

# first reading

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In the recent British Columbia election one of the two Social Credit election promises was to raise the provincial minimum wage. Provided that this promise is fulfilled it is very likely that Alberta will very soon be left alone, in last place on the provincial list of minimum wages.

Since May 1981, the Alberta minimum wage has remained stalled at \$3.80 an hour. In this same five year period the number of Alberta families that have found themselves living below the poverty line has more than doubled and the cost of living in the province has jumped more than one-third. Given this disturbing picture, and the apparent political appeal of the minimum wage issue, it is disappointing to hear ministers in Alberta's government expressing their belief that the current \$3.80 an hour is "adequate for the purpose" and that "a time of high unemployment is not the time to be talking about increasing the minimum wage."

This edition of **First Reading** takes a detailed look at the minimum wage debate; the policies, the politics and the pay picture in Alberta.

With 85% of Albertans depending on wages for their income it is also critically important to examine the present distribution of income in the province. **First Reading** is therefore pleased to include, as a special supplement, an edition of **Alberta Facts** which addresses this important issue. As well, with this edition we urge all of our readers to become members of the Edmonton Social Planning Council. Completing the enclosed membership application will provide an opportunity for you to be involved in the work of the Council and to be kept informed about current social issues in the community.

The staff and members of the Board of the Council would like to wish all of you who receive and read **First Reading** the best of the holiday season.

# Dealing with Wages

The notion of a minimum wage has been with the English speaking world for nearly two hundred years. When the magistrates met at Speenhamland in 1795, it was proposed that the daily wage of a labourer be raised in order that the worker might be able to pay for the ever increasing cost of necessary provisions. After much discussion the magistrates opted not for a minimum wage, but rather for a system of supplements in which the difference between what the labourer earned and what the magistrates deemed necessary for him and his family to exist was established. The Speenhamland system, as it became known, became the dominant system of relief until the passage of the reactionary New Poor Law nearly forty years later in 1834.

The ideological fervor of the New Poor Laws saw Speenhamland supplementation as the cause, rather than a symptom, of poverty. Using the Poor House as a basic deterrent, the New Poor Law enshrined the idea that no person receiving assistance should receive more than the least paid worker. Thus the doctrine of less eligibility was established. In the words of Disraeli, the doctrine of less eligibility "...announces to the world that in England poverty is a crime." This doctrine has had a profound impact on how we look at the idea of a minimum wage today.

## Minimum Wages in Canada

Minimum wage legislation came into being in the various Canadian provinces at the conclusion of World War I and during the 1920s. Initial legislation was directed to protect females. Men, interestingly, were expected to bargain for themselves.

Since its introduction, the minimum wage has had precious little to do with a minimum living wage. The intent of the first minimum wage legislation in this country is clear evidence of the disparity between a legal minimum wage

and a living wage. Since women were not legally considered to be "persons" until 1929, the initial idea of a minimum wage in this country has much to do with the paternalistic concern of the principal benefactors of these non-persons - ie. the fathers, sons and husbands. Female wages were initially, as they are often today, seen to be supplementary in nature. The idea of a living wage was regarded as basically irrelevant; minimum wage legislation in Ontario in 1919 for instance, proposed that a single woman living in Toronto should receive a minimum of \$12.56 a week, yet the accepted minimum living wage of the time was set at more than \$17 per week. It is therefore important when trying to understand the historical beginnings of minimum wage legislation in this country, to realize that they are rooted in a sense of supplementation and not minimal sufficiency as is so often inferred.

However, providing a decent "living wage" is probably still the most frequently heard explanation for maintaining minimum wage standards, although there are a number of other overlapping objectives that have played a role. Fixing a minimum wage can be seen as a means of protecting a small number of low paid workers who are particularly vulnerable because they are not part of any collective bargaining system. As well, in provinces such as Ontario, Quebec and Saskatchewan it has been used as a way of determining a fair wage in a given industry or occupations; such as for public works construction projects. A minimum wage has also been viewed as a limited form of safety net against poverty by underpinning the real wages of the working poor. However, it is clear that by itself the minimum wage has very little impact on poverty and it must therefore be seen as a part of the country's income security system. As the National Council of Welfare has argued, low paid workers would be worse off without a legislated floor but

the minimum wage "does not and cannot prevent poverty".

### Who Is At the Minimum?

But what do we know about those who are presently working for a minimum wage? Various surveys conducted in Canada over the past ten years, including a large one in Alberta, have shown that typically about 10% of the workforce are earning wages at or near the statutory minimum. Although this figure is probably low for present day Alberta it would suggest that at least 125 000 Albertans are presently receiving wages that are around \$3.80 an hour. The studies have confirmed that at least two-thirds of minimum wage earners are women, with a high proportion working part-time, although many have indicated that they would prefer to work on a full-time basis. Not surprisingly, the low wage jobs are heavily concentrated in sales and service occupations, particularly in the food, beverage and accommodation sectors. The surveys showed that about half of the minimum wage earners are under 25 years of age, with a similar proportion being single.

It is also important to appreciate that it is possible under our present Employment Standards legislation to exclude farm workers, domestics and the mentally handicapped from the minimum wage provisions. As well, employers are only required to pay those under the age of eighteen \$3.65 per hour, and a mere \$3.30 an hour if they are still in school.

In 1968 the Special Senate Committee on poverty recommended that the minimum wage should be set at 60% of average weekly earnings. The relative value of the minimum wage peaked at around 50% in most of the provinces in the early 1970s. Since then there has been a steady decline to the point that in Alberta and British Columbia the current minimum wage represents a mere third of average weekly earnings.

The need to protect the real wages of low paid workers against declining purchasing power is also generally acknowledged as being an important consideration. In Alberta the value of

the minimum wage, taking into account cost of living increases, has deteriorated by 28% between 1975 and 1985. Despite this the Minister of Labour recently indicated that he believed the present minimum wage was "adequate," particularly as he saw it as supplementary income for many and an important entry point for young people wanting jobs and experience.

### Relation to A Living Wage

The idea that a minimum wage should provide a living wage suggests that the present poverty lines should be used as a criterion. On the basis of the existing minimum wage a single person in Alberta would still be left more than \$2000 a year below the Statistics Canada poverty line. Similarly, a working single mother earning the minimum wage and supporting a child would be more than \$5500 below the poverty line and a family with two children and a minimum wage income would be \$12 000 below!

As with poverty lines, social allowance rates are sometimes used to judge the adequacy of a minimum wage, particularly for single people. A number of provinces, including Alberta, have in the past few years frozen or even cut back on social allowance payments to single recipients. A single person who is employable would presently receive \$2600 less on social allowance than they would earn at minimum wage rates over a year. However, a family of four would need to have both adults working at the minimum wage before their combined incomes would reach their social allowance entitlement. What of course cannot be measured is the emotional and psychological insecurity of the minimum wage earner who has few of the security benefits accorded the welfare recipient.

It is clear, therefore, that the minimum wage is used not only to hold public assistance rates down, but also to lend official credence to the maintenance of the doctrine of less eligibility. Such legislation does not take into effect the impact of structural unemployment on a society nor does it concern itself with ensuring that the working poor earn something

close to a "living" wage.

Recent employment figures released by Statistics Canada indicate that jobs have been steadily decreasing this year in almost all sectors except the service sector. These figures indicate that there has been a sharp rise in the number of part-time jobs, while full-time jobs are continuing to show a decline. Since February of this year, for instance, 45 000 jobs have been lost in the manufacturing sector alone. Even the service sector is vulnerable, because many people are hired on a part-time basis, receiving the minimum wage or slightly more with few company benefits. As well, recent occupational projections suggest a continuing decline in middle income industrial jobs and the emergence of a growing pool of lower wage jobs in service and high tech occupations. This economic trend is not likely to change in view of the increasing tendency of manufacturers to utilize robots and other labour saving devices.

#### What Might be Done

If the minimum wage is too low, then the most expedient solution would appear to be raising it to a true subsistence level. To simply return the Alberta minimum wage to its 1975 value would require an addition of \$1.40 per hour, raising it to \$5.20. To reach the ideal of 60% of average weekly earnings would involve an additional \$3.00 an hour. Yet studies have indicated that such attempts have in the past merely encouraged employers to increase mechanization. With the spectre of computerization and robotization upon us it is not difficult to imagine that a real adjustment in minimum wage rates would merely accelerate structural unemployment. If, on the other hand, the supply side economists have their way and existing minimum wage legislation is removed, we are very likely, in view of the 1.127 million unemployed in this country, to experience a drastic period of wage deflation in which the average salary for a service worker might fall to miniscule rates.

Major restructuring of the economy is obviously necessary, and a first priority. It is clear the ability of western governments to enact social reform seems limited, due primarily to a tax base that is increasingly being transferred from the corporate sector to private individuals. The manner in which we look at employment must also be examined; yet almost no concrete steps have been undertaken by any western government or business to address the problem.

Recent figures show a sharp increase in the share of national income for the upper quintiles, whereas a pronounced drop of income has occurred in the bottom quintiles. An enlightened upper class might therefore increase the minimum wage rate and provide tax breaks for companies that hire additional workers. There is little contemporary evidence that this will happen, yet a strength of the liberal welfare state in the past has been its ability to adapt to the changing needs of the economy.

The questions about how to implement a living wage remain. There are few solutions other than for a sweeping change in the structure of western economic systems. Since such a prospect is remote there are many more questions than answers with regard to the predicament of the minimum wage legislation. Questions about structural unemployment, poverty lines, living standards (especially the notion of minimum wage versus an adequate wage), are questions that need to be urgently addressed. Our efforts in this century have centred on thoughts of minimalism, paternalism and the preservation of the doctrine of less eligibility. The urgency of the question is only outstripped by our societal reluctance of act on the problem.

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# ALBERTA FACTS

NUMBER 2

## Poverty in our Province - *Income Distribution* Published by the Edmonton Social Planning Council

Poverty is a serious issue in Alberta today. In 1984, one out of every six Alberta families lived below the poverty line (see Alberta Facts Number 1).

Poverty is a relative term. To better understand the situation in Alberta it is important to look at the distribution of income and wealth. Income distribution compares the shares of income earned by Albertans in different income groups. The amount of income going to the richest one fifth of the population, for example, can be compared to the amount going to the poorest one fifth.

Two features of the way income is distributed stand out. The gap between the rich and the poor is substantial. Taxes and public spending do little to redistribute income.

In 1983, the poorest one fifth of Albertans received 4.9% of total personal income compared to the richest one fifth of Albertans who received 46.6% of total personal income. As the graph opposite shows the gap in Alberta is wider than for Canada as a whole.

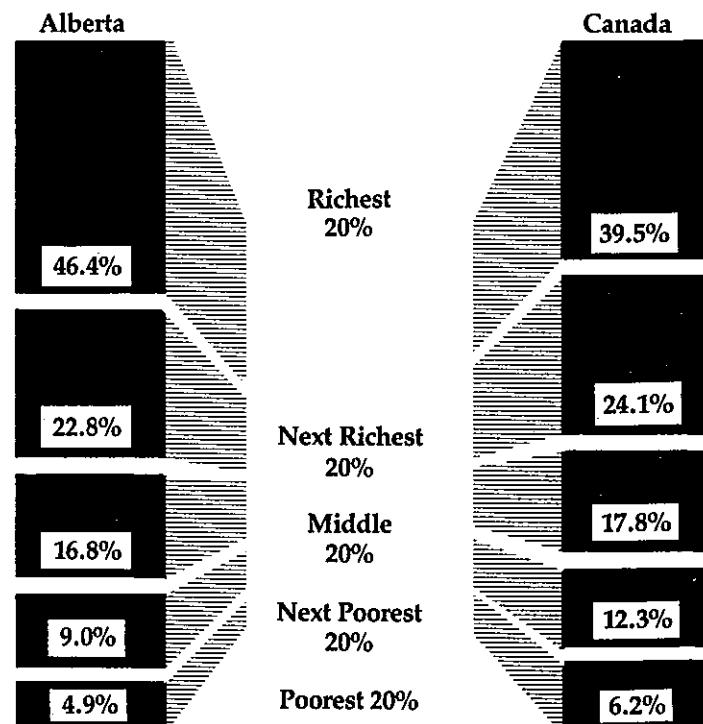
### Income and Wealth

When you look at the distribution of wealth in Canada, the gap between rich and poor is even more startling. (Wealth is defined as material possessions or resources that have a money value or can be used to produce things which have a money value. Real estate and investments are examples of wealth.)

If you think of the wealth of Canada as one dollar, and its population as 100 people, the richest 20 people owned 73.3 cents and the poorest 20 people owned 0.8 cents in 1983. (*Poverty in B.C.*, Sandy Cameron, January 1986, p.7)

With economic power comes political power to influence attempts to change the way income and wealth are distributed.

### In Alberta, Rich Families are Richer and Poor Families are Poorer (Share of Income, 1983)



Data Source: *Poverty Profile 1985* a report by the National Council of Welfare.

## Income Disparities Equal Unequal Opportunity

Canadians like to believe that ours is a society in which all children are born with equal chance to rise as far as their abilities will carry them. Though they begin their lives in very disparate circumstances, we comfort ourselves with the belief that success is as attainable for the child of humblest origins as the most affluent. The facts, however, are otherwise. To be born poor in Canada does not make it a certainty that you will live poor and die poor - but it makes it very likely.

(Poor Kids a report by the National Council of Welfare, March 1975, p.1)

## Income Disparities Not Improving

The social programs and income tax changes that have been introduced over the last 35 years have not significantly affected the distribution of income in Canada.

The poorest one fifth of families in 1984 still shared only 5.9% of total income (after taxes), virtually the same share (6.1%) they had in 1951. Over the same period, the richest one fifth maintained roughly the same share, 40.1% in 1984, down only 1% from 1951.

Why have the income disparities not narrowed? Some of the reasons are due to employment trends, demographics, social trends, and political decisions.

Currently, the unemployment rate in Alberta stands at 10.5%. This represents 133,000 people in the Province out of work.

More people are earning lower wages. Almost 60% of Alberta's poor hold full-time jobs. The \$3.80 per hour minimum wage leaves people in poverty.

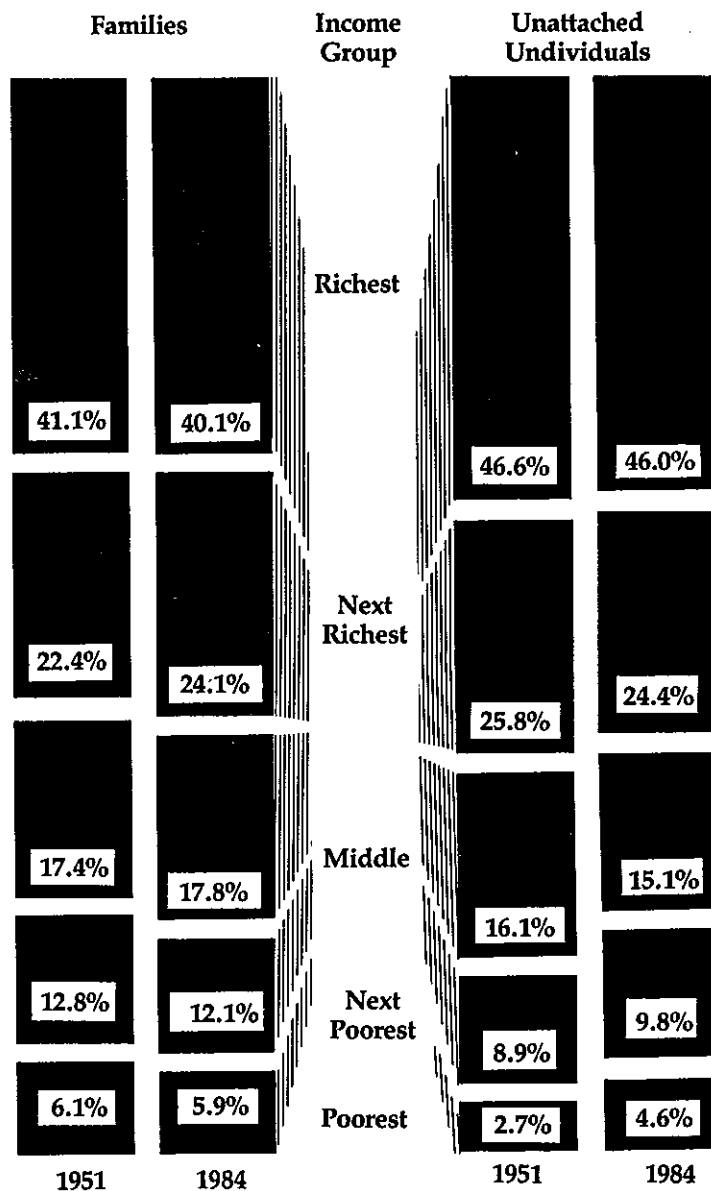
More women are working. The average income for an Alberta female in 1984 was \$12 871, more than \$10 000 below the average male income. Many of these women are supporting families on this income.

The population aged 65 years and older has increased; there is also a larger proportion of young adults. The elderly (2 in 5) and the young (1 in 6) stand a higher chance of being poor.

The number of single parent families headed by women has grown. Almost 3 in 5 of such families are poor.

Government spending on social programs has helped the poor. Indeed, if not for this spending the income disparities would be worse. But while spending on social programs has increased, so have tax deductions and exemptions which mostly benefit the well-to-do.

## Little Change in Income Disparities Over the Years



Data Source: Poverty Profile 1985 a report by the National Council of Welfare.

## Tax System Doesn't Redistribute Income

Wealthy Canadians are not only able to take advantage of the same standard tax deductions low income people have, they also have many other deductions and exemptions that keep their tax bills low. The capital gains exemption is one example. A capital gain is profit earned from the resale of property and other goods. For example, a house you buy for \$90 000 and sell one month later for \$100 000 gives you a capital gain of \$10 000.

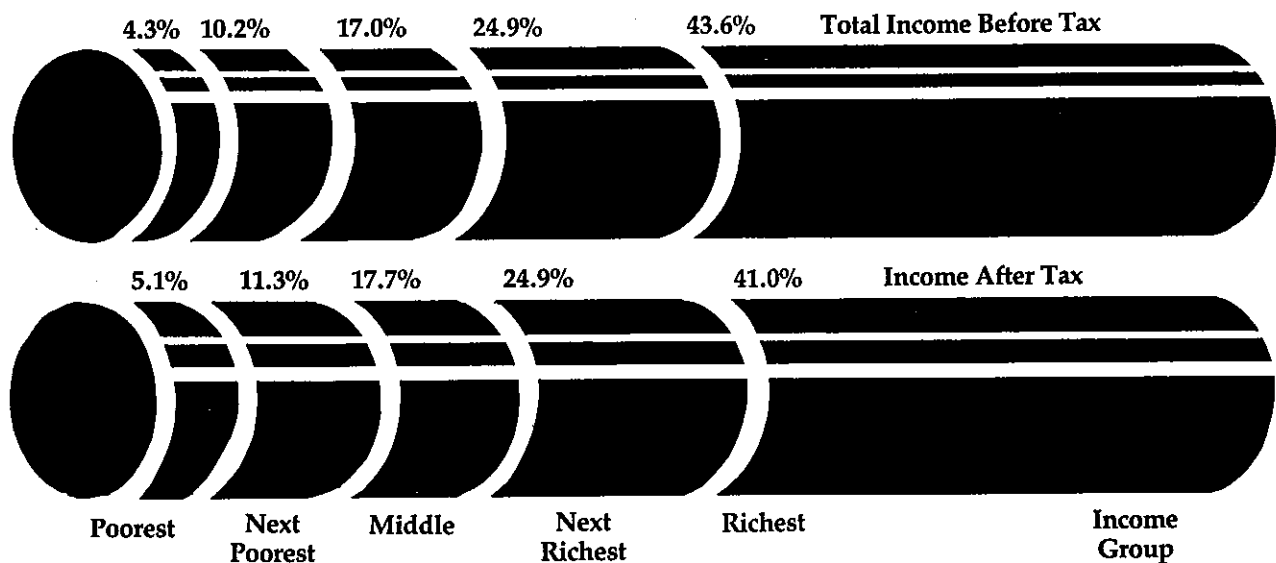
The capital gains exemption allows Canadians to exempt from personal income tax, \$500 000 in capital gains income in their lifetime. It would take someone, earning the Alberta minimum wage of \$3.80 per hour, over 70 years to earn this amount!

Tax deductions and exemptions are implemented for many purposes. Taken together, however, the effect of them is that people with high incomes pay less income tax. A substantial amount of tax revenue is lost which could fund programs that benefit the poor.



1,511 Albertans with incomes \$50 000 and over paid no personal income taxes in 1983. In the \$40 000 to \$50 000 bracket 807 Albertans paid no taxes

### Share of Income Before and After Income Taxes (Canada, 1984)



Data Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogues No. 13-206 and 13-201.

## A Question of Priorities

We can afford measures for programs which assist lower income people. It is a matter, not of increasing spending, but reallocating spending.

Some actions that could be taken to redistribute income without increasing government spending are:

- Eliminate tax deductions and exemptions which have little or no social or economic value. As a result government revenue would increase without raising tax rates.

- Reallocate money to programs which help low income groups. Increasing their purchasing power would be a means of achieving economic activity.
- Increase the minimum wage which is currently \$3.80 per hour. This would help reduce the number of working poor.

### For Discussion

1. Is the present gap between the rich and the poor acceptable? Why or why not?
2. What should be the government's role in narrowing income disparities? What role can business and community groups have in reducing income disparities?

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### Recommended Reading

*The Canadian Fact Book on Income Distribution* by David Ross. Canadian Council on Social Development, 1980.

*Canada's Tax System and the Poor* prepared by Ernie S. Lightman for The National Anti-Poverty Organization, Jan. 1984.

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This is one of a series of factsheets on social issues produced by the Edmonton Social Planning Council. They are available for bulk distribution at \$15.00 per 100 plus a small mailing and handling charge. The contents may not be commercially reproduced; reproduction for other uses is encouraged.

This factsheet was sponsored in part by grants from P.L.U.R.A., an inter-church association to promote social justice in Canada, and Church in Society (Edmonton Presbytery) United Church of Canada. We would also like to thank the Social Justice Commission (R.C. Archdiocese of Edmonton), Citizens for Public Justice and C. in S. (Edmonton Presbytery) United Church of Canada for their editorial assistance.

For more information on Alberta Facts and other publications produced by the Council, please contact:

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The fairness of the elaborate structure of wages that has been built up over the years is seldom questioned. Our willing acceptance of the present system is in part a response to its inherent complexity. However, when doubts do surface about the fairness of current wages the dominant economic and political forces are quick to defend the existing differentials. We are reminded of our collective commitment to individualism and our belief in the unhindered operation of the market. Of course the major weakness inherent in the belief that the natural law of market forces will ensure fairness in the present wage structure is that it attempts to justify an existing situation by explaining an imaginary one. It conveniently fails to appreciate that the pattern of wages is the accumulated deposit of a long historical process in which social conventions and economic pressures have been much more conspicuous than any conception of fairness.

As well, in a structured hierarchical society such as ours, social status is cleverly interwoven with pay. It helps explain our attachment to the rule that those who give orders should be paid more than those to whom these orders are given, and it reassures us that those who carry out the dirty and disagreeable jobs in our society are paid a wage that is quite appropriate for their social position. As John Porter discovered, our opinions on social status are closely correlated with levels of income. On a scale with 100 as the highest level of status, Canadians who were surveyed rated provincial premiers at 90, doctors at 87, travelling salesmen at 40, bartenders at 20 and garbage collectors at 14.

We now accept that the well paid are more likely to be humane, intelligent, skillful, courageous and resourceful. While we are now less likely than earlier generations to conclude that individual moral weakness is the cause of poverty we are certainly

prepared to accept the converse - that moral strength is associated with wealth.

But perhaps the most dominant social factor influencing wage differentials is conservatism. Because of the complexity of the system, and the uncertainty that exists as to the principles that should govern changes in wage differentials, conservatism rides to the rescue. Change - always, everywhere and in everything - requires justifications, while conservatism is held to be self justifying. This conservatism is certainly apparent in any examination of wage differentials in Canada. While there have been periods when some of the wage differentials have narrowed, particularly between skilled and unskilled occupations, the pattern has remained essentially undisturbed. Any changes over a short period of time are usually the result of such things as the fluctuating demand for labour, the impact of union activity and increases in the cost of living. Generally, differentials tend to narrow during periods of low unemployment and stretch out again when unemployment is high. If unions are representing less-skilled workers and winning flat rate wage increases then differentials may be narrowed. Unfortunately, unions and professional associations tend to represent the better off and generally win percentage increases which widen the differentials relative to those at the bottom of the wage heap.

It is of particular interest to examine the current pattern of wage and salary differentials for selected occupations in Alberta. This is shown in the accompanying table.

The wage and salary differential figures suggest that the differentials narrowed somewhat between 1973 and 1978. However, it should be remembered that in 1977 legislation was passed that allowed certain professional occupations to form corporations. This particular piece of legislative magic, coupled with a wide array of tax exemptions,

probably means that the comparative income advantage of these professional groups is badly understated. As economic conditions in the province have worsened it is also apparent that those in lower paid occupations have seen their relative position deteriorate.

Wage and Salary Differentials in Alberta  
1973-1983

	1973	1978	1983
Lawyers	440	300	460
Dentists	382	261	389
Doctors	465	294	371
Architects and Engineers	349	229	351
Accountants	265	187	201
Teachers and Professors	132	126	129
Provincial Employees	96	93	99
Farmers	113	109	94
Pensioners	68	81	75
Public Utility Workers	89	89	74
Construction Workers	102	95	65
Average Taxable Income	100	100	100

Source: Revenue Canada Taxation Statistics

Of course examining the relative position of various occupations with respect to taxable incomes is only part of the story. Honouring the principle that to him that hath shall be given, the inequities that the wage and salary structure has set in motion are exaggerated by the elaborate system of fringe benefits. From the top to the bottom of the economic system there are significant differences in such things as pension coverage, sick pay schemes, holiday entitlements, bridging loans for house purchases and the provision of a company car. Only very senior executives are likely to receive as part of their compensation package such things as annual bonus plans, long term performance incentive plans, stock options and deferred compensation plans. In a study of 700 manufacturing corporations in Canada, it was found that 78% had an annual executive bonus plan, where the average payment was equal to 42% of the executive's annual salary.

In 1984 Roger Smith, the Chairman of General Motors, received a \$1.5 million bonus, as his share of the company's \$3.7 billion profit in 1983.

Notably the profit was also shared among other GM employees; with line workers receiving an average of \$640 per worker. Generous payments to senior executives are not necessarily linked to high company profits. In 1982 Mobil Oil's earnings dropped by 43%, yet the salary of its chairman increased 30% to nearly \$1.4 million. It was also recently announced that Frank Stronach, the chairman of Magna International, a company at the centre of the Sinclair Stevens inquiry earned \$2 215 340 as his base salary and profit sharing for 1986. On the basis of a 40 hour week for 52 weeks, his compensation package amounts to \$975 an hour which is 740 times the rate of the lowest paid employee of the auto parts manufacturer.

Even Time Magazine has expressed its disapproval of such outrageous salaries. It went as far as suggesting that perhaps executive salaries should be linked to salaries of blue collar workers; possibly limiting a company chairman to 25 times the salary of the lowest paid employee.

With this rather dismal picture of wage differentials and inequalities, it is hardly a surprise to find that the distribution of income in Canada has remained virtually unchanged over the past 30 years. A further concern was the discovery that 8000 tax files with incomes over \$50 000, and 239 with incomes over \$250 000 a year paid no tax at all in 1981. Yet the final indignity is the matter of tax expenditures; the large number of deductions and exemptions that convert assessed income into taxable income. The value of these tax expenditures rises with the level of income. In 1979 the tax base was reduced by one third, or \$47 billion, as a result of these deductions.

#### A Fairer System

Is a fairer system possible? Obviously it is no easy task to bring about a wage structure and a tax system that will ensure that all families and individuals have a level of income that allows them adequate food, clothing and shelter, as well as an opportunity to enjoy the amenities and activities that are

common in our society.

First we must encourage much more public discussion of the present wage and salary structure and its relationship with the tax system so that the obvious inequalities can be made more apparent. Surprisingly there is some evidence that public awareness has improved over the past few years. A national survey conducted in Britain found that 75% of those interviewed agreed with the statement that "there is too great a difference between the pay of people in the top jobs and the pay of those in the bottom jobs."

Second, we must bring onto the public agenda the issue of workers in the boardroom. In a 1981 survey conducted in Edmonton with a randomly selected sample of 600, it was notable that 71% agreed with the statement that "employees should have representatives on the Board of Directors where they work."

Third, despite the pessimistic pronouncement of cabinet ministers -

that raising the minimum wage will only result in further job losses - it is critical that the present minimum wage be raised substantially. Only in this way can we hope to protect the living standards of the poorly paid.

Fourth, we must give consideration to the principle of a maximum wage, where the salary paid to the top official in an organization does not exceed an acceptable ratio with the wage of the lowest paid employee.

Given the determined, inbuilt reluctance to change on the part of those who already control the economic and political power of the country, significant improvements are difficult to imagine. Sadly, it is not that we are unaware of what is right, just or fair. It is simply that we prefer to do what is wrong, unjust and unfair.

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Peter Faid is the Executive Director of the Edmonton Social Planning Council.

### An Invitation

Dear Friend of the ESPC:

I would like to take this opportunity to acquaint you with the work of the Council and invite you to become a member. We are an independent non-profit organization which attempts to stimulate "grass roots" activity around issues of social concern. This activity may involve policy analysis, applied research, community development or training. The Council depends upon the United Way of Edmonton and memberships for its primary funding base. We would be pleased to include you in our membership.

As a member, you would continue to receive a complimentary subscription to our bi-monthly publication FIRST READING. You will also be advised about our series of "Brown Bag Forums" at which emerging social issues are discussed. Members may purchase from our Publication Distribution Service at substantially discounted rates. The Council also welcomes member involvement in specific projects.

We hope you will decide to join the Council. A membership application form is included in this edition of FIRST READING. If you know of a friend or colleague who might wish to receive a complimentary issue of FIRST READING and materials about the Council, please bring his/her name and address to our attention.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

  
Beth McCullough,  
Membership Committee

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# News from the Council

## New Publications

**Health and Home: Women as Health Guardians**  
Anita Fochs Heller

What do women do in their day-to-day lives? How do women contribute to our social and economic lives? Society's recognition of one particular form of women's labour is the recent acknowledgement that housework, work primarily done by women, is "real" work. This study examines another kind of work women do - guarding the health of their families. It has two aims: to record for public recognition what constitutes the women's health guardian role, and to point out the implication of this role for public policy.

Published by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women.  
1986 80 pp. \$4.95  
E.S.P.C. members \$4.20  
plus \$2.00 postage and handling.

**Food Banks and the Welfare Crisis**  
Graham Riches

This new work documents the recent proliferation of emergency food services in Canada, and argues that food banks represent more than an upsurge of charity in tough times; they are the

signposts of the collapse of the social safety net. While food banks receive corporate donations and government grants, corporate interest perpetuates a wasteful food marketing system and governments provide inadequate social assistance benefits. By showing such contradictions in social policy, Riches challenges head-on popular notions about hunger, poverty and the adequacy of the welfare system.

1986 180 pp. \$11.95  
E.S.P.C. members \$10.15  
plus \$2.00 postage and handling.

## Brown Bag Forum

Youth Employment Programs in Canada and Sweden will be the topic of a Brown Bag Forum on Wednesday, December 17. The forum will take place in the board room of the Edmonton Social Planning Council, 4th floor, 10010 - 105 Street, from 12:10 p.m. to 1:10 p.m.

The speaker will be: Graham Lowe, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Alberta

Admission is free. Bring a lunch! Bring a friend!



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**Edmonton Social Planning Council**

Invites you to attend

**Wine & Cheese Open House**

3-6 pm. Thursday, the Eleventh of December  
4th. floor, 10010 - 105 Street  
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