be a vital minimum for a family or individual. This minimum, of course, is adapted to the size of the family and the age of the children. It is from this minimum that the amounts are divided for different items such as food, clothing, household furnishings, lodging, heating, light, etc., and for each of these items, a definite amount is provided. Granted all the conditions were the same, certain ellements of the family budget could cause identical payments throughout the Province. On the other hand, others such as rent, heating and other expenses can vary according to the place and circumstances.

Previous recommendations have already indicated that regional fixed rates should be discarded and the amounts of assistance should in some way

correspond to family charges as well as to the duration of the period of indigency. Now the method of calculation which takes into account all the particular factors, without administrative complications, is the budgetary method. Because this method is flexible, it allows for the payment of assistance only where it is really needed and omits the items which the applicant has no particular need for. Thus, if his lodging is free of charge, if he can produce his own food in whole or in part, if he has enough clothing for the duration of the period of indigence, the amount of payment authorized will automatically be lower. It can also adapt the amounts of payment to the sex, age, degree of activity and state of health of the assisted persons.

The Committee believes that there should be a distinction between short-term and long-term assistance (Recommendation 43). Now, the budgetary method can easily take this difference into account. It would be a matter of including only the strictly essential items of expense in the calculation of short-term assistance.

The budget method would dispense with the necessity of dividing the Province into a multitude of regions, since it adjusts the amounts paid to the particular situation of the applicant and since, among other things, it takes into account the influence of the place of residence on the cost of minimum subsistance. This would eliminate the so-called "rural rates", inevitable source of criticism on the part of indigents who do not live in urban centres.

The use of the recommended method permits, in fact, the most accurate possible determination of the definite needs for which assistance should be paid. It shows whether a family's standard of living is normal, or whether its behaviour is unreasonable in certain respects. It simplifies the sound management of family resources, through discussion and advice which usually accompany the determination of assistance to be paid. Should these resources be poorly managed, the budget method, through a well directed interview, may help discern the causes of this situation and correct the deficiencies. Since the Department of Family and Social Welfare must in any case consider each application at the time it is made, the Committee's recommendation seeks to improve the present method and make it more realistic and equitable. Once the budget tables have been computed, the proposed method is relatively simple, according to those who already use it.

b – *Arising Problems*

Two questions arise in connection with the budget method:

— How is it possible to establish detailed budget tables for the quick determination of the amount of assistance?

— What changes is the budget method likely to cause in the total cost of assistance?

i – *Computation of Budget Tables*

In fact, the first problem is not so complicated as it appears. One may easily be guided by the experience of the other Canadian Provinces and American States, which have been using this method for a long time. The Committee believes it is simply a matter of adjusting the method used elsewhere to the needs of the Province of Quebec. Obviously, the amounts granted for each budget item will not be exactly the same. This is why a certain amount of research and original thinking is essential, particularly with respect to the satisfactory vital minimum, the family expenses and the living habits of the assisted persons.

Recommendation 46

The Programming and Research Bureau of the Department in collaboration with organizations concerned and pearsons qualified in this respesct, should be responsible for determining the contents of the budget, as well as the relative importance of budgetary items and of appropriate amounts. It should also ensure a periodical review of budgetary tables.

ii – *Financial Repercussions*

The second problem is somewhat delicate. It is, in fact, extremely difficult to assess the influence the budget method will have on the total cost of assistance. It is quite certain, however, that the assistance paid will be proportionate to the needs of the assisted persons. Some people will receive less than they do under the present regime, while others, particularly large families, will get more. It may be assumed, therefore, that the savings on the accounts paid to single persons will be spent to the benefit of large families. This, at least, is what emerges from the research carried out by the Committee.

It is not to be forgotten either, that for certain particular needs, such as special diets for some sick needy persons, payments to prevent a greater evil will cause new expenditures. However, the increase of payments in these fields will be translated into savings in the long run.

In fact, the Committee believes that adopting the budget method may cause an increase of certain expenses in the immediate future, because the

essential needs of large families, which are penalized under the present regime of rates, will be taken into account to a greater extent. In the long run, the establishment of greater fairness in the distribution of social assistance will result into better control of dependence and encourage rehabilitation efforts on the part of needy persons and families. Together with a prevention policy, the budget method will be more economical than the fixed rate method, in that we shall experience a better use of the amounts appropriated for social assistance, rather than a relative increase in the total cost of social welfare.

c – *Implementation*

As for the implementation of this method, it is advisable to proceed cautiously and to follow the experiment closely, in order to avoid clashes and recriminations.

RECOMMENDATION 47

The application of the budget method should be made in stages beginning, for instance, with large families and with new assistance cases as they are accepted.

Because of the tremendous turnover of assistance cases, one may anticipate that the new method would apply to almost all the needy within a relatively short time. The Committee recommends that the budget method be adopted first of all in the case of unemployment assistance, needy mothers' allowances and supplements to categorized allowances. Once a General Assistance Act has been promulgated (recommendation 9), it will eventually become possible to apply this method to the persons, who otherwise would receive categorized allowances.

C – PRESENT ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

Implementing the recommendation on the establishment of assistance rates would not — far from it — solve all the problems created by the present administration of the measures for financial assistance at home.

1 – Standards of Assistance

The administration of financial assistance at home requires that standards be adopted both for evolving action programs and evaluating the applications for assistance. These standards should be administrative guides at all levels and possess certain qualities, such as clarity and realism. They should be instruments of efficiency and not administrative paralysis, particularly for

the employees faced daily with the problems and requests of the persons and families.

RECOMMENDATION 48

The distribution of financial assistance should be guided by a certain number of clear and precise standards, known and publicized, favoring the evaluation of each particular case.

Obviously, it is not the Committee's function to draw up a list of these standards, but nevertheless, it wishes to point briefly to the fundamental principles which, in its opinion, must guide their conception, and which, moreover, emanate from this report as a whole and particularly from its spirit.

According to the Committee, the administrative standards of social assistance should be inspired by the following general principles and those which could logically stem therefrom:

— Financial assistance must be part of a design capable of rendering the assisted persons and families financially and socially independant.

— Abnormal situations should be corrected before they deteriorate. It is preferable to pay adequate financial assistance at home at the right time, rather than have to indefinitely prolong social assistance that is ineffectual, because it is belated and insufficient.

— One must constantly bear in mind that all deficient assistance will have financial and social consequences, and will, in the end, be more costly (placement of children, adults, delinquency, sickness, disrupted homes, indebtedness, etc.)

— In the struggle against social dependence, it is important to use, in addition to financial assistance, all the resources of the private sector, along with those originating with the State.

2 – Categories of Assistance in Current Use

At the present time, public assistance regulations provide for four classes of assistance; regular assistance, supplementary assistance, emergency assistance and special assistance. The first one is, by far, more important than the other three, as regards the amounts allotted and the number of persons involved.

The other three classes of assistance have been instituted to make the administration of categorized allowances and the public assistance regulations more flexible.

There will be no mention of the so-called supplementary assistance at this time, since the budget method and the eventual carrying out of a single social Act will eliminate its necessity.

a – *Emergency Assistance*

The budget method will permit the elimination of emergency assistance. This assistance aims at answering a specific and temporary need. Thanks to the budget method, such a need could easily be taken into account when establishing the amount of assistance to be granted while the emergency subsists. This type of assistance would be unecessary, should the process of assistance be accelerated. It often happens that assistance expeditiously and timely granted greatly minimizes a temporary problem, removes its potentially disastrous consequences and thus eliminates the possibility of such payments becoming regular.

Of course, there will always be cases which require almost immediate assistance. These have to be foreseen.

Recommendation 49

With the application of the budget method, emergency assistance as such should be abolished. As a precaution, on account of possible exceptional cases, decentralized emergency cash funds should be made available.

b – *Special Assistance*

Even when adopting the budget method and the above described standards, the Department will have to prescribe conditions of eligibility and set a maximum for social allowances. This means there will always be exceptional situations where special assistance will have to be paid. For instance, it might involve giving temporary assistance to the father of a family with modest income, whose wife is confined to a hospital, in order to allow him to pay for the services of a housekeeper and avoid placing the children away from home. In other cases, such as in times of disaster, the provided maximum will have to be exceeded. In order to avoid a greater evil and to foster the indigent's economic and social rehabilitation, a special assistance might also be paid.

Recommendation 50

Special assistance should ge granted only in accordance with a well-established plan, aimed at avoiding a disaster, at averting a greater evil and at rehabilitating, both socially and economically, assisted persons.

The Committee believes special assistance could be granted without having to resort to an Order in Council. Without intending to minimize the powers of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, the Committee is of the opinion that it could be left to a special board of senior officials to decide the validity of requests for special assistance.

Recommendation 51

Special assistance should be granted by a special Committee of senior officials of the Department.

3 – Exclusion of Family Allowances and Calculation of Permissible Income

As previously mentioned, the present regulations of the Department prescribe that, when figuring the assistance, family allowances be included in the applicant's income. After studying the text of the Federal Family Allowances Act, inquiring into the regulations of the other Provinces on this subject and doing some research on the budget of the families being assisted at the present time, the Committee believes this rule should be eliminated, even if it means a slight increase in disbursements.

The Federal Act, its regulations and the written directives deriving therefrom leave no place for doubt about the fact that family allowances are meant to increase the family income to the benefit of the children. Therefore, they cannot be assimilated to an additional income. They are paid to every family complying with the regulations, regardless of its financial situation. The Province of Ontario, moreover, has decreed, by Order in Council number 572, dated July 3, 1961, that family allowances should not be considered as an income when figuring assistance payments. The Quebec Needy Mothers' Assistance Act adopts the same rule. Furthermore, it appears contradictory that the Government of Quebec should include family allowances in the assisted families' income, while excluding therefrom its own school allowances. Finally, as previously mentioned, including family allowances in the figuring of an applicant's income penalizes large families and does not induce the claimant to find remunerative work.

Recommendation 52

In computing the amount of assistance, family allowances should not be considered as an income.

4 – Assistance in the Form of Services

One of the features of the present system of assistance at home is that it is too strongly oriented toward financial assistance only. No one claims

this type of assistance should disappear, since the indigent, like any other citizen, lives within a monetary economy. However, the Committee believes that, instead of paying financial assistance exclusively, it would often be preferable and more economical for society to supply certain services directly.

Where the public sector is involved, it is not a matter of the Department of Family and Social Welfare setting up a whole network of new services. On the contrary, it should be able to rely on the other departments for help on this score. Some services are already in existence: health clinics, Provincial employment offices, technical schools, treatment centres, adult education services, etc. Others, of course, would have to be organized, for instance, rehabilitation of the handicapped and help in family lodging.

In so far as services that may originate with the private scetor are concerned, these are sufficiently well known to make it unnecessary to mention them a new. The Committee, however, wants to recall that social agencies and other welfare organizations should primarily concern themselves with the persons of families which are assisted, or might need to be. They should avoid recruiting "new customers", on the pretence that the needy are already being assisted by the Province. As a matter of course, community resources and qualified personnel must be used at strategic points.

The considerable number of indigents assisted by the Province and the number of financially weak, who might become indigent in a more or less immediate future, specifically constitute the problem that should be solved by the private sector in co-operation with the public organizations.

RECOMMENDATION 53

Besides financial assistance, stress should be placed on service to be brought, on a preferential basis, to persons and families threatened with social dependency.

5 – Contribution of Persons Having Legal Obligations

The present regulations respecting financial assistance at home provide for the financial contribution of persons having legal obligations to the needy individuals and families, but in a way that may seem discriminatory. In fact, this contribution is imposed, according to definite calculations, only on those obligated by law who are living under the same roof as the applicant. It would seem, therefore, that those who live outside the claimant's home are free from any legal obligation.

The (Quebec) Public Charities Act does not provide for any penalty in order to compel the obligated-by-law to help one another. In such a

case, one must resort to the provisions of the Civil Code, which causes expenses and delays. Everyone does not have the resources necessary to take advantage of this measure, not to mention the fact that, in some regions of the Province, courts are not readily accessible. Finally, this recourse often causes family misunderstandings which are more prejudicial than the state of necessity. It is therefore a matter of adopting more realistic administrative standards while maintaining, as much as possible, the respect of the duties of persons obligated by law.

Recommendation 54

With respect to short-term assistance, especially regarding single persons, income and possible contributions of all persons obliged by law, excluding perhaps grandparents and grandchildren should be taken into account. With respect to long-term assistance, only that contribution, either in money or in kind, actually supplied by the person obliged by law should be taken into account.

Inquiries and research to determine the extent of the contribution of persons obligated by law may easily be long and expensive.

It is therefore important to assess previously the cost of inquiries and other steps in relation to the actual advantages that may be derived therefrom.

6 – Administrative Procedures

Under this general heading, the Committee presents its recommendations on the orientation of inquiries, compilation of files, wording of assistance cheques, creation of a board of appeal and reinstatement of assistance cases.

a – *Orientation of Inquiries*

The inquiry at the time an applicant requests financial assistance is essential to determine his eligibility. It is usually onerous because of the number of steps it requires from a conscientious inspector. It may be very useful, if well conducted, since it may furnish very precious particulars concerning the causes of the problems on hand, as well as the possibilities of social rehabilitation of the applicant.

During this inquiry, it may be decided whether the applicant should receive assistance in the form of money, services, or both. It is also from the information gathered at this time and from its interpretation that it will be possible to show some particulars regarding the possibility of extricating the applicant from his state of indigency. It stands to reason that the inquiry should serve the purpose of informing the claimant as to his rights and duties, as well as that of eliciting his co-operation.

The inquiry is therefore not a routine procedure which is to be cleared up as quickly as possible. A poorly planned and conducted inquiry may prove very expensive on its consequences. Moreover, formalities should be simplified, and useless requests and paper-work should be reduced as much as possible. The time and money saved in this way will find a better use in the analysis and the solution of the problems of the assisted persons, as well as in approaching their relatives, employers and the organizations that might be of service to them.

Recommendation 55

In addition to establishing the admissibility of a person or of a family to benefit from assistance, the inquiry should elucidate the true situation of the applicant in order to help in determining how the latter may best be assisted.

b – *Files and Central Index*

The integration of the social measures suggested by the Committee must also be reflected in the forms and files. The present dispersion of files in at least two divisions (Social Allowances Commission and Social Assistance Services) causes a continuous overlapping as harmful as it is costly. For this reason, the forms and files in use should be regrouped, as much to simplify routine procedure as to avoid repeated visits to the assisted families. The Department has already taken steps in this direction; these should be continued.

Recommendation 56

A single family-type file should be made up to facilitate prompt payment of assistance and a better knowledge of characteristics respecting assisted families.

In addition to his family type file, there should be a central index where all data relating to assistance and its beneficiaries should be collected

and summarized. Thus, at any time, the Department would be in a position to obtain adequate information regarding the evolution of its social welfare program.

Recommendation 57

A central filing index should be set up so that the Department may always be aware of social welfare problem and of their evolution.

c – *Wording of Assistance Cheques*

During its study of the functioning of the various welfare organizations, the Committee noted that the cheques issued by them did not always clearly indicate the source of assistance funds, or else they did in various ways. In fact, since May 1960, all these funds come exclusively from the Government of Quebec. It is important that the assisted persons be aware of this fact.

Recommendation 58

The Department of Family and Social Welfare should determine the working by which assistance cheques, distributed by organizations other than its own, will show the source of assistance funds.

d – *Establishment of a Revision Board*

Several recommendations have been submitted to the Committee regarding the necessity of a revision board for any applicant or beneficiary who might feel he has been wronged.

Section 24 and the following of the Quebec Public Charities Act provide for an appeal to a judge of a municipal court or a District Judge. Following the elimination of the municipal quote-part, it would seem that this procedure has become obsolete. The public assistance regulations stipulate that "an applicant or beneficiary may request that his case be reconsidered", but they do not specify how or to whom this request shall be made.

This right of appeal is justified by the fact that, in a democratic regime, any citizen may claim his rights according to certain definite procedures. The creation of a revision board would cause the elimination of the numerous recourses to third parties, such as members of parliament, political organizers and other so-called persons in authority. The existence of such a recourse would often put an end to criticism and more or less founded claims, and would avoid gratuitous charges against the Department and Government administration in general. Finally, the decisions reached by this board would

permit the setting up of a system of administrative findings capable of enlightening the Department on the application of the welfare policy.

Recommendation 59

The Department should institute a revision board where any applicant or beneficiary of assistance who feels that he/she has been wronged may vindicate his/her rights.

Of course, at the beginning the number of claims would be quite considerable. This is even unavoidable. However, the Committee believes these claims would progressively decrease through the improvement of administrative procedure, the increased training of personnel and the implementation of the Committee's recommendations.

e – *Reinstatement of Assistance Cases*

A true social rehabilitation policy implies that the assisted persons and families will eventually no longer be financially dependent on the State. However, before such a state of social independence can be reached, these persons must somehow learn to live on their own. Most of the time, this cannot be performed overnight. Periods of social dependence must be followed by others of relative independence up to such time as rehabilitation has been achieved. These conditions are normal. Thus, during the rehabilitation phase, it is important that the procedures for the reinstatement of the temporarily suspended assistance be flexible and expeditious. Otherwise, the assisted persons and families will not risk that their efforts at social rehabilitation mean for them the loss of financial assistance which will nevertheless still be required in times of need.

Recommendation 60

The procedure of readmission to assistance should be simple, fast and flexible.

The Committee also wishes to add that, as will be seen in the following chapter, the difficulties and delays of reinstatement to assistance may discourage the assisted persons and prevent them from accepting temporary employment lest they be unable to obtain assistance again. On this subject, it should be noted that some persons of families dependent on the State are less concerned with the amount of financial assistance at home represents for them than with the fact that these payments are received at regular intervals. In brief, they are seeking security, even if this does not ensure a high standard of living.

Chapter VIII

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

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SPECIAL PROBLEMS

The various briefs submitted to the Committee, as well as discussions with the representatives of several bodies and senior officials of the Department, brought to light problems of a specific kind which deserve special attention. Moreover, they concern financial assistance at home, which is within the terms of reference of the Committee.

The Committee does not claim to deal with all the problems related to the field of social welfare. It only wished, following its research and consideration of the problem, to furnish the elements of a solution and indicate the direction in which the Department and the Government of the Province of Quebec should bring their efforts to bear in relation to the specific problems which are briefly considered here.

It would be advisable for the Department to launch studies in depth on most of these problems through its Plannnig and Research Bureau. The Committee is also of the opinion that, if optimal use of public funds is to be made, the Government must not delay the finding of concrete solutions to the problems analysed in this chapter.

A – WORK AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

This question is an extremely complex one nad gives rise to a great deal of confusion. As it was brought up before the Committee several times, it should be examined somewhat closely. It also attracted the attention of the provincial Premiers at the Interprovincial Conference held in Victoria during the summer of 1962. It was also studied at the convention of the Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, at about the same time. Finally, several municipalities of the Province submitted recommendations on the subject to the Department.

In order to deal clearly with this subject, it is necessary to define 1) "work for relief", 2) winter works and 3) casual work.

1 – "Work for Relief"

By "work for relief", according to the usual meaning of this expression, we must understand the administrative practice which consists of requiring, from each person financially assisted by the Province, a certain amount of work in return for the assistance received.

The Committee is of the opinion that the solution of "work for relief" is much more somplex than a superficial study may indicate, as was shown by the more or less successful experiments in Canada and the United States during the depression of the thirties. This solution involves certain sociological and political principles on which a democratic society is based. It must finally be judged according to its real efficiency as regard society as well as the unemployed person himself.

"Work for relief" differs from the winter works program which is presently being carried out with the help of three sectors of government (Federal, Provincial and Municipal) and also from the various public works undertaken by modern governments during periods of serious economic recession.

The Committee is of the opinion that the solution to unemployment can only be found in a well-balanced economic growth which would enable everyone to be given employment according to his technical or professional training and to his state of health. It is sheer delusion to believe that, for the large majority of the unemployed receiving assistance, the remedy would lie in some type of forced labour. The employee would receive no professional benefit from such works and these would be of little use to society, from an economic point of view. This procedure, moreover, is coloured with autocratic and punitive measures.

Be that as it may, a recent study carried out in the United States (1) concludes that the launching of "work for relief" projects, even if they are conceived in a democratic fashion, is an extremely delicate one and requires adequate organization and supervision. It demands a complete evaluation of the capacities of the assisted unemployed. It also implies a variety of work projects which take into account the various and unequal qualifications of the unemployed. Finally, it is more costly than the assistance itself, because of the fact that administrative and supervisory costs and in some cases, expenditures for the transportation and feeding of the employed "unemployed", are added to the salaries of these workers. Thus, it is sheer delusion to believe that a certain amount, actually spent in the form of assistance to a certain number of unemployed, would suffice to put to work an equal number of assisted persons. One can expect, on the contrary, that only a certain number of unemployed concerned

(1) *Work Relief... a Current Look*, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Bureau of Family Services, Washington 25, D.C. Public Assistance Report No 52 — March 1962.

would be put to work; the others would still have to continue receiving unemployment assistance. On the whole a great deal of money will have been spent without having attained the desired result. Finally, these work projects often prevent the unemployed from looking for and finding regular and normal employment.

2 – Winter Works Programs

The relative importance of the winter works programs should not be overestimated. However, they have certainly contributed to the employment of persons, including certain farmers, who would otherwise have been unemployed. They tend to reanimate local economy. In a certain number of cases, they have permitted the accomplishment of certain projects which were useful to the community. As far as the unemployed themselves are concerned, these works, if they satisfy certain standards, are obviously more advantageous and less demoralizing than mere financial assistance.

The testimony received from various organizations, as well as the research conducted by the Committee, reveal certain gaps and weaknesses in these programs in the Province of Quebec :

a) Many small municipalities do not have the financiel resources necessary to undertake really useful works, because they cannot bear the cost of the required materials. Moreover, they are often unable to pay the salaries to the "unemployed" at work before receiving the share of expenses allotted to them by the higher governments. The unemployed are thus in a difficult situation.

b) The usemployed who benefit from unemployment assistance, and often are the least qualified applicants, do not always receive due preference. This situation can be attributed to different factors, among which one may mention the lack of coordination in the organizations concerned (welfare agencies, municipal welfare services, national employment services, provincial employment offices, municipalities, Department of Municipal Affairs), the pressure exerted by well-to-do farmers to obtain these jobs, and the lack of interest shown by the unemployed regarding some of these works.

c) The average duration of the works is shorter in rural than in urbain areas, namely 103 days instead of 164.

d) It was also reported to the Committee that many unemployed worked for short periods only, in order that as many as possible may benefit from the winter works policy, which appears logical and desirable. However, the remuneration for the unemployed's work and his readmission to assistance are delayed by this method. Nevertheless, the

majority of unemployed would like to take part in these winter works, but on the condition that the stability of their income should not be jeopardized, whether this income be derived from work or social assistance.

RECOMMENDATION 61

A systematic endeavour should be made by the Department of Family and Social Welfare and organizations connected therewith, jointly with provincial employment agencies, in order that winter works and other public works may be made more available to unemployed persons fit to work who are being aided through financial assistance at home.

3 – Casual Work

The employable unemployed, who are fewer than generally believed, may occasionnally find temporary work on their own or because of the possibilities in their environment. In so doing, they contribute in part to their own upkeep and retain sound working habits. However, the administrative methods regarding employment assistance, as currently applied in the Province of Quebec, discourage the search for temporary employment. People are afraid of losing their assistance and having to bear with lengthy delays and new investigations, before being reinstated. Consequently, too often they refuse temporary work that may be offered to them and resign themselves to inactivity. This attitude is both prejudicial to the assisted person and costly for the public treasury.

RECOMMENDATION 62

The unemployment assistance program should give a greater incentive to the seeking and acceptance of casual work by unemployed persons being assisted.

It is not the Committee's function to explain the administrative technique which might eventually be applied in this respect.

B – ASSITANCE IN RURAL AREAS

Assistance in rural settings is different from that in urban centres. Its terms and conditions must therefore be formulated by persons thoroughly familiar with the specific problems of this environment. At the general meetings

attended by the public officials and the representatives of welfare agencies, it was twice recommended that a committee of representatives of both public and private sectors be formed for the purpose of formulating a policy of assistance appropriate to the rural areas. The setting up of such a committee should no longer be delayed.

Instructions similar to those of March 1962 are too negative in their approach and might be deemed discriminatory. Moreover, they seem contrary to the terms of the regulations governing public assistance as well as to the meaning of the Act. The regulations, in fact, specify that a head of a family or an adult is eligible for assistance, if he is "without employment" and his state of unemployment "is not due to the character of a seasonal occupation, from which derives a sufficient income. The same remark applies to the new instructions issued on June 19,1962; entitled Assistance Projects in a Rural Setting; they present rates calculated according to terms and conditions appearing to be unnecessary restrictive and are a source of trouble and criticism.

RECOMMENDATION 63

A temporary committee should be constituted under the aegis of the Department of Family and Social Welfere, with a view to studying the problem of assistance in rural areas, particularly conditions of admissibility, the question of assistance by way of services and the integration of social assistance measures into various present and future rural development programs.

The "Budget method" previously proposed would permit an adequate assistance to the economically weak living in a rural environment, since it takes into account both the particular needs and the income of the persons assisted. There would therefore be no discrimination in the case of country people.

C – TECHNICAL TRAINING OF THE UNEMPLOYED

The Committee does not wish to bring up once more the concept that education is an excellent way of preventing unemployment. It only wishes to recall the fact that a large proportion of the unemployed are non-skilled workers who would probably be guided back to financial independence through increased technical training. The Government of the Province of Quebec has undertaken a vast program of education whose effects cannot be other than beneficial. The Committee believes that these efforts, associated with a policy of balanced economic growth, will bear fruit. However, while waiting for these long term measures to bring about the desired results, it is important that, by means of

more rapid technical training the employment of the unemployed be accelerated as much as possible.

The young, single, unemployed men are in a better position to benefit from this training. Since they have no family responsibilities, they can easily come and go. An effort should be made to keep them active so that they do not acquire the habit of idleness and become socially dependent. Statistics show that young men under 25 proportionately suffer from unemployment twice as much as does the labour force as a whole.

RECOMMENDATION 64

When possible, bachelors under the age of 25 should be obliged to follow professionnal training and pre-employment courses.

The Committee is aware of the fact that this recommendation cannot apply to all the young unemployed, because many regions lack the institutions necessary for such training. This is a problem to which the Department of Youth should pay particular attention.

The importance the Committee gives youth does not imply that the older unemployed do not need the same technical training. However, as it is impossible to do everything all at once, priorities must be established.

D – MEDICAL EXPENSES

The high incidence of illness in social assistance in the Province of Quebec is clearly reflected in the large number of persons who are unemployable and therefore dependent on the Province. If the improvement of these persons' health is not provided for, they will be unable to return to work or will find that their condition is deteriorating to the point where they will require, at a greater cost, home care or care in an institution.

Outside the cities, clinics and free medical services are somewhat scarce. The assisted persons must therefore bear a heavy financial burden in order to obtain essential care. As their meagre assistance budget is thereby greatly depleted, they must simply do without the essentials or resort to the limited resources of private charity.

In a document submitted on February 23, 1962, an interdepartmental committee, formed of representatives of the Department of Health and the Department of Family and Social Welfare, recommended in the following terms a study of the problem of medical expenditures incurred by assisted persons and families :

"It is recommended that the Government of the Province, together with the College of Physicians of the Province, should study the problem of medical costs and other fees, such as doctors', surgeons', anasthetists', incurred by needy persons."

This recommendation does not seem to have been applied. Certain Provinces, namely Ontario, have for some years past worked out health protection programs for needy persons. These consist of agreements concluded between the Provincial Governments and the College of Physicians, Dentists or other groups.

Recommendation 65

The Quebec Government should enter into immediate agreements with the College of Physicians of the Province of Quebec and other professional bodies with a view to procuring for indigents the medical care which their state of health requires. This project could be financed in collaboration with organizations connected with health insurance.

During the last few years, certain measures were initiated with the intention of supplying special home care. Thus, nurses visit the homes of the patients who cannot easily come and go. These measures should be supported because care so given is relatively inexpensive for the Province and permits treatment in an atmosphere favourable to the patient's recovery.

Recommendation 66

The Quebec Government should promote the development of preventive and curative home care services ensured by specialists for various medical and paramedical professions.

E – REHABILITATION OF DISABLED PERSONS

Because of the large number of disabled persons and unemployables who are dependent on the Province at the present time, it is necessary to foster the reintegration into an active life of those for whom it is possible.

Senior officials of the Department have informed the Committee that an important percentage of handicapped may be placed on the labour market again following appropriate treatment. This opinion is shared by persons in responsible positions in the welfare agencies. Thanks to systematic and sustained efforts, this fact is clearly shown through the results already obtained in Can-

ada. A report dated May, 1962, from the Federal Department of Labour, indicates that in Canada, during the fiscal year 1961-1962, 1,669 disabled persons with 1,300 dependents, costing $902,919 per year in assistance payments, earned the annual sum of $3,198,547.00 after rehabilitation.

At the Meurling Rehabilitation Centre of the City of Montreal, sheltering disoriented vagabonds, often victims of alcoholism, 234 out of 713 admitted in 1961 were able to do remunerative work after having undergone a cure for disintoxication and benefitted from the advice of specialists. This Centre probably receives persons who have reached the lowest level of degradation and who therefore are the most difficult to rehabilitate.

In this regard, the Committee does not wish to present any particular recommendations. They are explicitly or implicitly included in the report, especially when it deals with the question of social rehabilitation. In fact, this section is aimed at drawing attention to the problem of physically and mentally disabled persons. So far, consideration has been given mostly to the social rehabilitation of assisted persons and families. The Committee admits, however, that physical and mental rehabilitation is more complex and expensive than social treatment and cannot be applied in all cases. Nevertheless, rehabilitation is indispensable in many cases since, in the long run, it is proven to be more economical than permanent assistance.

F – DESERTION OF THE FAMILY

While no precise statistics are available regarding the extent of this problem, evidence collected by welfare agencies, family services, organizations for children's aid and social service courts permit to state that desertion of the home may be considered as a highly important social problem in the Province of Quebec.

Usually, nothing is known about such desertion until a file is opened regarding a request for assistance or a court order. Until now, the tendency was to face the problem of desertion by remedying its consequence, either by going to court and having the deserter punished and compelled to provide for his family, or by giving financial assistance to the deserted families left in a state of indigence.

Recommendation 67

An extensive study with respect to family disorganization should be undertaken in order to discover the precise causes and consequences of home desertion and remedial action to be taken in this regard.

However, the Committee is of the opinion that the punitive measures provided for by law should be retained and even strengthened in certain cases.

Moreover, it is of the opinion that certain preventive measures could be immediately taken, such as a better education of young people regarding their role, their marital responsibilities and the education of their children; the setting up of marriage counselling services in order to help couples faced with difficulties; and, finally, the improvement of legislation regarding deserted families.

When a case of desertion is brought to the attention of the courts or social welfare services, an attempt should be made to reconcile the spouses even in the case of court action aimed at forcing the husband to provide for his family. It seems utterly illogical that the Province should have to spend public funds to provide for a deserted family, without seriously considering the possibility of a reconciliation.

It would appear necessary for the Government of the Province of Quebec to formulate an Act on desertion, taking into account the present provisions of the Civil Code as well as the religious and cultural requirements of the population of the Province.

RECOMMENDATION 68

The Quebec Government should establish family courts for the hearing of cases respecting matrimonial problems.

It would be advisable to maintain close relationships between these courts and social organizations in order to provide efficient and prompt co-operation.

The family courts could operate on the same basis as the Municipal Court of Montreal, which has created a domestic relations tribunal. The judges have obtained the co-operation of the Social Welfare Service of the City of Montreal. This step taken by the Municipal Court of Montreal has not only checked the aggravation of many cases but has also resulted in enabling substantial savings for the Department. If no intervention had taken place, the expenses would have been greater for the Province, following the admission of children in foster homes or institutions and the payment of allowances to homes in distress.

The responsibility for tracing the missing husband rests with the state. The desertion of a family is anti-social. Its consequences have a profond effect on the victimized spouse and children. Sanctions imposed by the courts are important and restrain the persons who intend to definitely leave their families. The law itself should facilitate the arrest of the deserter, and the Provinces should come to an agreement in this regard.

RECOMMENDATION 69

There should be a legal assistance bureau in each district.

At this time, the Committee is pleased to point out the measures taken by the Bars of Montreal, Quebec, Sherbrooke and recently, Trois-Rivières. Constituted in 1956, the Montreal Bureau of Legal Assistance has attained important achievements. For the year 1961 alone, over one thousand new files were referred to it by the municipal courts, social agencies and charitable organizations. More than half the complaints lodged related to matrimonial difficulties. As far as the cases requiring an investigation before the court were concerned, the interested parties were represented by attorneys appointed by the Bar. Their cases were following up thanks to the help of the Rehabilitation Section of the Social Welfare Service of Montreal.

G – INDEBTEDNESS

The problem of indebtedness is an important factor in the life of needy families, because the results are particularly disastrous: family squables, separation, placement of children, mother going out to work, eviction and dispossession.

The indebtedness may have occured previous to the period of assistance. It is usually the result of a poor administration of the family budget along with solicitations of all kinds against which a large part of the public is ill prepared to resist. Incidentally, this brings up the thorny problem of term sales, and the facility with which families with a modest income can obtain personal loans at exorbitant interest rates. Indebtedness also stems from the fact that families unduly postpone the request for necessary assistance.

Indebtedness during a period of assistance almost always arises out of the same causes. Furthermore, the families which request and are granted assistance do not receive any until a long enough period has elapsed. Others obtain insufficient amounts and try to have them increased later on. In the meantime, these people go into debt and their situation is very bad at the time assistance is finally granted or increased.

The present regulations do not officially permit to take into account indebtedness, regardless of its nature, in the calculation of regular assistance allowances. At such a time, it is necessary to resort to the so-called special or emergency assistance or leave the families to their fate, when no other means are available.

Recommendation 70

In certain particular cases, long-term assistance should consider the indebtedness of a beneficiary, providing all other resources have been explored and eventually used.

On the whole, the preceding recommendation aims at introducing a certain flexibility in a field where it is impossible and not very realistic to adopt a rigid attitude. It simply means that, occasionally – to avoid a worse situation or facilitate the return to financial independence of assisted persons or families – the Department should take over the debts of a claimant, in whole or in part. This is, moreover, a common practice in other Provinces. All new steps in this field should be taken with the greatest circumspection in order to avoid establishing costly precedents. In fact, each case of indebtedness should be evaluated according to its own merit.

Recommendation 71

Debts contracted during the period of assistance should be analyzed to discover causes of indebtedness in order that necessary corrective steps may be taken, such as administration of the family budget by a third party and payment of certain services directly to the suppliers.

In reality, the problem brought up in this section cannot be solved unless a thorough effort is made to educate the economically weak families. Among these families, those living from the payments granted by social assistance programs should receive particular attention. On this score, the Committee was interested to learn about a recent initiative launched by the Confederation of National Trade Unions, in co-operation with the "Caisses Populaires". The Committee hopes that this experience, which has already met with success, will manage to spread throughout the Province. It affords a solution to a very serious family problem.

Chapter IX

SUMMARY OF THE COMMITTEE'S FINDINGS AND SCHEDULE OF RECOMMENDATIONS

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SUMMARY OF THE COMMITTEE'S FINDINGS AND SCHEDULE OF RECOMMENDATIONS

For the first time, in the Province of Quebec, a study committee has been entrusted with the making of an exhaustive study of the complex and extensive problem of *"assistance at home"* (1). The members of the Committee believed that, to perform useful work, it was important that they consider the question as a whole, by looking first of all into the basic problems.

In conformity with the third and fourth parts of its terms of reference, the Committee then applied itself to the study of the welfare concept in Quebec and then analysed the structure governing it. Both questions have very concrete implications on the material organization and administration of assistance at home.

Seen in that light, the question of rates and especially that of the methods of assistance – first and second points of the Committee's terms of reference – could not then be settled before a previous definition of the orientation of the Quebec program for social assistance and an analysis of its structures.

At the end of its report, the Committee wishes to summarize its findings and present a list of its recommendations.

A – SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Indigence, be it the cause of numerous other difficulties, is first and foremost the consequence of a state of circumstances which causes individuals and families to be temporarily or permanently deprived of financial resources.

Indigents are sometimes primarily responsible for the disadvantageous

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(1) Royal Commissions (Montpetit, Tremblay, etc.) have already dealt with the question of home assistance, but it was not the main object of their work.

NOTE : In this document the term "assistance at home" is used to describe assistance paid to persons in their own homes.

situation in which they have placed themselves through carelessness, but they often are the victims of their environment, i.e., society. Thus, persons who are dependent one generation after another are not the only ones responsible for their difficulties.

Nobody will deny, either, that economic and social phenomena may throw whole families into indigence. Social security measures, such as financial assistance at home, actually exist to minimize the consequences of such phenomena. The importance of financial costs which public welfare programs may bring about is therefore usually a mere result of such economic and social factors.

1 – The Cost of Financial Assistance

The increase of expenditures in the field of social welfare may be attributed mainly to the four following causes : extension and improvement of social security measures, lack of preparation and adaptation of administrative structures, inadequacy of rehabilitation efforts on behalf of assisted persons, and deficiencies of government – policies in the economic and social fields.

In Quebec, these four general causes have contributed to the sharp increase of social assistance expenditures in recent years. The first cause is obvious and readily identified and measured; this does not apply in the case of the last three causes even if facts point beyond and doubt to their presence and influence.

In addition to those general causes – and this is the first finding of the Committee – other more specific causes relating to the period of 1959 to 1961 become apparent : *the Federal-Provincial agreement on unemployment assistance and its implications, the creation of new categories, the election of 1960 with the accompanying propaganda, and the abolition of municipal participation in public assistance. The Committee also noticed that the cost of assistance reaches a relatively higher level in Quebec than in the majority of the other Provinces. The poor state of health of the people, the weakness of Quebec's economy, the low level of education and, in a certain measure, the mentality of the population explain this state of things.*

Chapter II delves into the question of the cost of assistance and gives a much more detailed explanation of all those general and specific factors.

2 – The Policy of the Quebec Government

It does not appear that, for the past two or three decades, the Quebec Government has grasped the essential relationship that existed then and still does between the deficiencies or even the absence of an economic and social policy of rehabilitation and prevention and the ills deriving therefrom : constant

increase in the number of assisted persons, marked increase of the financial burden of social assistance and gradual weakening of parts of the population, especially the population living in depressed areas. In other words, if one has been astonished at the size of the effects deriving from such social evils, no one has for a long time given any thought to a serious action against their causes: unemployment, regional underdevelopment, deficient state of health, inadequate education, etc. Recently, efforts have been made especially with regard to education, health and economic development; it is too early, however, for all the results of such a long-term policy to be tangibly evident.

The second general finding of the Committee is therefore as follows : *The policy of the Quebec Government in the economic and social fields has not yet reached the roots of the problems of which expenditures in social assistance are but one consequence.*

Chapter III deals especially with problems engendered by insufficient co-ordination between the various policies of the Quebec Government.

3 – The Role of the State

The notion generally held in Quebec of the role of the State in the field of public welfare is in no way related to the extent of the concrete responsibilities it has assumed in fact. More precisely, there is a marked contradiction between reality and opinions held about it. It is easy to note on the one hand the importance of the sums provided annually for social assistance, while, on the other hand, there is still talk of the "supplementary role of the State" in such an area.

This method of considering facts is quite widespread among the public. It comes from the concept which always prevailed in our midst, in respect on the role of the State. Seldom has there been any attempt to verify whether or not facts agreed with the theoretical interpretation given them. It so happens that, for all practical purposes, it is the private welfare sector which plays a supplementary role in relation to the public sector. To appreciate this fact, a simple comparison of the sums assigned to social welfare by both sectors is sufficient.

All sorts of reasons may explain the present financial importance of public welfare in comparison with that of the private sector. What is important however – and therefrom proceeds the third finding of the Committee – is to point out that, at the Government level, the previously indicated lag between facts and opinions is clearly shown. The Committee found therein a *marked misunderstanding of the true role of the State in the field of public welfare.* This lack of understanding relates to both principle and facts. In brief, at the Government administration level, not only has the theoretical problem of public

responsibility in relation to private responsibility never been seriously expounded; neither the reasons nor the meaning of duties gradually attributed to the State in the field of social assistance have ever been fully grasped, nor have the obligations normally deriving therefrom. This state of affairs has major and concrete consequences.

In Chapter IV, the Committee has specified the significance and the scope of that conclusion.

4 – Administrative Structures

Due to this misunderstanding of the role of the State and also the fact that great changes in the Quebec social security regime have occurred at critical times, both from an economic and political point of view, the administration responsible for public assistance at home was never conceived according to an overall plan, capable of adjusting itself smoothly and without delay to new circumstances. It was rather built up by a successive addition of new services, rapidly established and inserted haphazardly into the structures, thus upsetting their equilibrium. All was centralized and concentrated in Quebec City through the distrust surrounding the decisions which could be reached at the local level. There were also transfers of responsibilities from one Department to another, without ensuring that the new services were organically linked with those they were added to.

The serious shortage of personnel trained for the new tasks, together with the constant expansion of administrative structures, brought about practices ranging from flexibility based on vague standards, to a more frequent rigidity which could neutralize the initiatives based on the best motives. Financial assistance at home – and the same could be said of the social security measures administered by the Government of Quebec as a whole – became, through social and electoral circumtances, a sort of sorcerer's apprentice on whose mischiefs it was attempted to put a curb, while failing to grasp the deep causes which induced them. Hence the fourth finding of the Committee: *administrative structures responsible for financial assistance at home have suffered from improvisation, lack of integration, improperly defined responsibilities and concentration not easily justified.*

In Chapter V, the Committee deals at length with this subject.

5 – Methods of Co-operation

It is little wonder then that relations have been generally unsatisfactory between the public sector of financial assistance at home and the private sector entrusted with its administration at the local level. Methods of co-operation

which should normally have been efficiently etsablished between the two sectors responsible for financial assistance at home were distorted to the detriment of both parties involved and, hence, of the beneficiaries. The Committee soon realized the great lack of understanding on both sides in this field, and saw in it the almost unavoidable result of faulty perception and the administrative shortcoming already mentioned in the previous findings. There were times, in the course of the recent history of assistance at home, when relations between the public and private sectors appeared likely to improve. They were, most of the time, only sporadic manifestations, incapable of continuing and developing because they were rooted in a field both administratively and psychologicaly sterile. This is then the fifth finding of the Committee: *The methods of co-operation between the public and private sectors, both involved in their own way in the administration of financial assistance at home, are imperfect and unsatisfactory.*

This is dealt with in Chapter VI.

6 – Terms and Conditions of Assistance

The administration of a vast social security program obviously presents many daily difficulties of a concrete nature, especially in regard to the establishment of assistance rates. In Quebec, in spite of an obvious improvement in this respect in recent years, the present rates of assistance do not sufficiently take into account the actual state of indigence and do not help the Department of Family and Social Welfare reach the goal it has set for itself, i.e., the full development of the family. This is the sixth major finding o the Committee and it is dealt with in detail in Chapter VII.

It is quite obvious that the Committee has made several other findings from its examination of the facts. All of these findings, however, may be connected to one or the other of the six major ones mentioned in this summary. Besides, this last Chapter is only a general outline of the whole problem the Committee wished to deal with in its report. The web of concrete facts upon which its diagnosis is based has been examined in depth in the previous chapters.

B – LIST OF RECOMMANDATIONS

Each of the Committee's findings has given rise to several recommendations. They are detailed and explained in the previous chapters. They are grouped here, for easier reference.

Recommendation 1

The Quebec Government should, within the limits of its powers, intensify the application of an overall economic and social policy directed towards the solution of problems the consequence of which the department of Family and Social Welfare has to bear, in great measure, without however being in a position to act upon all their causes.

Recommendation 2

It is important that the overall economic and social policy of the Quebec Government be coordinated in its parts and coherent in its orientation.

Recommendation 3

In the conception and the application of social welfare measures or others pertaining thereto, constant relations should be established between the Department of Family and Social Welfare and the other Departments.

Recommendation 4

In order to establish relations solidly and to make them efficient, a permanent interdepartmental committee should be constituted at the level of the Deputy Ministers.

Recommendation 5

In order to ensure efficiency, continuity and cohesion of the interdepartmental committee's proceeding, a liaison officer should be appointed in the Department of Family and Social Welfare as well as in the other Departments concerned.

Recommendation 6

The Quebec Government should acknowledge in theory and in practice an increasingly dynamic and creative role in social security matters and especially in the matter of financial home assistance; it should therefore accept in a positive and realistic manner all consequences resulting from this necessary role.

Recommendation 7

The Quebec Government should recognize explicitly, in its social legislation as well as in the regulations governing its application, the principle according to which any individual in need is entitled to assistance from the State, whatever the immediate or remote cause of this need may be.

Recommendation 8

Financial assistance at home should enable an individual (or a family), momentarily or definitively deprived of regular means of subsistence, to nevertheless meet essential needs, in a constant and autonomous way, without attaint to human dignity, without discrimination based on nationality, race or creed.

Recommendation 9

The Public Charities Act should be repealed and replaced by a new General Social Assistance Act.

Recommendation 10

The new General Social Assistance Act should form an integrated whole adapted to present and future requirements of welfare; to accomplish this it should absorb all other similar legislations.

Recommendation 11

Before the New General Social Assistance Act incorporates all assistance payments, a period of readjustment should be allowed for; allowances previously granted should continue for a while to be paid in their present form.

Recommendation 12

The new General Social Assistance Act should exclude all elements alien to financial assistance at home.

Recommendation 13

The Quebec Government should promulgate a distinct and unified legislation respecting child welfare as well as the admission of the aged and other adults into institutions.

Recommendation 14

The Quebec Government should pursue and intensify its efforts in order to obtain the withdrawal of the Federal Goverment from joint social assistance programs and have the Federal Government compensate, through extension of taxation fields, the Province of Quebec increased expenses arising therefrom.

Recommendation 15

The Quebec Government, faced with its responsibilities, should direct its social action towards individual and collective prevention and express this in its legislation.

Recommendation 16

The Quebec Government should furthermore complete its preventive social action by a constantly renewed concern, explicitly recognized in its social legislation, for individual and community rehabilitation.

Recommendation 17

The Quebec Government, and especially the Department of Family and Social Welfare, should undertake pilot-projects centered on well defined social problems.

Recommendation 18

The Department of Family and Social Welfare should financially assist welfare organizations devoted to social preventive and rehabilitative measures.

Recommendation 19

All the Department's financial assistance should be structured anew by elimination of the partitioning which exists at present between the Social Allowances Commission and the Social Assistance Services, as well as of the duplication proceeding therefrom. The whole service henceforth responsible for financial assistance should come under the complete jurisdiction of the Deputy Minister.

Recommendation 20

All the Department's administrative structure should be grouped within a same building.

Recommendation 21

If it is essential to merge the financial assistance services and to group all the Department's administrative structures under the same roof, some of its activities should nevertheless be decentralized by furthering the establishment of a regional welfare office network.

Recommendation 22

The establishment, the structure and the geographical extension of the regional welfare offices should be carried out within the framework of an efficient delegation of authority.

Recommendation 23

The powers of decision corresponding to each level of authority should be based on clear and precise standards, including the definition of situations involved and the determination of the amounts of assistance pertaining to each level of authority.

Recommendation 24

The Department of Family and Social Welfare should establish a system of administrative supervision which would not be restricted solely to the Department's decentralized financial operations, but which, by dealing with all aspects of management, would be charged with the supervision of application of Government policy respecting financial assistance at home, the guidance of work to be carried out by the regional welfare offices and by the organizations entrusted with financial assistance, and, from reports submitted, the production of suitable documentation for the formulation of new directives by the qualified officers of the Department.

Recommendation 25

Auditing procedures should be simplified and reduced in number, to be based increasingly more upon modern methods of sampling.

Recommendation 26

The Department of Family and Social Welfare should constitute a Programming and Research Bureau under the direct authority of the Deputy Minister.

Recommendation 27

For the smooth running and the well-ordered administration of financial assistance at home, the Department should recruit personnel trained for the new tasks.

Recommendation 28

It should be made possible for a greater number of civil officials and intermediaries to acquire more advanced university training in social welfare and public administration.

Recommendation 29

The Department should provide for its personnel a continuous in-service training program.

Recommendation 30

The Department of Family and Social Welfare should give very special attention to the choice and training of those of its employees who, on account of their duties, are called upon to come in direct contact with the public.

Recommendation 31

The administration and the distribution of public funds appropriated by the Government for social assistance, save for certain exceptions, should be assumed by Governmental services themselves.

Recommendation 32

Social agencies, recognized by the Lieutenant Govrenor in Council, should be able to continue to administer public funds devoted to financial assistance at home.

Recommendation 33

In order to be recognized by the Lieutenant Governor in Council as a distributing agency, social agencies should meet certain common and uniform administrative requirements.

Recommendation 34

The Department of Family and Social Welfare should determine the relations which should exist between the Department and the recognized social agencies by means of a contract, and should also assume for the agencies financial responsibilities deriving therefrom.

Recommendation 35

Some municipalities, recognized by the Lieutenant Governor in Council, could distribute provincial funds devoted to financial assistance at home.

Recommendation 36

Municipalities should be incited to assume, with respect to social welfare, responsibilities more consistent with their nature.

Recommendation 37

It is essential that the regional welfare offices of the Department of Family and Social Welfare should collaborate with all other community organizations, local or regional, whether they be directly or indirectly related to social welfare.

Recommendation 38

The Quebec Government should proceed to the establishment of a Superior Council of Family and Social Welfare which would act as an advisory committee to the Department.

Recommendation 39

This Superior Council of Family and Social Welfare should be instituted by an Act defining its status, its composition and its powers.

Recommendation 40

Amounts of assistance to be paid should not be computed on the so called method of "regional rates"; it would be preferable to use a system of calculation, less artificial, which would take into account, without administrative complications, the multiplicity of particular circumstances and the place of residence of the beneficiary.

Recommendation 41

In a true family policy viewpoint, amounts of assistance should be proportionate to family responsibilities ; that is, they should take into account, as adequately as possible, the number, age and sex of the children.

Recommendation 42

Financial assistance should be high enough and flexible in its rates, in order that through such assistance and the use of other means of support, it may be possible to eliminate situations which might otherwise become permanent and thus more costly in the long run.

Recommendation 43

When feasible, a distinction should be established between short-term assistance and long-term assistance; the former would exclude from the calculation of assistance to be paid, amounts which would normally be included in the calculation of the latter.

Recommendation 44

The transfer from short-term assistance to long-term assistance should not be made automatically, but after a serious analysis of the case by the organizations paying the assistance.

Recommendation 45

Financial assistance at home should be based on the budget method and not on fixed rates, as it is being done at present.

Recommendation 46

The Department's Programming and Research Bureau, in collaboration with organizations concerned and persons qualified in this respect, should be responsible for determining the contents of the budget as well as the relative importance of budgetary items and of appropriate amounts. It should ensure a periodical review of budgetary tables.

Recommendation 47

The application of the budget method should be made in stages, beginning, for instance, with large families and with new assistance cases as they are accepted.

Recommendation 48

The distribution of financial assistance should be guided by a certain number of clear and precise standards, known and publicized, favoring the evaluation of each particular case.

Recommendation 49

With the application of the budget method, emergency assistance as such should be abolished. As a precaution, on account of possible exceptional cases, decentralized emergency cash funds should be made available.

Recommendation 50

Special assistance should be granted only in accordance with a well-established plan, aimed at avoiding a disaster, at averting a greater evil and at rehabilitating, both socially and economically, assisted persons.

Recommendation 51

Special assistance should be granted by a special commitee of senior officials of the Department.

Recommendation 52

In computing the amount of assistance, family allowances should not be considered as an income.

Recommendation 53

Besides financial assistance, stress should be placed in services to be brought, on a preferential basis, to persons and families threatened with social dependency.

Recommendation 54

With respect to short-term assistance, especially regarding single persons, income and possible contributions of all persons obliged by law, excluding perhaps grandparents and grandchildren, should be taken into account. With respect to long-term assistance, only that contribution, either in money or in kind, actually supplied by the person obliged by law should be taken into account.

Recommendation 55

In addition to establishing the admissibility of a person or of a family to benefit from assistance, the inquiry should elucidate the true situation of the applicant in order to help in determining how the latter may best be assisted.

Recommendation 56

A single family-type file should be made up to facilitate prompt payment of assistance and a better knowledge of characteristics respecting assisted families.

Recommendation 57

A central filing index should be set up so that the Department may always be aware of social welfare problems and of their evolution.

Recommendation 58

The Department of Family and Social Welfare should determine the wording by which assistance cheques, distributed by organizations other than its own, will show the source of assistance funds.

Recommendation 59

The Department should institute a revision board where any applicant or beneficiary of assistance, who feels the he/she has been wronged, may vindicate his/her rights.

Recommendation 60

The procedure of readmission to assistance should be simple, fast and flexible.

Recommendation 61

A systematic endeavor should be made by the Department of Family and Social Welfare and organizations connected therewith, jointly with Provincial employment agencies, in order that winter works and other public works may be made more available to unemployed persons fit to work who are being aided through financial assistance at home.

Recommendation 62

The unemployment assistance program should give a greater incentive to the seeking and acceptance of casual work by unemployed persons being assisted.

Recommendation 63

A temporary commitee should be constituted under the aegis of the Department of Family and Social Welfare, with a view to studying the problem of assistance in rural areas, particularily the conditions of admissibility, the question of assistance by way of services and the integration of social assistance measures into various present and future rural development programs.

Recommendation 64

When possible, single men under the age of 25 should be obliged to follow professional training and pre-employment courses.

Recommendation 65

The Quebec Government should enter into immediate agreements with the College of Physicians of the Province of Quebec and other professional bodies with a view to procuring for indigents the medical care which their state of health requires. This project could be financed in collaboration with organizations connected with health insurance.

Recommendation 66

The Quebec Government should promote the development of preventive and curative home care services ensured by specialists from various medical and paramedical professions.

Recommendation 67

An extensive study with respect to family disorganization should be undertaken in order to discover the precise causes and consequences of home desertion and remedial action to be taken in this regard.

Recommendation 68

The Quebec Government should establish family courts for the hearing of cases respecting matrimonial problems.

Recommendation 69

There should be a legal assistance bureau in each district.

Recommendation 70

In certain particular cases, long-term assistance should consider the indebtedness of a beneficiary, providing all other resources have been explored and eventually used.

Recommendation 71

Debts contracted during the period of assistance should be analyzed to discover causes of indebtedness in order that necessary corrective steps may be taken, such as administration of the family budget by a third party and payment of certain services directly to the suppliers.

APPENDIX

Alphabetical list of organizations which have submitted briefs places where and dates when hearings were held.

Association (L') de diététique du Québec	Montreal	June 28, 1962
Association (L') des fonctionnaires professionnels municipaux de Montréal		
Association (L') des veuves de Montréal Inc.		
Caritas-Canada	Montreal	April 26, 1962
Centre (Le) de service social du diocèse de Sherbrooke	Sherbrooke	May 3, 1962
Centre (Le) de service social du diocèse de Trois-Rivières	Trois-Rivières	April 5, 1962
Collège (Le) des chirurgiens-dentistes de la province de Québec	Quebec	July 5, 1962
Confederation of National Labour Unions	Quebec	June 27, 1962
Corporation of Professional Social Workers of the Province of Quebec	Montreal	May 29, 1962
Corporation (La) du service d'assistance du diocèse de Joliette	Montreal	April 12, 1962
Corporation (La) du service social du diocèse de St-Jérôme	Montreal	April 12, 1962
Federation of Labour of the Province of Quebec	Montreal	June 29, 1962
Montreal Interfederation Council	Montreal	May 8, 1962

Professional Association of Industrialists	Montreal	June 28, 1962
Service (Le) social de Hull Inc.	Hull	May 25, 1962
Service (Le) social de l'enfance et de la famille du diocèse de Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière	Quebec	May 17, 1962
Service (Le) social du diocèse d'Amos	Amos	July 4, 1962
Service (Le) social du diocèse de Chicoutimi	Chicoutimi	May 9, 1962
Service (Le) social du diocèse de Gaspé	Quebec	May 17, 1962
Service (Le) social du diocèse de Mont-Laurier	Montreal	April 26, 1962
Service (Le) social du diocèse de Nicolet	Nicolet	May 2, 1962
Service (Le) social du diocèse de Rimouski	Quebec	May 17, 1962
Service (Le) social du diocèse de St-Hyacinthe	St-Hyacinthe	May 2, 1962
Service (Le) social du diocèse de St-Jean	Montreal	April 13, 1962
Service (Le) social du diocèse de Valleyfield	Valleyfield	May 3, 1962
Service (Le) social du Saguenay	Quebec	May 10, 1962
Social Welfare Service of the City of Montreal	Montreal	March 29, 1962
Société (La) de protection Notre-Dame	Montreal	June 28, 1962
Union (L') catholique des cultivateurs	Quebec	Aug. 28, 1962
Welfare Council of the diocese of Quebec	Quebec	May 25, 1962

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