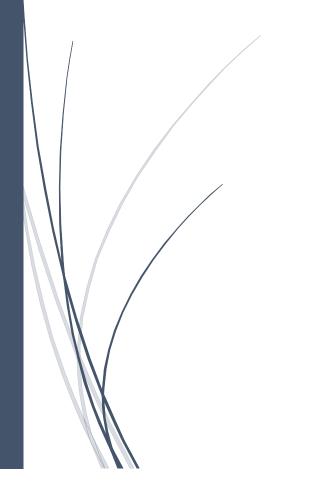
# Toward a Guaranteed Livable Income: Annotated Bibliography

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# Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	4
PART 1: Introduction & Overview	5
INTRODUCTION	5
Structure	5
What is GLI?	5
Key Terms	6
WHERE TO BEGIN	7
PART 2: Our Perspective	11
PROPOSED LEGISLATION	11
Bill S-233 (44-1)	11
BY SENATOR PATE	11
PART 3: Canadian Context	13
GENERAL	13
HISTORY	15
Context	15
Historical Proposals	16
SENATE CONSIDERATION	17
Open Letters	19
PREVIOUS EXPERIMENTS	19
Manitoba Mincome Experiment	19
Ontario Basic Income Pilot	22
FEDERAL INCOME PROGRAMS	24
Guaranteed Income Supplement for Seniors	25
Canada Child Benefit	25
Canada Disability Benefit	26
Canadian Emergency Response Benefit (CERB) & Canada Emergency Student Benefit (CESB)	27
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES	29
In the Media	30
Poverty & Indigenous Peoples	31
Indigenous Self-Determination	32
Indigenous Peoples & Barriers to Canadian Income Support Programs	34
PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES	34

British Columbia	34
Newfoundland and Labrador	35
Northwest Territories	35
Nunavut	35
Québec	36
Prince Edward Island	36
Yukon	37
MUNICIPALITIES	37
CALLS & SUPPORT FOR GLI	38
House of Commons & Federal Political Parties	38
National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls	38
Health & Care Experts	39
Artificial Intelligence and Automation	39
Public Opinion	39
POLICY OUTLINES, MODELS, & COST	40
PART 4: Supporting Material & Key Considerations	43
REVIEWS	43
EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE	43
Cash Transfers	43
Cost Savings	44
Employment & Labour	44
Inflation	44
DOWNSTREAM COST SAVINGS	45
THE TAX SYSTEM	45
GLI OUTCOMES	46
Health & Wellness	46
Food Security	47
Poverty	47
Employment	48
Gender Equality & Women	48
Criminal Legal System	50
People With Disabilities	52
Climate	53
Part 5: Examples of International Approaches	54
GENER AT	54

BRAZIL	54
Bolsa Familia	55
Municipality of Maricá: Renda Basica de Cidadania	55
ReCivitas Project	56
FINLAND	56
INDIA	57
IRAN	58
ITALY	58
KENYA	58
THE NETHERLANDS	59
SPAIN	59
UGANDA	60
UNITED KINGDOM	60
England	60
Scotland	60
Wales	61
UNITED STATES	61
Alaska	63
Chicago	64
Eastern Cherokee Reservation (North Carolina)	64
Gary, Indiana	65
New Jersey	65
Rural Income Maintenance Experiment (North Carolina and Iowa)	65
Seattle and Denver	65
On-Going and Potential Basic Income Experiments in the United States	66

# **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This document was researched, written, and produced on the unceded, unsurrendered territory of the Algonquin Anishinaabe.

Thank you to those who have contributed to our collective understanding of GLI as a means to achieve substantive equality. We are grateful to the researchers, advocates, and community builders whose efforts are reflected in this document.

#### **PART 1: Introduction & Overview**

#### INTRODUCTION

This document contains background information related to the implementation of a guaranteed livable income (GLI) within Canada. In particular, it provides context for *Bill S-233: An Act to develop a national framework for a guaranteed livable basic income*.

#### **Structure**

Within each section of this document, we indicate how its contents are organized. Generally, information is arranged in **reverse chronological order** to prioritize recent developments. Sections devoted to historical considerations, however, are arranged chronologically to portray the evolution of events.

Material with an asterix (\*) indicates a source that we consider to be particularly foundational, helpful, or insightful. This material we prioritize and place at the beginning of sections.

We have done our best to capture the breadth of information available on GLI and organize it in a way that allows readers to locate particular resources of relevance. If you have suggestions for material to be included, please contact us at kim.pate@sen.parl.gc.ca.

#### What is GLI?

Guaranteed livable income (GLI) is a simple idea.

- GLI establishes an **income floor**, minimum standard, baseline or threshold that no one's income level would be allowed to fall below.
- GLI is **livable**, meaning that it is sufficient for everyone relying on this income support to afford necessities and avoid poverty.
- GLI is **universally accessible** so that everyone whose income from other sources does not meet the guaranteed income floor can access, rely on and use this form of income support.
- GLI provides **payments to low-income individuals** and **families**.
- When an individual or family has no income from other sources, they receive the maximum benefit (guaranteed amount).
- As earnings from other sources increase, the payment amount is reduced.

While GLI is a simple idea, the terminology relating to it can be complex. A variety of terms are used to capture the same or similar policy ideas. The various models share the general idea of providing individuals with unconditional access to the money needed to afford necessities.

There are generally two models: **guaranteed** and **universal** basic income.<sup>1</sup>

5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> https://basicincomecanada.org/what\_is\_basic\_income/

- 1. GLI is a form of universally accessible **guaranteed basic income**. All individuals are guaranteed a certain income, regardless of the source, meaning that when an individual's income is below or dips below a certain income threshold, they become eligible for a cash transfer. Terms associated with this model include:
  - o Basic Income (BI)
  - o Guaranteed Basic Income (GBI)
  - o Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI)
  - Basic Income Guarantee (BIG)
  - Negative Income Tax (NIT)
- 2. By contrast, **universal basic income** (UBI) provides cash transfers to everyone, regardless of their income from other sources. Often, this model aims to recuperate amounts paid out to those with higher incomes through the tax system.
  - Note however that the term "universal basic income" is sometimes used to refer to guaranteed approaches, such as GLI.<sup>2</sup> This is because GLI is universally accessible in the sense that it ensures all individuals benefit from a minimum guaranteed income floor through the opportunity to access cash transfers when they are in need.

#### **Key Terms**

These terms are often used interchangeably in various sources included in this bibliography, despite important technical differences.

Please note that these definitions reflect generally accepted interpretations, but various sources propose different definitions.

#### 1. Guaranteed Livable Income (GLI)

A "Guaranteed Livable Income" (GLI) would be universally accessible. It would not provide universal payments to everyone regardless of income level. Instead, it would be income tested and directed to low-income families and individuals. GLI payments would be unconditional, meaning that no requirements, such as having to also seek work, would be required in order to receive the payments. Typically, a GLI would use the tax system to provide cash payments through a negative income tax model (NIT). The payments would be sufficient to ensure that everyone can rely on a livable income—enough money to afford necessities and avoid poverty.

#### 2. Basic Income (BI) / Basic Income Guarantee (BIG)

Similar to GLI, a "Basic Income" (BI) or "Basic Income Guarantee" (BIG) is unconditional and often takes the form of a NIT model. However, unlike a GLI, it does not necessarily guarantee that the maximum benefit amount will be a livable amount and may result in people receiving a total income less than the poverty threshold, a situation in which poverty would not be eliminated for everyone. Often a BIG approach is taken to encourage participants to earn income from other sources. Guaranteed annual income, citizen's wage, guaranteed basic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See for example this BBC article referring to the Manitoba Mincome experiment as a "universal basic income experiment".

income, social dividend and unconditional basic income are also commonly used names to describe the same concept of BIG.

#### 3. Universal Basic Income (UBI)

This model provides an unconditional uniform payment, often referred to as a "demogrant", to either families or individuals regardless of income level. Depending on the model, this payment may or may not be tax-exempt. However, it is often thought that higher income earners would pay back their cash benefit through taxes on their earned income. In theory, a universal basic income model and a negative income tax model should lead to similar results. However, a universal basic income model will have higher up-front costs and face possible difficulties recuperating benefits through taxation.

#### 4. Negative Income Tax (NIT)

Under a negative income tax (NIT) model, an individual with no income from other sources would receive the maximum cash benefit provided by the GLI (guaranteed amount). As earnings or income from other sources increase, the benefit amount is reduced by a proposed tax-back rate (sometimes called a "claw-back" rate) per dollar received. The benefit is reduced to zero for incomes that have reached or are above a breakeven level (i.e., those with incomes at or above a set income level do not receive cash benefits from GLI).

#### 5. Mincome

The term coined for the "Manitoba Basic Income Experiment", which was a GLI/BI-style pilot conducted in Manitoba in the 1970s.

#### WHERE TO BEGIN

This section contains introductory material for those looking to familiarize themselves with GLI.

Basic Income Canada Network (BICN) [Website].

The Basic Income Canada Network is a non-profit, non-partisan organization that has compiled a variety of resources on GLI or basic income.

Their <u>basic income primer series</u> consists of fact sheets exploring GLI from a variety of perspectives, including health and gender.

Basic Income Now, <u>Basic income has broad public support in Canada</u> [Website].

This webpage provides a brief overview of the "vast number of individuals and organizations" who support basic income within Canada.

Coalition Canada, The Case For Basic Income Series [Website].

This series of briefing notes examines the potential of GLI through the lens of different sectors, including the arts, work, health, and agriculture. Each note is evidence-based and developed by a core team of topic experts, community representatives, and GLI advocates.

Evelyn Forget, <u>Basic Income for Canadians: From the COVID-19 Emergency to Financial Security for All</u> (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 2020).

Dr. Evelyn Forget is a Canadian economist and world-renowned expert on GLI. This book explores how temporary income support measures implemented during the COVID-19 pandemic could have led to long-term GLI for Canadians. Dr. Forget assesses what lessons we have learned from previous experiments, how GLI compares to other policy options, and whether Canada can afford GLI. This work is a second edition, updating her 2018 book, "Basic Income for Canadians: The Key to a Healthier, Happier and More Secure Life for All".

Evelyn Forget & Hannah Owczar, <u>Radical Trust: Basic Income for Complicated Lives</u> (APR Books, 2021).

This book explores GLI as a principled approach to addressing poverty that prioritizes dignity, compassion, and respect.

The Best Evidence Podcast with the McMaster Institute for Health Equity, <u>The Argument for Basic</u> Income with Evelyn Forget (13 September 2021).

Dr. Evelyn Forget discusses an array of topics in this engaging interview, including the success of Mincome and the flawed basis for a recent report advising the government of British Columbia not to pursue GLI. Forget challenges the BC review on numerous bases: the limited expertise of the panel (all experts were economists), their transactional and market-oriented conception of "reciprocity", and their failure to differentiate between experiments and programs.

Dr. Forget illustrates the failure of existing social assistance programs. She notes the array of social systems used to "address the... effects of poverty", including our healthcare system and the prison system. Forget notes that "we medicate poverty in this country", citing the rampant use of antidepressants among those living in poverty and also notes that "eighty percent of the women who are in prison are there for poverty-related crimes".

Dr. Forget also challenges the idea of the nuclear family, which most income assistance programs are based upon. She states, "low-income people tend to have a more fluid view of what constitutes a family. Low-income families are more likely to have relatives live with them temporarily." Lastly, Forget explores the problematic basis for economic opposition to basic income policy: "it is offensive to say that we're only going to introduce something like this if it pays for itself... we're essentially saying, 'your human rights are dependent on whether or not I've decided that they're worth my expenditure.""

Jessie Golem, Humans of Basic Income [Website].

This photo series amplifies the stories of people who took part in the Ontario Basic Income Pilot from 2017 to its premature cancellation in 2019, presenting the tangible effects that the program had on their lives.

Richard Pereira et al., <u>Financing Basic Income: Addressing the Cost Objection</u> (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

This book examines the costing of a GLI ("basic income") that is set at a sufficiently high level to provide basic needs and a measure of social inclusion, without the elimination of important public programs. It also addresses the cost objections to GLI from the perspective of three countries

(Canada, Switzerland and Australia) and three models and argues that through the elimination of redundancies currently existing in social assistance schemes, a GLI is affordable and can be implemented without raising personal income tax rates. The negative income tax model, which is considered to be universally accessible, demonstrates most clearly the potential cost savings as opposed to a universal payment.

Hugh Segal, <u>Bootstraps Need Boots: One Tory's Lonely Fight to End Poverty in Canada</u> (UBC Press, 2020).

In this memoir, Hugh Segal, former senator and chief of staff to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, shares how, as a lifelong progressive conservative, his life and experiences led him to support policies to assist the most economically vulnerable, in particular basic income, and including through his crucial role as an advisor on the 2017-19 Ontario Basic Income Pilot.

Wayne Simpson, Harvey Stevens, Lee Stevens & Herb Emery, <u>A Guaranteed Basic Income for Canadians</u>: Off the Table or Within Reach? (June 2022).

This paper "investigates the feasibility of a tax-administered federal basic income" (p. 2). The authors articulate a strong response to concerns of costs and labour supply disincentives, arguing that the cost "should be considered against alternative expenditures", and that concerns over labour disincentives too often support "remaining with the status quo" (p. 16). Their research includes simulations of GLI's impact on poverty and labour supply responses. The authors include thought-provoking questions such as, "why is BI... framed as a cost rather than an expenditure, like pensions and other desirable programs such as health care?", and conclude by urging policy-makers "to consider a GBI.... That streamlines and simplifies the income-support system but exists alongside other important social supports" (p. 17).

Guy Standing, <u>Basic Income Pilots: Uses, Limitations and Design Principles</u>, Basic Income Studies (25 June 2021).

This article is premised on the idea that pilots are not required to justify basic income because the fundamental case in favour of basic income is both ethical and a matter of social justice (pp. 76-77). Standing cautions readers not to lose this perspective as attention is increasingly placed upon "evidence-based' policy, which may skew the debate toward what can be tested 'scientifically'", such as the effect of basic income on labour supply (p. 77). Standing writes, "a pilot is better suited to uncovering how and why an intervention [works]... rather than whether it is the right thing to do" (p. 77). This pragmatic assessment also notes that those whose opposition to basic income is ideological are unlikely to be convinced by empirical evidence. This article provides helpful insight into what basic income experiments and pilots can and cannot accomplish.

#### "Articles on Guaranteed basic income", The Conversation [Website].

This link displays all articles relating to guaranteed basic income published on *The Conversation*, whose motto is "academic rigour, journalistic flair".

Margot Young & James P. Mulvale, <u>Possibilities and Prospects: The Debate over a Guaranteed Income</u>, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (November 2009).

This paper summarizes the history of GLI ("basic income") proposals in Canada, catalogues the arguments supporting GLI, and discusses the dimensions of various proposed GLI models. While the authors' final stances on GLI differ, they both argue that a GLI should not replace other means for provision of public goods and that social assistance reform should align with the following principles: universality, unconditionality, and adequacy.

Jiaying Zhao, Saugato Datta, & Dilip Soman, <u>Cash Transfers for Inclusive Societies: A Behavioral</u> Lens (University of Toronto Press, 2023).

This book offers "practical advice on how best to successfully design, deliver, and evaluate efficient cash transfer programs, with a view to alleviating poverty," drawing on existing experiments, studies and evidence to develop a framework for designing cash transfer programs rooted in improving inclusivity, reducing poverty and improving equality.

# **PART 2: Our Perspective**

This section contains a collection of material from the Office of Senator Kim Pate regarding GLI.

#### PROPOSED LEGISLATION

Bill S-233 (44-1)

Bill S-233, An Act to develop a national framework for a guaranteed livable basic income

Senator Pate introduced Bill S-233 in the Senate. This bill seeks to require the federal government to develop a framework for implementing guaranteed livable income across Canada. First reading of the bill was completed on December 16, 2021. On February 8, 2022, Senator Pate delivered a second reading <a href="mailto:speech">speech</a> as sponsor of the bill. The bill was referred to the Standing Senate Committee on National Finance for study on April 18, 2023.

An identical bill, <u>Bill C-223</u>, was introduced in the House of Commons by MP Leah Gazan. The first reading of Bill C-223 was also completed on December 16, 2021. As of September 2023, the Bill is currently awaiting second reading.

#### BY SENATOR PATE

This section consists of material published or written by Senator Pate on GLI.

\*Kim Pate, Why a Guaranteed Livable Income? Our Perspective (15 August 2020).

This foundational document outlines Senator Pate's rationale and approach to GLI in Canada. Universal accessibility and substantive equality are established as the foundational goals of GLI. Senator Pate examines poverty and inadequate social assistance as barriers to achieving substantive equality. GLI can support substantive equality by offering unconditional transfers. Next, the document discusses universal accessibility by reviewing existing and previous forms of income support, and proposes a model for GLI. In the "Going Forward" section, Senator Pate reviews historical support for GLI within Canada, and explains why we need a program rather than a pilot. Concerning the cost of a GLI, Senator Pate considers the potential for consolidation of existing tax credits and some existing income support programs. Jurisdictional issues related to federal/provincial/territorial responsibilities, Indigenous governance, and international commitments are explored. Lastly frequently raised questions, challenges and myths related to income testing; labour protections; inflationary pressures; issues filing tax returns; and stigma, bias, and discrimination are addressed.

Kim Pate, <u>To stabilize Canada's economy, start with a guaranteed liveable income</u>, The Hill Times (8 June 2023).

This opinion piece highlights the potential of GLI to reduce economic instability and uncertainty, in particular by promoting increased economic equality.

Leah Gazan & Kim Pate, From despair to hope: It's time for a guaranteed livable basic income, National Observer (28 April 2022).

The authors discuss their decisions to sponsor GLI legislation, with an emphasis on the role GLI can play in repairing Canada's social safety net and ensuring everyone can live with dignity.

Kim Pate, Guaranteed Livable Income Inquiry-Debate Adjourned (25 February 2020).

This speech was used to launch a series of debates ("inquiry") in the Senate calling attention to the need to examine and evaluate concrete measures available to the Senate to support the implementation of GLI and promote substantive equality.

Ratna Omidvar, Kim Pate, Frances Lankin & Yuen Pau Woo, Where's the talk about a guaranteed livable income? Policy Options (4 October 2019).

This opinion piece by four Senators examined GLI as a crucial election issue, in particular given its potential to help Canadians navigate increasingly volatile economies.

Kim Pate, <u>The Need for a Guaranteed Liveable Income for All Canadians</u> (7 March 2017). Senator Pate's speech in support of Senator Art Eggleton's motion calling on the government to support GLI initiatives.

#### **PART 3: Canadian Context**

This section provides an overview of Canadian initiatives and experiences relating to GLI as well as commentary on GLI as a policy idea within a Canadian context.

#### **GENERAL**

These sources offer insight into consideration of GLI within Canada.

Arranged in reverse chronological order.

Alexandra Zannis & Ellen Spannagel, <u>Canada's disability benefit is a step forward, but we still need a guaranteed basic income</u>, The Hill Times (28 June 2023).

The Canada Disability Benefit is a targeted program that, in theory, could operate like a GLI to provide a guaranteed income to Canadians with disabilities. The Canada Disability Benefit was introduced through Bill C-22 and received Royal Assent in June 2023.

The authors note that the inadequate "scope and scale" of the Canada Disability Benefit is one of "countless reasons" that Canada needs a guaranteed livable income. The Bill did not specify critical details such as "eligibility criteria, the proposed amount, potential claw backs with other programs, and implementation timelines." The authors provide a clear explanation of what "unconditional" should mean: offering support "regardless of someone's citizenship status, work status, or whether they meet certain behavioural conditions."

David A. Green et al., <u>Basic Income and a Just Society: Policy Choices for Canada's Social Safety Net</u> (Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2023).

The authors conclude that, in order to repair Canada social safety net, existing programs should be reformed rather than pursuing a GLI, relying on income supports targeting specific subsets of people in need, which appear similar to incremental steps toward GLI.

Jiaying Zhao & Lorne Whitehead, <u>Guaranteed Basic Income is still a great idea</u>, The Tyee (originally published in the Conversation) (18 May 2022).

The authors provide a brief overview of how GLI can be fair, simple, and affordable. This well-reasoned article is both accessible and well-researched in its response to opposition to the policy idea. This article cites <u>polling data</u> revealing that nearly 60% of Canadians support a GLI, research on the positive social and community impacts of a GLI, and the unacceptable reality that 1 in 15 Canadians live in poverty.

Yuen Pau Woo, <u>The case for a guaranteed basic income must go beyond poverty reduction: Senator Woo</u> (13 May 2021).

Senator Woo argues that "the case for BI cannot rest solely on poverty reduction", and that arguments for BI must instead be "grounded in expanding the liberties of citizens in society". Senator Woo links BI to section 7 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, which guarantees the right to life, liberty, and security of the person. Basic income affords people greater personal dignity and individual freedom, including freedom from poverty, freedom to learn, freedom to do unpaid work, and freedom to be creative.

Royal Society of Canada, <u>A Federal Basic Income Within the Post COVID-19 Economic Recovery</u> Plan: Royal Society of Canada Policy Briefing (October 2020).

This policy briefing addresses the challenges of inclusive economic recovery following the COVID-19 pandemic and recommends that Canada: "Introduce a Basic Income Guarantee close to the Market Basket Measure, paid monthly, to residents of Canada between the ages of 18 and 64; ... Design the Basic Income Guarantee so that those with no income would receive the full benefit, but those with other sources of income would receive a benefit reduced by a proportion of their other income; ... Deliver the benefit using the same set of on-line accounts supplemented with direct access for those without on-line accounts as was used to deliver the CERB; ... Allow the benefit to vary monthly in response to changing needs."

Sid Frankel, <u>Basic Income Advocacy in Canada: Multiple Streams, Experiments and the Road Ahead,</u> Chapter in *Political Activism and the Basic Income Guarantee*, Caputo, R.K., Liu, L (eds), (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

This chapter analyzes Canada's engagement with GLI from a critical policy perspective and offers insight into how advocacy efforts could be more likely to succeed. The article identifies several challenges and lessons for policymakers to consider. For example, the tendency for GLI to be framed as a "partial solution for a large range of problems" can hinder its progress (p. 143). Frankel advises policymakers to clearly articulate GLI as a solution to carefully considered problem(s). Policymakers are also advised to have consensus on a definition and a proposal, and have clear cost estimates to support these proposals. Estimates should include sources for financing the policy and should frame the expenditure as an investment by linking costs to outcomes (p. 149). Frankel also explores polling data and other relevant factors of contemporary discourse on GLI.

Sheila Block, Tamara Khandaker, & Rob Johnston, <u>First CERB... then Universal Basic Income?</u>, Wait, There's More [Podcast], Global News (15 July 2020).

Senior economist with the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, Sheila Block, examines revitalized interest in GLI prompted by the COVID-19 pandemic. She notes that the pandemic exposed longstanding inadequacies within Canada's existing social safety net and the need for government assistance to protect individuals from working in unsafe conditions. Individuals being unwilling to work under existing conditions should be perceived as a "condemnation" of working conditions, including inadequate wages or safety concerns. Like other experts, Block emphasizes that government expenditures must be considered alongside outcomes.

Chandra Pasma & Sheila Regehr, <u>Basic Income</u>: <u>Some Policy Options for Canada</u>, Basic Income Canada Network (2019).

In response to frequent queries about how Canada should design and pay for a basic income, the Basic Income Canada Network provides three models that are fair, effective, and feasible. BICN states that these options "demonstrate that it is indeed possible for Canada to have a basic income that is progressively structured and progressively funded."

Tracy Smith-Carrier & Steven Green, <u>Another Low Road to Basic Income? Mapping a Pragmatic</u>
Model for Adopting a Basic Income in Canada, Basic Income Studies. January 2017.

This article explores potential routes to implementing a GLI within Canada. The authors explore how the policy relates to other social assistance and tax credit programs administered at national, provincial/territorial, and municipal levels, which together form Canada's "labyrinthine benefit system" (p. 3).

The authors note that despite Canada having approximately 33 programs that reflect a basic income approach, the government has been "reticent to replace its existing welfare system" and have "little regard for structural explanations of poverty" (p. 3). Instead, the approach taken has been to "tweak existing programs or incrementally implement new ones targeted to specific populations... [creating] a patchwork" of programs that "advantage some... while overlooking others" (p. 3).

Jurgen de Wisepelaere & Leticia Morales, <u>The stability of basic income: a constitutional solution for a political problem?</u>, Journal of Public Policy, Vol. 36, No. 4 (December 2016).

This article investigates strategies to "ensure the political stability of a basic income over time" (p. 521). The authors assess the option of "constitutionalising" basic income by "enshrining the policy in a Bill of Rights protected by strong judicial review" (p. 523). The authors conclude that this is an insufficient protection and offer several other factors to consider. These include "search[ing] for institutional mechanisms to entrench key features of basic income" and framing basic income "as an entitlement" (p. 541).

Alex Himelfarb & Trish Hennessy (eds.), <u>Basic Income: Rethinking Social Policy</u> (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives Ontario, 2016).

This compendium includes an array of perspectives on the attributes and challenges of GLI. The variety of contributors – ranging from academics to healthcare providers and including an advisor to the Assembly of First Nations – are united in a belief that "everyone deserves a path out of poverty" (p. 7). The foreword acknowledges the cynicism that has long characterized Canadian political thought on GLI and stifled progress toward eliminating child poverty, despite the 1989 all-party commitment to end child poverty by the year 2000 (p. 5). These explorations include both "technical" and "philosophical" insights that "any government or policy maker" with GLI as an objective should consider (p. 7).

#### HISTORY

#### **Context**

Karl Widerquist, "Three Waves of Basic Income Support", Palgrave International Handbook of Basic Income (2020).

This chapter provides a strong overview of the history of GLI dating back several hundred years. The author identifies three distinct phases or "waves" of support for the policy idea: between 1910-1940, throughout the 1960s and 1970s, and from 2010 onwards. This chapter examines the factors that lead proposals relating to GLI to increase in prominence, and how GLI has gained legitimacy throughout time as each wave grows larger than the one prior.

#### **Historical Proposals**

Arranged chronologically.

John A. Irving, The Evolution of the Social Credit Movement, The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 14, No. 3, August 1948.

In the 1930s, Alberta premier William Aberhart led the Social Credit Party and proposed that each adult receive a monthly dividend of \$25 paid by the government. However, the proposal proved too difficult to implement in the era of the Great Depression and as the federal government also withheld the necessary monetary power.

Canada, Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (Ottawa: Privy Council Office, 1970).

The Royal Commission on the Status of Women released a report in 1970 recommending a GLI ("guaranteed annual income") to low-income heads of one-parent families with dependent children and significantly below-average income.

Castonguay-Nepveu Commission, <u>Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Health and Social</u> Welfare (Quebec: Official Publisher, 1967-1972).

In 1971, the Castonguay-Nepveu Commission released a report that recommended that Quebec adopt a three-tier income security plan including a negative income tax scheme, a program of universal family allowances, and social insurance strategy.

See <u>Manitoba-Mincome</u> Experiment ("Previous Experiments", below) for the program conducted from 1974 to 1979.

Canada, Privy Council Office, <u>Report of the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada</u> (Ottawa: 1985) p. 48.

Commonly referred to as the MacDonald Report, the Commission proposed that a national Universal Income Supplement Program (UISP) be implemented by the federal government to provide universal payments to all citizens, excluding single individuals under the age of 35. Two payment amounts were suggested depending upon whether the basic personal tax exemption amount would remain in place. A tax-back rate of 20 per cent was proposed, that would apply uniformly to benefits in both options, and the personal income-tax/rate structure was assumed to remain intact.

\*Note that this report recommends a universal payment to all Canadians, regardless of income level. The report also recommends small annual payments of \$2750 per adult and \$750 per child in 1985 dollars, rather than an income-tested guaranteed livable amount that is universally accessible to those who fall below a certain income level.

Canada, Human Resources Development Canada, Improving Social Security in Canada: A Discussion Paper (1994); cited in Margot Young & James P. Mulvale, <u>Possibilities and Prospects: The Debate</u>
Over a Guaranteed Income, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (November 2009) p. 23.

In 1994 the Social Security Review led by Human Resources Development Canada released a supplementary paper considering the costs of a guaranteed income delivered as a universal demogrant and as a negative income tax. The financing of the negative income tax model was thought to be cost-neutral through the redistribution of funding from redundant programs such as unemployment insurance, the child tax benefit, and federal contributions towards social assistance.

#### SENATE CONSIDERATION

Arranged chronologically.

Canada, Parliament, Senate, Special Senate Committee on Poverty, <u>Poverty in Canada: Report of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty</u> (1971) p. 203-209.

Commonly referred to as the Croll Report, the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, chaired by Senator David Croll, recommended that a national GLI ("guaranteed annual income") be provided at 70% of the poverty line for all citizens excluding single unattached individuals under the age of 40 who instead would have access to educational, training, counselling, and job placement programs. The program would use a negative income tax with a claw-back rate of 70 cents for every additional dollar earned, although the committee noted that its preference would be for a claw-back rate of 50 cents per dollar earned.

Canada, Parliament, Senate, Subcommittee on Cities of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, <u>Poverty, Housing and Homelessness: Issues and Options</u> (June 2008).

This interim report of a Senate Subcommittee on Cities mandated to examine and report on current social issues pertaining to Canada's largest cities focuses on poverty, housing, and homelessness. Suggestions within the report include replacing social assistance programs for people with disabilities with a GLI ("basic income") similar to current income supports for seniors and replacing social assistance with a GLI ("guaranteed annual income").

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology Report of the Subcommittee on Cities, <u>In from the Margins: A Call to Action on Poverty, Housing and Homelessness</u> (December 2009).

This final report of the Subcommittee on Cities revisits the 1971Croll Report recommendation for the establishment of a GLI ("guaranteed annual income" or "GAI"). This report states, "the committee has concluded that if a GAI is both affordable and sufficient to lift people out of poverty, it may be an effective program" (p. 22). The committee held a roundtable following a Library of Parliament seminar on GAI (p. 23). There was "general agreement" that the GAI approach had been "very successful" for seniors and that a "similar approach would probably work for children", but there was "less agreement… about its effectiveness with adults" (p. 24). The report also offers a fulsome exploration of poverty within Canada, and a documentation of provincial strategies to address poverty, housing, and homelessness.

Senate of Canada, 42nd Parliament, 1st Session, Volume 150, Issue 118 (9 May 2017).

This Senate debate transcript includes a vote by the Senate to support Senator Art Eggleton's Motion 51: "That the Senate encourage the federal government, after appropriate consultations, to provide support to initiatives by Provinces/Territories, including the Aboriginal Communities, aimed at evaluating the cost and impact of implementing measures, programs and pilot projects for the purpose of helping Canadians to escape poverty, by way of a basic income program (such as a negative income tax) and to report on their relative efficiency."

Canada, Parliament, Senate, Standing Senate Committee on National Finance, <u>COVID-19: Relief in Times of Crisis</u> (14 July 2020).

This interim report reveals the findings of the Senate National Finance Committee, which studied the government's response to COVID-19 and its economic consequences, including government emergency legislation and spending. The report examines the various temporary income support measures introduced in response to the pandemic, including the Canadian Emergency Response Benefit (CERB). Evidence before the committee included a brief from the Basic Income Network Canada urging the federal government to implement a GLI ("basic income") comparable to CERB. The report also considers work by the Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer estimating the cost of a GLI ("basic income") during the pandemic. Concluding that the possibility of a GLI deserved further investigation, the report includes the recommendation, "That the Government of Canada, with provinces, territories and Indigenous governments, give full, fair and priority consideration to a basic income guarantee."

Canada, Parliament, Senate, Standing Senate Committee on National Finance, <u>COVID-19: Relief in Times of Crisis</u> (14 July 2020).

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The Office of the Honourable Senator Rosa Galvez, <u>Building Forward Better: A Clean and Just Recovery from the COVID-19 Pandemic</u> (November 2020).

The second recommendation of Senator Rosa Galvez's white paper on COVID-19 recovery and the transition to a clean economy is the establishment of a national guaranteed livable income.

Canada, Parliament, Senate, Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights, <u>Report on the Human Rights of Federally Sentenced Persons</u> (June 2021).

Noting the overrepresentation of marginalized people, in particular Indigenous Peoples and African Canadians, within the federal prison system as a result of systemic and targeted

discrimination both within the justice system and within society, Recommendation 3 of the report calls on the federal government to "work with civil society organizations, communities, provinces and territories to develop targeted strategies, in addition to economic, educational and social programs to address the root causes of the overrepresentation of Black persons in the federal correctional system, including systemic racism and historical discrimination. Such strategies could include the creation of a guaranteed minimum income program."

#### **Open Letters**

Open letter to Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, and Minister Morneau, <u>Re: COVID-19</u> <u>Pandemic – Minimum Basic Income</u>, Signed by 50 Senators (21 April 2020).

As indicated in the <u>Senate's news release</u>, fifty senators wrote to the Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, and Finance Minister "calling for further evolution of the Canada Emergency Response Benefit" in order to implement a minimum basic income."

Open letter to Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, and Ministers, <u>Re: Canada Disability Benefit</u>, Signed by 44 Senators (17 January 2022).

This letter urges the government to meet its commitment to developing a GLI for persons with disabilities as well as to support a GLI demonstration project in PEI.

#### PREVIOUS EXPERIMENTS

Two GLI experiments have been undertaken in Canada: the Manitoba Mincome Experiment in the 1970s, and the Ontario Basic Income Pilot in 2017-19.

# Manitoba Mincome Experiment

#### **Background**

\*Ken Fisher, The Manitoba Story [Film], The BIG Experience (2018).

This twenty-minute film recounts the experiences of those who participated in Canada's first basic income experiment in the 1970s. The film captures the impact "Mincome" had on individuals and the community within the small town of Dauphin, Manitoba. This remains one of the only basic income experiments in which all eligible residents of an area were invited to participate.

David Cox, Canada's forgotten universal basic income experiment, BBC News (24 June 2020).

This article situates the Mincome experiment in its historical context and articulates its contemporary relevance. It also details Dr. Evelyn Forget's journey to uncovering the results of the experiment after it was prematurely cancelled. Two individuals share their experiences with the Mincome experiment and share the long-lasting impact it has had on their lives.

<u>Mincome Dataverse – University of Manitoba</u> [Website], (Updated regularly).

"The Mincome Dataverse presents the data and documentation associated with the Manitoba Basic Annual Income Experiment, conducted between 1974 and 1979. The Dataverse has four

components: 1. Research - working papers, technical reports and articles that have used the data; 2. original technical manuals prepared by Mincome Manitoba; 3. The data comprising unweighted data in Excel format; there are six such datasets; 4. Code books corresponding to the six datasets."

Zi-Ann Lum, <u>A Canadian City Once Eliminated Poverty and Nearly Everyone Forgot About It</u>, Huffington Post (23 December 2014).

"Between 1974 and 1979, residents of a small Manitoba city were selected to be subjects in a project that ensured basic annual incomes for everyone. For five years, monthly cheques were delivered to the poorest residents of Dauphin, Man. – no strings attached. And for five years, poverty was completely eliminated."

Evelyn Forget, <u>Basic Income for Canadians: From the COVID-19 Emergency to Financial Security for All</u> (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 2020).

Dr. Evelyn Forget is an economist at the University of Manitoba and a leading researcher on the results of Manitoba's Mincome experiment. This book examines the Mincome experiment and lays out multiple lines of evidence that support GLI as a policy solution, as well as exploring how temporary income support measures implemented during the COVID-19 pandemic could have led to long-term GLI for Canadians. This work is a second edition, updating her 2018 book, "Basic Income for Canadians: The Key to a Healthier, Happier and More Secure Life for All".

#### **Evaluative Reports**

Derek Hum and Wayne Simpson, <u>Income Maintenance</u>, <u>Work Effort</u>, <u>and the Canadian Mincome</u> Experiment, Economic Council of Canada (1991).

"This is the main research study emanating from the Mincome experiment. It explores the labor market response of households receiving a guaranteed annual income. ... At its core, the worry is that cash transfers would diminish work incentives. Our results suggest that these fears are largely misplaced."

Carol Billet et al., <u>Manitoba Basic Annual Income Experiment – Issues in the Administration of Mincome Manitoba: Three Preliminary Assessments</u>, Technical Report 11, Mincome Manitoba (1979).

"Mincome afforded researchers a unique opportunity to understand how to administer a GAI. This paper reviews three administrative issues: 1) annual reconciliation of payments; 2) payments auditing, and 3) monthly income fluctuations."

Derek Hum, David Crest & David Komus, <u>Manitoba Basic Annual Income Experiment – The Design of the Payments System of Mincome Manitoba</u>, Technical Report 3, Mincome Manitoba (1979).

"The Mincome study created a separated (incorporated) administrative structure to manage the payments. One of the study goals of MINCOME was to assess the administrative cost and complexity of a guaranteed annual income. Understanding the payments system is important for that assessment."

Derek Hum, Michael Laub and Brian Powell, <u>Manitoba Basic Annual Income Experiment – The Objectives and Design of the Manitoba Basic Annual Income Experiment</u>, Technical Report 1, Mincome Manitoba (1979).

"This report presents the essential design features of the Manitoba Basic Annual Income Experiment (MINCOME)."

#### **Opinions and Assessment**

\*Evelyn Forget, "<u>The Town with No Poverty: The Health Effects of a Canadian Guaranteed Annual Income Field Experiment</u>," Canadian Public Policy, Vol. 37, No. 3 (October 2011).

"This paper has two purposes. First, it documents the historical context of MINCOME, a Canadian guaranteed annual income field experiment (1974 to 1979). Second, it uses routinely collected health administration data and a quasi-experimental design to document an 8.5 percent reduction in the hospitalization rate for participants relative to controls, particularly for accidents and injuries and mental health. ... We conclude that a relatively modest GAI can improve population health, suggesting significant health system savings."

David Calnitsky, "<u>The Employer Response to the Guaranteed Annual Income</u>," Socio-Economic Review (2018).

"How do firms react when the whole labor force has access to a guaranteed income? One view argues that the guaranteed income is an employer subsidy, facilitating low wages and a 'low-road' industrial strategy. The second view suggests that in providing an alternative to work, the guaranteed income tightens labor markets and pulls wages up. ... This research focuses on Mincome's 'saturation' site, the town of Dauphin, Manitoba, where all residents were eligible for unconditional payments. Using an archived survey of local firms that inquires into wage rates, applications, hiring, and work hours, I find support for the second view."

Wayne Simpson, Greg Mason & Ryan Godwin, "<u>The Manitoba Basic Annual Income Experiment:</u> Lessons Learned 40 Years Later," Canadian Public Policy, Vol. 43, No.1 (2017).

"The Manitoba Basic Annual Income Experiment (Mincome), conducted some 40 years ago, was an ambitious social experiment designed to assess a range of behavioural responses to a negative income tax, a specific form of GAI. This article reviews that experiment, clarifying what exactly Mincome did and did not learn about how individuals and households reacted to the income guarantees. ... Although Mincome reflects the public policy and socio-economic context of four decades ago, the quality of the information is high, and the supporting documentation is strong."

David Calnitsky, "'More Normal than Welfare': The Mincome Experiment, Stigma, and Community Experience," Canadian Review of Sociology, Vol. 53, No. 1 (2016).

"This paper examines the impact of a social experiment from the 1970s called the Manitoba Basic Annual Income Experiment (Mincome). ... Drawing on archived qualitative participant accounts I show that the design and framing of Mincome led participants to view payments through a pragmatic lens, rather than the moralistic lens through which welfare is viewed. Consistent with prior theory, this paper finds that Mincome participation did not produce social stigma."

Melissa Martin, "<u>International Perspectives on Guaranteed Annual Income Programs</u>," Queen's Policy Review, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Winter 2011).

"Advocates of the Mincome experiment emphasize the following benefits: its objectivity in determining eligibility for the GAI, the avoidance of stigma associated with welfare, the program's efficiency in targeting payments to low-income individuals, and the possibility of introducing the GAI through a negative income tax into the already existing income tax system."

Derek Hum and Wayne Simpson, <u>A Guaranteed Annual Income? From Mincome to the Millennium</u> (Policy Options, 1 January 2001).

"In the 1970s, this country undertook a major experimental test of the guaranteed income to research the consequences of such a radical alternative. The trial program was intended to answer the many questions about the cost of reforming welfare in this way, and, most sensitive of all, about the extent to which a guaranteed income might induce Canadians to work less... the purpose of this short article is to sketch this historical background to what may or may not become a 21st century debate on the GAI."

Derek Hum and Wayne Simpson, "Economic Response to a Guaranteed Annual Income: Experience from Canada and the United States," Journal of Labor Economics, Vol. 11, No.1, 1993.

"This article reviews research from the five income-maintenance experiments in Canada and the United States. After sketching the historical and political context of the experiments, we compare their designs and discuss some important analytic difficulties. ... Reduction in hours worked is very small for men, never exceeding 9%, but larger for women. ... Response in the Canadian experiment is similarly modest—1% for men, 3% for [married women], and 5% for unmarried women."

#### **Ontario Basic Income Pilot**

#### **Background**

\*Hugh Segal, <u>Finding a Better Way: A Basic Income Pilot Project for Ontario</u>, Discussion Paper (31 August 2016).

In this discussion paper, Hugh Segal lays out "the best steps forward... for the organization, planning, administration, and design of a Basic Income Pilot for Ontario". This became the blueprint for the Ontario Basic Income Pilot.

Government of Ontario, Ontario Basic Income Pilot (8 April 2019).

This page describes the Ontario Basic Income Pilot and includes information on payments and participants.

Government of Ontario, <u>Ontario's Government for the People Announces Compassionate Wind Down of Basic Income Research Project</u> (31 August 2018).

This news release discusses the cancellation of Ontario's Basic Income Pilot.

Shawn Jeffords, Ontario's Basic Income Pilot Project is 'Failing', Says Tory Minister in Defence of Winding it Down, National Post (9 August 2018).

This article reports on the Government of Ontario's cancellation of the Ontario Basic Income Pilot.

#### **Evaluative Reports**

Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer, <u>Costing a National Guaranteed Basic Income Using the Ontario Basic Income Model</u> (17 April 2018).

"In this report, PBO takes the policy parameters of Ontario's basic income pilot project and applies them across the country to estimate the cost of a guaranteed basic income (GBI)." The report includes a description of Ontario's Basic Income Pilot.

Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer, <u>Costing a Guaranteed Basic Income During the COVID Pandemic</u> (7 July 2020).

The Parliamentary Budget Office estimated the cost of a GLI using the parameters of the Ontario basic income pilot project. The cost estimate is based on a GLI that provides low-income Canadians between 18 and 64 an income of at least 75% of the Low-Income Measure for the last six months of the fiscal year 2020-21. The report considers three possible claw-back rates and the provincial breakdown of a national post-COVID cost.

#### **Opinions and Assessment**

\*Basic Income Canada Network, <u>Signposts to Success: Report of a BICN Survey of Ontario Basic</u> Income Recipients (2019).

This survey report documents "the experiences of recipients in the Ontario Basic Income Pilot (OBIP)". Recurring themes are improved agency, social connection, and education, and reduced anxiety. The authors explore barriers to work experienced by low-income populations, such as the cost of transportation, and how these can be improved through a basic income. The report indicates that 32.5% of recipients surveyed invested in education or skills upgrades.

\*Mohammad Ferdosi et al., <u>Southern Ontario's Basic Income Experience</u>, Hamilton Roundtable for Poverty Reduction, McMaster University and Hamilton Community Foundation (March 2020).

"The present report...[provides] an overview of the effects of basic income on the lives of recipients in the Hamilton, Brantford and Brant County ... [including] improvements in their physical and mental health, labour market participation, food security, housing stability, financial status and social relationships."

Leah Hamilton & James P. Mulvale. "<u>Human Again</u>": The (<u>Unrealized</u>) <u>Promise of Basic Income in Ontario</u>, The Journal of Poverty (20 May 2019).

This article explores the provision of basic income as an alternative to inadequate and intrusive social assistance programs. The researchers compare social assistance and basic income by interviewing individuals who both participated in the Ontario Basic Income Pilot and previously received traditional social assistance. The results reveal that individuals have a desire to be

financially independent that is hindered by the conditionality of traditional programs, which discourage work and are bureaucratically demanding. Conversely, basic income improved the nutrition, health, housing stability, social connections, and long-term financial planning of participants.

Michael Mendelson, Lessons from Ontario's Basic Income Pilot, Maytree (October 2019).

"Any jurisdiction setting up a new Basic Income experiment or pilot, whether in Canada, the United States, Europe or elsewhere, can benefit from understanding key potential improvements and limitations in the design of Ontario's Basic Income experiment – as an experiment, not as a symbol. That is the purpose of this paper. ... In this paper, we focus on three aspects of the OBIP in which the experimental design fell short: lack of a "saturation" site, problems of enrollment, and use of the income tax system to test recipients' income."

Dan Taekema, <u>People Kept Working</u>, <u>Became Healthier While on Basic Income: Report</u> (CBC News, 5 March 2020).

This article describes the impact of the Ontario Basic Income Pilot: "[Recipients] continued working. ... Many of those who continued working were actually able to move to better jobs, jobs that had a higher hourly wage, that had in general better working conditions, that they felt were more secure."

Ben Waldman, "This Photographer Took Photos of Ontarians Affected by the Cancelled Basic Income Pilot" (Toronto Life, 23 May 2019).

This article displays the work of Jessie Golem, who was a participant in Ontario's basic income pilot program. She photographed other participants in the project and documented how the project, and its sudden cancellation, had affected them.

Jessie Golem, <u>Humans of Basic Income</u> (Digital Photo Series), Hamilton, Ontario (2018).

"In 2018 Jessie used her skills in photography to produce a photo series called <u>Humans of Basic Income</u> that amplifies the stories of the recipients of the prematurely cancelled Basic Income Pilot Project in Ontario. Her photos have been featured on CBC, The Huffington Post, the Toronto Star, the Lindsay Advocate, the Moonshot Podcast in Australia, and Kyoto News in Japan."

#### FEDERAL INCOME PROGRAMS

Canada already provides different forms of income guarantees, including the Canada Child Benefit and Guaranteed Income Supplement for seniors, and made use of the Canada Emergency Response Benefit and similar programs during the height of the COVID-19 pandemic. Most recently, the government is developing the Canada Disability Benefit through Bill C-22.

#### **Guaranteed Income Supplement for Seniors**

The Old Age Security (OAS) pension is a monthly payment available to all seniors aged 65 and older and resident in Canada regardless of income level. The Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS) is an additional monthly tax-free amount that is income-tested and based on a negative income tax model, meaning it is available only to low-income seniors and is reduced by a certain amount as other sources of income increase. Together these two programs operate as a form of GLI for seniors living in poverty.

John Stapleton, A Basic Income for Canadians, Metcalf Foundation. (January 2017).

This paper follows the stories of four individuals, including two seniors, to examine how Canada's income security programs can result in very different levels of support and troubling gaps in support for those in need. It analyzes how a basic income could compare to benefits provided in existing programs.

PROOF Food Insecurity Policy Research, <u>Insecurity in Poor Canadian Seniors is Greatly Reduced</u> when <u>Guaranteed Annual Income Kicks in [Press release]</u> (19 September 2016).

This press release summarizes a study titled "Reduction of Food Insecurity among Low-Income Canadian Seniors as a Likely Impact of a Guaranteed Annual Income" by Lynn McIntyre, Daniel J. Dutton, Cynthia Kwok, and J.C. Herbert Emery. The study shows that GLI-like measures such as the OAS and GIS supports are effective in decreasing food insecurity among low income seniors in Canada.

#### Canada Child Benefit

The Canada Child Benefit (CCB) is a non-taxable amount paid to families with children younger than 18. The amount increases based on the number of children in a family and decreases with family income. It acts as a limited form of GLI for families with children.

Canadian Centre for Economic Analysis, <u>Economic Contribution of the Canada Child Benefit: A Basic Income Guarantee for Canadian Families with Children</u> (September 2019).

"The objective of this research is to measure the economic contribution of the CCB to the Canadian economy since 2016. Impacts that are considered include the effect on families and their incomes, as well as the economic contributions in terms of economic indicators such as GDP, employment and government revenue. ... In the 2017-2018 benefit year, the CCB has kept 277,000 families above the poverty line, defined as the Market Basket Measure (MBM) low-income threshold. This represents 27% of all Canadian families who would be under the poverty line without CCB payments. ... Every \$1 disbursed through the program to Canadian families has translated to a \$1.97 contribution to GDP, meaning that the economic activity generated by the CCB is almost twice the size of the CCB payments themselves. This economic stimulus also generates tax revenue."

Lauren Jones, Kevin Milligan & Mark Stabile, <u>How Do Families Who Receive the CCTB and NCB Spend the Money?</u>, Martin Prosperity Institute (March 2015).

This paper examines how families use income from precursors to the CCB (the Canada Child Tax Benefit and National Child Benefit) using twelve years of a Statistics Canada dataset. The paper focuses on four broad areas: education spending; health care spending; stability spending, including expenses like rent, clothing, food, transportation, childcare and recreation; and spending on risky behaviour, including alcohol and tobacco purchases. It concludes that unconditional transfers appear well-spent: families appear to be using the income to enhance education and health for children, and to improve the general living conditions of the family.

Kourtney Koebel and Tammy Schirle, "The Differential Impact of Universal Child Benefits on the Labour Supply of Married and Single Mothers", Canada Public Policy, Vol. 42, No. 1 (2016).

"We examine the effects of the Universal Child Care Benefit on the labour supply of mothers. The benefit has a significant negative effect on the labour supply of legally married mothers, reducing their likelihood of participation in the labour force by 1.4 percentage points and hours worked by nearly one hour week. In contrast, the likelihood of participation by divorced mothers rises by 2.8 percentage points when receiving the benefit and does not affect hours worked. Moreover, the benefit does not have a statistically significant effect on the participation of common-law married mothers or never-married mothers."

#### **Canada Disability Benefit**

<u>Bill C-22</u> received Royal Assent in June 2023 and creates a framework for negotiating the design and implementation of a Canada Disability Benefit that the government has described as modelled on the Guaranteed Income Supplement for seniors. As of September 2023, the regulations specifying the design of the benefit, including eligibility criteria and the amounts to be paid out, have yet to be released and the benefit has yet to be implemented.

Alexandra Zannis & Ellen Spannagel, <u>Canada's disability benefit is a step forward, but we still need a guaranteed basic income</u> (The Hill Times, 28 June 2023).

This article notes that Bill C-22 did not specify critical details such as "eligibility criteria, the proposed amount, potential claw backs with other programs, and implementation timelines." The authors note that the inadequate "scope and scale" of the Canada Disability Benefit is one of "countless reasons" for a guaranteed livable income in Canada. They provide a clear explanation of what "unconditional" should mean: offering support "regardless of someone's citizenship status, work status, or whether they meet certain behavioural conditions".

Senator Pate, <u>Canada Disability Benefit Bill</u>, Bill to Amend--Message from Commons--Motion for Concurrence in Commons Amendment and Non-Insistence Upon Senate Amendment Adopted (20 June 2023)

In her final speech on the bill, Senator Pate highlights concerns about the potential for clawbacks of the benefit by private insurance companies. Links to the text of the bill and full House and Senate debates, including committee studies are available on the LegisInfo website.

Evelyn Forget & Sheila Regehr, <u>Persons with disabilities deserve a Basic Income</u>, Canadian Abilities Foundation (20 April 2023).

In response to the government's commitment to create a Canadian Disability Benefit, Forget and Regehr state that the benefit "may offer a step toward [the] reality" of a GLI for people with disabilities.

Accessibility for Ontarians with Disabilities Act Alliance Update, <u>Senators Blast Weaknesses in Bill C-22 (Canada Disability Benefit Act) During Second and Third Days of Second Reading Debate</u> (6 March 2023).

This source provides a catalogue of problems raised by Senators during the second reading of Bill C-22. Senator Cotter is quoted as stating, "when studying this legislation, I was interested in how this new benefit was connected to related policies and initiatives such as guaranteed livable basic income". Senator Seidman quotes Dr. Michael Prince: "the diverse access points and separate program designs [of programs such as the Canada Pension Plan disability benefit, social assistance, and employment insurance] result in a mottled social citizenship for disabled people".

The Canadian Press, <u>Bill to create Canada Disability Benefit reintroduced but with few details</u> (2 June 2022).

This 2022 article reports on how the Canada Disability Act was modelled after the Guaranteed Income Supplement. It also offers a brief overview of how the government's promise to implement the government has evolved.

# Canadian Emergency Response Benefit (CERB) & Canada Emergency Student Benefit (CESB)

The CERB was introduced in March of 2020 as a temporary emergency income support in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. It provided income to those who lost their jobs or income as a result of COVID-19. The taxable income amount was \$500 per week whether or not individuals were covered by Employment Insurance and without imposing requirements to seek work.

Notable gaps in coverage include those who did not have paid employment at the beginning of the pandemic and those who were working but earning less than \$5,000 per year.

The CESB similarly provided \$312.50 per week (\$500 per week for those with a disability or who have dependants) to students enrolled in post-secondary education and recent graduates who have lost jobs or income or have been unable to find paid work as a result of COVID-19.

#### **Background**

Government of Canada, Department of Finance, Canada Emergency Response Benefit [Website].

This website provides information on the CERB, including eligibility requirements. Statistics regarding the number of applications and amounts paid out are available <a href="here">here</a>.

Government of Canada, Department of Finance, <u>Support for Students and Recent Graduates Impacted</u> <u>by COVID-19</u> [Website].

This website provides information on the CESB, including eligibility requirements and statistics regarding the number of applications and amounts paid out.

#### **Analysis**

Erica Alini, Ottawa's clawback of COVID-era benefits is punishing small mistakes and hurting the poor (Globe & Mail, 9 June 2023); see also Darren Major, Thousands of Canadians still on the hook for pandemic benefit repayments (CBC, 19 Nov 2022).

These media report examines calls for debt amnesty for thousands of low-income Canadians who claimed CERB in error during the pandemic and are now facing further financial hardship as the government seeks to collect amounts paid out.

Basic Income Canada Network, <u>BICN COVID-19 Stories Report</u> (June 2020).

This report collects stories of those receiving the CERB and those ineligible for it, including those making less than \$5,000 per year and those on social assistance, documenting their experiences and making a strong case for a GLI.

C.D. Howe Institute, <u>Crisis Working Group Report: Household Income and Credit Support</u> (8 June 2020).

"[W]orking group members identified two options for providing continued income support to CERB recipients who, after exhausting their maximum eligibility period, may remain unemployed without access to Employment Insurance (EI). The options are: (i) extending the CERB but introducing new phase-out modifications learned from the recent experience of EI's Working While on Claim (WWOC) feature; or (ii) expanding the EI program by reforming eligibility criteria to take on the role of the CERB."

David A. Green, J. Rhys Kesselman & Lindsay Tedds, A Basic Income Is Not as Simple as You Might Think (Policy Options, 26 May 2020).

This article explains why the CERB is not a GLI and notes the challenges of implementing a GLI through the existing tax system.

David Macdonald, <u>1.4 Million Jobless Canadians Getting No Income Support in April</u> (CCPA, Behind the Numbers, 23 April 2020).

This analysis estimates that, as of the third week of April 2020, 1.4 million jobless Canadians were not receiving either CERB or employment insurance (EI). The report examines why so many Canadians are ineligible for EI and CERB.

David Macdonald, <u>Gender Impact of Canada's Income Supports</u> (CCPA, Behind the Numbers, 27 April 2020).

This article analyzes the gender dimensions of COVID-19 related job and income loss, as well as of EI supports and the government's emergency response measures.

Feng Hou, Kristyn Frank & Christophe Schimmele, <u>Economic Impact of COVID-19 Among Visible Minority Groups</u> (Statistics Canada, 6 July 2020).

This Statistics Canada analysis presents data indicating that the COVID-19 pandemic generally had a disproportionate effect on the ability of visible minority Canadians to meet financial obligations or essential needs, compared to non-racialized Canadians.

Meredith MacLeod, <u>Stories of CERB: Canadians Share How They're Using the Emergency Benefit</u> (CTV News, May 8 2020).

This article highlights how recipients are using their CERB benefits to pay for rent and groceries, reduce stress, and spend more time with their children.

Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer, <u>Canada Emergency Response Benefit (CERB)</u>, Legislative Costing Note (30 April 2020).

This costing exercise by the Parliamentary Budget Officer outlines the estimated cost and number of people expected to access the CERB between March and October 2020. An update to account for an eight-week extension of the program is available <a href="here">here</a>.

Department of Finance, Economic and Fiscal Snapshot 2020, Government Canada (8 July 2020).

The Federal Government's Fiscal Snapshot provides data regarding the anticipated cost of the CERB and CESB and a GBA+ analysis of the measures, including data relating to job loss and income support applications disaggregated by gender, race, and employed versus self-employed status.

Jordan Press, <u>CERB-Style Program Will Ease Burden on Central Bank during Future Economic Shocks: Governor</u> (Global News, 21 May 2020).

This article discusses Bank of Canada governor Stephen Poloz's support for long-term, stronger, more automatic income support measures to respond to future economic shocks.

John Stapleton, <u>Canada's CERB: How an Emergency Benefit Designed for Exposed People Became</u> a Giant Windfall for Governments (Open Policy Ontario, 16 May 2020).

This article discusses the problem of the claw-back of CERB payments through provincial and territorial social assistance systems.

#### **INDIGENOUS PEOPLES**

\*National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, <u>Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls</u> (2019).

Call for Justice 4.5 states, "we call upon all governments to establish a guaranteed annual livable income for all Canadians, including Indigenous Peoples, to meet all their social and economic needs. This income must take into account diverse needs, realities, and geographic locations" (Vol. 1 at 182), as part of transformative legal and social changes to resolve "persistent and

deliberate human and Indigenous rights violations and abuses behind Canada's staggering rates of violence against Indigenous women, girls and 2SLGBTQQIA people."

Gayle Broad and Jessica Nadjiwon-Smith, <u>B.I.G. and First Nations: Cautions for Implementation</u> (Northern Policy Institute, Basic Income Guarantee Series, Research Paper No. 19, May 2017).

This research paper recommends pilot site testing and evaluation to ensure that First Nations communities benefit from the implementation of a provincial GLI. Three main considerations for First Nations contemplating GLI were: substantially higher poverty rates among First Nation communities, differences in the administration of social assistance, and historical underfunding and undermining of programs serving Indigenous communities by Canadian governments.

#### In the Media

Kayli Avveduti, <u>It's Time for Big Ideas – Time for a First Nations Universal Basic Income Program</u> (Policy Magazine, 15 June 2020).

"A UBI could serve as a necessary cycle breaker. A Basic Income could provide the same opportunities to First Nations people that Canadians born on the other side of the system enjoy. [The COVID-19] ... crisis could help Canada move away from systems that perpetuate poverty and marginalize First Nations people."

Jim Day, <u>First Nation Chief on P.E.I. Backs Basic Guaranteed Income for Mi'kmaq People</u> (Chronicle Herald, 19 February 2020).

This article discusses Lennox Island First Nation Chief Darlene Bernard's testimony to the Special Committee on Poverty in P.E.I. in support of GLI ("basic guaranteed income"). She emphasizes the importance of ensuring First Nations governments are part of the development and negotiation of the proposed model, but also to be part of the delivery of a GLI. She states her strong belief that by ensuring people have more money in their pockets, they will make better choices and cautions against implementing a pilot with no real commitment to continue it if it has good results because it will create expectations that will "crash and burn".

Emma Tranter, <u>Nunavut MLA Presses Government on the Idea of Guaranteed Basic Income</u> (Nunatsiaq News, 26 February 2020).

This article discusses MLA John Main's advocacy in favour of GLI as recommended in the 2013 report "Poverty and Prosperity in Nunavut."

Emma Paling, Why MMIWG Inquiry Report Calls for a National Basic Income (HuffPost, 11 June 2019).

This article discusses the Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women's Call for Justice 4.5 for the implementation of a national GLI, as well as the link between poverty and economic inequality, including colonial policies of destitution, and violence against women.

Max Fineday, <u>Dreaming Healthy Nations: Basic Income as an Indigenous Value</u> (Upstream, 19 August 2015).

This article highlights traditional Cree values and teachings regarding community responses to resource scarcity, and how these have been passed down by knowledge keepers. Faced with increasing income inequality, the article links GLI to the imperative of reconciliation, presenting the delivery of economic justice for First Nations Peoples as the first step toward reconciliation, and advocating a GLI for all Canadians, beginning with First Nations Peoples.

#### **Poverty & Indigenous Peoples**

Pamela Palmater, <u>First Nations Face Specific Risk Factors that Make Them More Vulnerable to COVID-19: We Need a Comprehensive Pandemic Prevention and Response Plan</u> (Policy Options, 20 March 2020).

In discussing responses to COVID-19, this article briefly touches on the need for accessible funding for First Nations communities across Canada: "both levels of government must provide First Nations with immediate, adequate and flexible funding to each First Nation so they can tailor their pandemic preparations and responses to their specific local needs."

Native Women's Association of Canada, <u>Poverty Reduction Strategy: The Native Women's Association of Canada Engagement Results</u> (Last updated: 24 July 2019).

NWAC collected information from Indigenous women on their personal experiences in dealing with various socio-economic barriers such as poverty and lack of access to resources including education and housing. This report discusses the survey's results and provide recommendations on poverty reduction strategies.

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Social and Economic Inequity in Inuit Nunangat (2018) [infographic].

This infographic provides data on the economic and social disparities that exist for Inuit Nunangat in comparison to the rest of Canadians and non-Indigenous Peoples living in Inuit Nunangat.

Gérard Duhaime & Roberson Édouard, "Monetary Poverty in Inuit Nunangat", Arctic J, Vol. 68, No. 2, p. 223 (2015).

This article looks at poverty in Nunavut through a quantitative lens. It addresses the consequences of the modernization and poverty among Inuit Nunangat and has demonstrated how employment income is redistributed unequally among workers according to wage-scaled and hierarchical criteria. This article uses a particular method that adapts to the key characteristics of Inuit and has found that the poverty rates are significantly higher among Inuit Nunangat than the average in Canada.

Jalene Tayler Anderson & Damian Collins, <u>Prevalence and Causes of Urban Homelessness among Indigenous Peoples: A Three-Country Scoping Review</u>, Housing Studies, Vol. 29, No. 7, p. 959 (2014).

This article highlights the differences between settler cultures and Indigenous cultures and the different factors that contribute to urban Indigenous homelessness, including policies of assimilation and traumatic relationships with settler governments. This study provides a new framework for an international investigation of the diverse causes and experiences of urban homelessness. It also brings forward the realities of Indigenous Peoples' experiences that need to be taken into consideration in developing and implementing a GLI.

Daniel Wilson & David Macdonald, <u>The Income Gap Between Aboriginal Peoples and the Rest of Canada</u> (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, April 2010).

This report covers various factors that play a role in the rates of unemployment and poverty experienced by Indigenous Peoples, including location, education attainment, and gender inequality. In general, these factors are a result of the various colonial policies that have put in place by the Canadian government. This report highlights the importance of recognizing and respecting Indigenous self-determination and self-governance.

## **Indigenous Self-Determination**

Any discussion of a national Guaranteed Livable Income must include Indigenous Peoples, reflect their experiences and interests, and recognize and respect Indigenous Peoples' inherent rights to self-determination. The following sources discuss connections between addressing economic marginalization and upholding rights to self-determination.

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2020-2023 Strategy and Action Plan (12 May 2020).

This report sets out Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami's 7 key objectives in furtherance of a vision where "Canadian Inuit are prospering through unity and self-determination." The first objective is to reduce poverty among Inuit.

Canada, "Indigenous Economic Reconciliation: Recommendations on Reconciliation and Inclusive Economic Growth for Indigenous Peoples and Canada" (The National Indigenous Economic Development Board, 2019).

This report provides recommendations for economic development for Indigenous Peoples, as part of a three-part series regarding economic reconciliation. One of the key conclusions was that "the inclusion of Indigenous [P]eoples in the Canadian economy is a needed investment in Canada's future and not an expense."

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, <u>Inuit Perspectives on a Canadian Poverty Reduction Strategy</u> (January 2018). This report examines poverty in Canada from the perspective of Inuit.

Omolara O. Odulaja & Regine Halseth, The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals and Indigenous Peoples in Canada (National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health, 2018).

This report looks at the impacts of the UN Sustainable Developmental Goals (SDGs) on Indigenous Peoples in Canada. It further demonstrates the interconnectedness of the SDGs through four key themes: socio-economic marginalization, the promotion of health and wellbeing, equality and social inclusiveness, and the environment.

International Labour Organization, <u>Sustainable Developmental Goals: Indigenous Peoples in Focus</u> (26 July 2016).

This article discusses the integral role for Indigenous Peoples within the UN Sustainable Development Goals framework. These goals attempt to address many of the inequalities and lack of access to supports that Indigenous Peoples are currently facing. One approach in addressing one of these goals is to provide "decent work and economic growth."

Jeff Corntassel, "Re-envisioning Resurgence: Indigenous Pathways to Decolonization and Sustainable Self-Determination" in Eric Ritskes, ed, *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1st Ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2012) p. 86.

This article focuses on the vital need to recognize and respect the inherent rights of Indigenous Peoples to self-determination.

Pamela Palmater, <u>Stretched Beyond Human Limits: Death By Poverty in First Nations</u> (Canadian Review of Social Policy, 2011).

This article discusses the need for policy approaches that help promote Indigenous self-governance and self-determination. Current and past approaches have not assisted Indigenous peoples and have acted as an assimilationist tactic. When developing policies, consideration must be given to addressing ongoing socio-economic barriers.

Cathal Doyle, "Indigenous Peoples and the Millennium Development Goals - 'Sacrificial Lambs' or Equal Beneficiaries?" (2009) 13:1 Intl JHR 44.

This article provides an analysis of the inherent right to self-determination of Indigenous Peoples and focuses on effectively addressing the rates of poverty and overall development of Indigenous communities.

Stephen Cornell, <u>Indigenous Peoples</u>, <u>Poverty and Self-Determination in Australia</u>, <u>New Zealand</u>, <u>Canada and the United States</u> (Joint Occasional Papers on Native Affairs, 2006).

This article focuses on comparing the situations of Indigenous Peoples in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. It highlights calls for Indigenous self-determination and state programs to address socio-economic disadvantage. It looks at the differences and commonalities with respect to Indigenous poverty, self-determination and state responses.

## **Indigenous Peoples & Barriers to Canadian Income Support Programs**

Jungwee Park, <u>Income Assistance Receipt Among Off-Reserve Indigenous Peoples in Canada</u>, Aboriginal Policy Studies, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2019).

This article focuses on socio-demographic, labour market and health characteristics of Indigenous, off-reserve recipients of income assistance categories, and finds a correlation between the receipt of income assistance and jobs with short tenure, part-time or temporary positions, and work in the retail sector, as well as significantly poorer mental and physical health conditions.

Phoenix Strategic Perspectives Inc., <u>Qualitative Research: The Experiences of Indigenous Communities with Tax Filing</u> (Canada Revenue Agency, June 2017).

This report focuses on Indigenous Peoples' perspectives on the barriers they face when filing their taxes. This study was qualitative in nature and was conducted in order to begin implementing an action plan to address challenges accessing benefits.

Laurie Monsebraaten, <u>Indigenous Children on Reserves Miss Out on Child Benefit</u> (Toronto Star, 20 July 2016).

This article discusses the importance of addressing gaps in Canada Child Benefit coverage for children on reserves whose parents have been unable to claim the benefit because they have not filed a tax return.

Samantha Eisleb-Taylor, <u>First Nations Income Assistance in Perspective: Assimilation, Active Measures and the Way Forward</u>, Masters Thesis (20 November 2013).

This thesis examines the possibility of developing an income assistance program that acknowledges and addresses the realities of colonization using a holistic and culturally relevant approach, discussing considerations that may also be relevant for the design of GLI.

#### PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES

#### **British Columbia**

Ryan Dwyer, Anita Palepu, Claire Williams & Jiaying Zhao, <u>Unconditional cash transfers reduce homelessness</u>, Proceedings of the National Academy of Science (2023).

Researchers provided a one-time unconditional cash transfer of CAD\$7,500 to 50 individuals experiencing homelessness in Vancouver, BC, and documented that over one year, these individuals spent fewer days homeless, had increased savings and spending with no increase in spending on temptation goods spending, and generated "societal net savings of \$777 per recipient via reduced time in shelters."

Foundations for Social Change, New Leaf Program [Website].

Foundations for Social Change is a not-for-profit organization that administered the New Leaf Program through which recently homeless participants received one-time cash transfers of \$7,5000. This website includes details regarding the New Leaf Program as well as setting out its methodology, an impact report and results in infographic form.

David Green, Jonathan Rhys Kesselman & Lindsay Tedds, <u>Covering All the Basics: Reforms for a More Just Society</u>; Final Report of the British Columbia Expert Panel on Basic Income.

Tasked with examining GLI in British Columbia by the BC government, the panel instead recommended making adjustments to improve British Columbia's existing social programs. The approach to income supports advocated by the panel consists of targeted forms of GLI.

David Green, Jonathan Rhys Kesselman & Lindsay Tedds, "Considerations For Basic Income As A Covid-19 Response," School of Public Policy Publications, Vol. 13, No. 11 (May 2020).

"The authors of this brief currently serve as experts on a B.C. government panel that is assessing the desirability and feasibility of a basic income in that province. We have come up with a series of questions that must first be answered in-depth in order to assess a basic income program or alternative reforms to achieve some of the same goals."

#### **Newfoundland and Labrador**

<u>Provincial Government Announces New Basic Income Program for Youth Receiving Residential Services</u> (25 October 2022) [News Release].

Beginning in January 2023, approximately 300 youth in the care of the state between the ages of 16 and 21 and receiving residential services, income and other supports, will be provided with additional financial supports of approximately \$600 monthly as part of a "basic income" program.

Health Accord for Newfoundland & Labrador, <u>Our province</u>. <u>Our health</u>. <u>Our future</u>. <u>A 10-Year Health Transformation</u>: <u>The Report</u> (17 February 2022).

Report of the Health Accord to the Premier and Minister of Health including a recommendation to "[d]evelop a provincial strategic plan to immediately engage with the federal government for funding of a basic income approach."

#### **Northwest Territories**

Alternatives North, <u>Foundations for Action: Basic Income Guarantee for the NWT Report</u> (March 2023).

Alternatives North is a social justice coalition based in the Northwest Territories and consisting of individuals as well as representatives of churches, labour unions, environmental organizations, women and family advocates and anti-poverty groups. Their report recommending a GLI pilot or program "explores the needs of the diverse communities across the NWT with particular attention to Indigenous values, varying costs of living in different places, and the streamlining of government administration" and makes 6 recommendations.

#### Nunavut

Jackie McKay, Nunavut to look at guaranteed basic income program (CBC, 28 September 2020).

This news article reports on a feasibility study being led by the Nunavut Department of Family Services, and which remains ongoing.

Ken Battle and Sherri Torjman, <u>Poverty and Prosperity in Nunavut</u> (Caledon Institute of Social Policy, November 2013).

In connection with the Nunavut Roundtable for Poverty Reduction's implementation of Nunavut's poverty reduction strategy, the Caledon Institute of Social Policy was engaged to consider a "made-in-Nunavut" social policy and proposed, among other measures, replacement of social assistance with a GLI ("basic income").

# Québec

Québec, Basic Income Program [Website].

This government website provides details regarding the "basic income" program, which was launched in January 2023 and applies automatically to people receiving provincial social assistance and who have a "severely limited capacity for employment" for 66 out of the previous 72 months. In 2023 the program provided a maximum of around \$18,500 annually for single adults, indexed for future years, with further adjustments for families with children and reductions if an individual earns income above approximately \$14,500.

Morgan Lowrie, Quebec basic income program begins, but advocates say many low-income people excluded (CBC, 29 January 2023)

Critique of the Québec basic income program, which was anticipated to provide benefits to 84,000 people, due to its strict eligibility requirements, in particular the requirement that a person must be in a situation of "severely limited capacity for employment" for between 5 or 6 years before being eligible for the program.

#### **Prince Edward Island**

CBC News, <u>Islanders urge federal government to fund basic income as cost of living soars</u> (24 June 2023).

This short article offers insight into the current state of basic income in PEI. In June of 2023, approximately 40 demonstrators gathered in Charlottetown in a rally organized by the NDP to "put pressure on the federal government to fund a basic income for Islanders". The article also states that "while the idea has support from all the parties, provincial governments have said they can't move on a livable income program without funding from Ottawa".

Jill MacCormack, <u>Basic Income on PEI: Rally and Iceberg Analysis – 5 year demonstration project in the Offing Matters!</u> (20 June 2023) [Blog post].

This post contains an "iceberg analysis" of basic income on PEI ahead of the June 23<sup>rd</sup> rally hosted in Charlottetown. The tip of the iceberg contains the issues and events that people see and understand, including the housing crisis, food insecurity, and the mental wellbeing of local artists. These issues are associated with patterns of precarious work, seasonal unemployment, and inadequate wages. The structures permitting these patterns and issues include exclusive workplaces, inadequate income assistance, intergenerational cycles of poverty, and exclusive market basket measure assessments. The author also explores "imagined events" after a basic income is implemented, such as the eradication of child poverty, as well as imagined patterns and structures associated with its implantation.

Special Committee on Poverty in PEI, Final Report (27 November 2020).

In 2019, the PEI legislature created a special committee to explore the possibility of a provincial GLI pilot. This report provides an overview of recommendations for the Legislative Assembly and several guiding principles for a Basic Income Guarantee for Prince Edward Island (p. 21). The fourth recommendation is that "the Government of Prince Edward Island begin immediate negotiations with the Government of Canada for the development and implementation of a basic income guarantee program for Prince Edward Island" (p. 13). The report also estimates the net cost of the program to be \$259.928 million, accounting for savings from social assistance and the elimination of the low income tax credit (p. 15).

Special Committee on Poverty in PEI, Interim Report on Committee Activities (8 July 2020).

This report provides an update of the committee's activities, with recommendations for the Legislative Assembly, a list of intervenors who had provided insight to the committee, and guiding principles for a basic income guarantee.

Jim Day, <u>First Nation Chief on P.E.I. Backs Basic Guaranteed Income for Mi'kmaq People</u> (19 February 2020).

Article discussing Lennox Island First Nation Chief Darlene Bernard's testimony to the Special Committee on Poverty in P.E.I. in support of GLI ("basic guaranteed income").

#### Yukon

Bruce McLennan et al. Putting People First – The final report of the comprehensive review of Yukon's health and social programs and services (13 May 2020).

In November 2018, an Independent Expert Panel was created to complete a comprehensive review of health and social services in Yukon. The resulting report includes 76 recommendations on health and social services in the territory, including Recommendation 5.7: "Design and implement a guaranteed annual income pilot, in collaboration with the Yukon Anti-Poverty Coalition, and potential funding partners such as the federal government, health and social research programs and others."

Justine Davidson, Senator Promotes Guaranteed Income Model (Whitehorse Star, 12 April 2010).

This article documents Senator Hugh Segal's proposal that the Yukon be a trial site for a GLI pilot and some responses from Yukon politicians.

#### **MUNICIPALITIES**

Basic Income Canada Network, Canadians Taking Action [Website].

This webpage includes a list of Canadian municipalities that have endorsed GLI.

Hamilton Spectator Editorial, <u>Hamilton city council right to support basic income</u> (10 June 2023).

In response to Hamilton City Council's June 7<sup>th</sup> unanimous resolution in support of basic income, this editorial observes that "with our demographic and socioeconomic challenges, basic income could literally change the trajectory of so many vulnerable citizens".

### CALLS & SUPPORT FOR GLI

Basic Income Canada Network, Canadians Taking Action [Website].

This webpage includes a list of Canadian governments and organizations that have endorsed GLI through resolutions or other public statements.

#### **House of Commons & Federal Political Parties**

Liberal Party of Canada, 2023 Policy Resolutions, Policy Resolution 7.

This document sets out policy resolutions that have earned majority support as official party policy. Policy Resolution 7 calls for introduction of a guaranteed livable basic income bill following updated costing from the Parliamentary Budget Office and a 270-day period of consultation with stakeholders.

<u>Investing in Tomorrow: Canadian Priorities for Economic Growth and Recovery</u>. Report of the Standing Committee on Finance. February 2021.

In this 2021 report, Recommendation 42 of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Finance is to "extend income support programs such as EI and the Canada Emergency Wage Subsidy, and consider the implementation of a universal basic income program" (p. 36). The following witnesses supported the government's consideration of a (universal) basic income: The Canadian Arts Coalition (p. 66), Sentiom Inc. (p. 113), and The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees (p. 182). Basic Income Canada Network (BICN) also submitted a brief to the Committee recommending that the government implement a basic income guarantee.

# National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls

CBC News, "A report card on the MMIWG inquiry's calls for justice" (5 June 2023).

Reporting no progress on the vast majority of the MMIWG Inquiry's Calls for Justice, including Call for Justice 4.5 regarding guaranteed livable income.

\*National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, <u>Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls</u> (2019).

Call for Justice 4.5 states, "we call upon all governments to establish a guaranteed annual livable income for all Canadians, including Indigenous Peoples, to meet all their social and economic needs. This income must take into account diverse needs, realities, and geographic locations" (Vol. 1 at 182), as part of transformative legal and social changes to resolve "persistent and deliberate human and Indigenous rights violations and abuses behind Canada's staggering rates of violence against Indigenous women, girls and 2SLGBTQQIA people."

Emma Paling, Why MMIWG Inquiry Report Calls for a National Basic Income (HuffPost, 11 June 2019).

This article discusses the Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women's Call for Justice 4.5 for the implementation of a national GLI, as well as the link between poverty and economic inequality, including colonial policies of destitution, and violence against women.

# **Health & Care Experts**

Canadian Medical Association, MOTION DM 5-16 (2015).

This Resolution of the Canadian Medical Association "endorses the concept of a basic income guarantee."

Canadian Association of Social Workers, <u>Promoting Equity for a Stronger Canada: The Future of Canadian Social Policy</u> (22 May 2014).

This 2014 position paper of the Canadian Association of Social Workers (CASW) calls on Canada to "adopt an equity framework for the development of future social policy," recommending measures including the development of a "basic income strategy."

# **Artificial Intelligence and Automation**

Jiaying Zhao, Yuen Pao Woo, Lorne A. Whitehead. <u>Artificial intelligence + basic income = Canadian innovation</u> (Policy Options, 26 June 2023).

With estimates suggesting that AI could displace 300 million full-time jobs, this article proposes that basic income could be a solution for individuals to retain their livelihoods.

Martin Ford. <u>As artificial intelligence and robotics advance, a basic income may be the only viable solution.</u> In A. Downes & S. Lansley (Eds.), It's Basic income: The Global debate (Policy Press, 2018).

This short chapter offers an increasingly popular justification for basic income. As artificial intelligence and robotics threaten to displace work, basic income may be necessary to guarantee individual and societal economic security.

# **Public Opinion**

Angus Reid Institute, <u>As COVID-19 Rewrites Playbook on Social Safety Net, Majorities Support Idea of Basic Income of Up to 30K</u> (18 June 2020).

In this poll, 3 in 5 Canadians supported implementation of an annual GLI of between \$10,000 and \$30,000; 36 per cent of Canadians were unwilling to pay more taxes in order to pay for a GLI, while 60 per cent indicated support for having wealthy Canadians pay for a GLI program.

Doug Anderson, Allan Gregg and Stephanie Constable, <u>Managing the Re-Opening of the Economy:</u> Expect a More Divided Electorate (28 May 2020).

In this poll, Canadians identified a guaranteed annual income as the fourth most important potential policy measure to put in place to address the next phase of the COVID-19 pandemic, with 36% of Canadians identifying it as a priority.

Gallup, Universal Basic Income Favored in Canada, U.K. but Not in U.S (2019).

Gallup and Northeastern University conducted a survey in 2019 asking participants if they would support a "universal basic income" for people who lost their employment due to artificial intelligence (AI) adoption. 75% approved of Canadians approved.

Ipsos Reid, What Do Canadians Think About Universal Basic Income? (2017).

This 2017 survey found that 44% of Canadians agreed with the idea of "universal basic income", while 31% disapproved, with data disaggregated by age, gender, income and region, and compared to support in other countries.

Campaign Research, <u>Majority Approves of Ontario's Basic Income Plan, Many Find \$17,000 per Year Too Little an Amount (2017)</u>.

An online survey of approximately 2,000 adult Canadians revealed than more than half (53%) approved of Ontario's experiment, while 18% disapproved.

Angus Reid Institute, Basic Income? Basically Unaffordable, Say Most Canadians (2016).

This poll suggests that Canadians are "broadly supportive" of the idea and "receptive" to the two most popular arguments favouring a basic income: that it would (1) streamline welfare and social assistance, and (2) offer greater security to those whose jobs are threatened by artificial intelligence.

# POLICY OUTLINES, MODELS, & COST

Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer, Costing a Guaranteed Basic Income During the COVID Pandemic (7 July 2020).

The PBO costed the evolution of the CERB into a national GLI based on the Ontario Basic Income pilot model: "a guaranteed basic income (GBI) program to ensure all Canadians between 18 and 64 have income of at least 75% of the Low-Income Measure (LIM; \$24,439 for an individual and \$34,562 for a couple) for the last six months of the fiscal year 2020-21." With a clawback rate of \$0.50 of dollars earned through employment, a six-month program would cost \$45.8 billion, with potential savings of between \$15 and \$46 billion based on rolling in of other income support measures and tax credits. The costs of a GBI were contrasted with the CERB.

Chandra Pasma & Sheila Regehr, <u>Basic Income</u>: <u>Some Policy Options for Canada</u> (Basic Income Canada Network, January 2020).

In response to frequent queries about how Canada should design and pay for a basic income, the Basic Income Canada Network provides three models that are fair, effective, and feasible. BICN

states that these options "demonstrate that it is indeed possible for Canada to have a basic income that is progressively structured and progressively funded".

Kourtney Koebel & Dionne Pohler, <u>Expanding the Canada Worker Benefit to Design a Guaranteed Basic Income</u> (September 2019).

The report proposes a hybrid GLI that integrates a "guaranteed basic income" with an employment earnings subsidy for working-age Canadians by expanding the Canada Worker Benefit.

Robin Boadway, Katherine Cuff & Kourtney Koebel, <u>Implementing a Basic Income Guarantee in Canada: Prospects and Problems</u> (2018).

The report draws on the proposal studied in Boadway, Cuff and Koebel (2016), above, to suggest a proposal for a GLI ("basic income guarantee"). The report discusses the current status quo of social assistance, work responses, political feasibility, and other considerations. The report discusses the need for a provincial-territorial-federal collaboration and the roles for different levels of governments within its GLI proposal. This report proposes a program that would only replace cash transfer programs whose intent is redistributive, not social insurance programs or inkind transfers.

Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer, <u>Costing a National Guaranteed Basic Income Using the Ontario Basic Income Model</u> (17 April 2018).

"In this report, PBO takes the policy parameters of Ontario's basic income pilot project and applies them across the country to estimate the cost of a guaranteed basic income (GBI)." The report includes a description of Ontario's Basic Income Pilot Project.

David Macdonald, <u>A Policy Maker's Guide to Basic Income</u> (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, October 2016).

The report outlines the costing of three models, analyzing both a UBI (universal demogrant) approach and a GLI (negative income tax) approach. Each scenario is examined for its ability to reduce poverty for children, adults, and seniors.

Robin Boadway, Katherine Cuff & Kourtney Koebel, <u>Designing a Basic income Guarantee for Canada</u> (Queens University Department of Economics Working Paper No. 1371, 2016).

The report outlines a GLI ("negative income tax model") that would provide \$20,000 per adult adjusted for the number of adults in a family, with a tax-back rate of 30%. The model would cost \$162.84 billion but would be financed through the elimination of most refundable and non-refundable tax credits, provincial income assistance, and OAS/GIS. This would reduce the net cost to \$590 million, with \$106.7 billion coming from the federal portion of revenue. The report highlights the distributional effects across household types and income deciles.

Charles Lammam and Hugh MacIntyre, <u>The Practical Challenges of Creating a Guaranteed Annual Income in Canada</u> (Fraser Institute, January 2015).

"The idea of a cash transfer from government to individuals or families to provide a minimum annual income has entered and exited Canadian policy discussions for decades. ... The concept, usually referred to in Canada as a Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI), has received renewed attention, so this paper examines it in more detail. It concludes that while the idea has conceptual appeal, particularly the potential for greater efficiency and administrative savings in the delivery of income support programs, there are important practical challenges that cast serious doubt on the plausibility of a GAI reform for Canada."

Richard Pereira, <u>Universal Basic Income and the Cost Objection: What Are We Waiting For?</u>, World Economic Review, Vol. 5 (2015).

"This study demonstrates that a universal basic income or guaranteed income at a level sufficient to cover essential needs (at the official poverty line or higher) is affordable. It provides a response to a popular ... based on inadequate and/or misleading information. This will be demonstrated by analysis of influential publications in the Canadian context, as well as investigating the basis of the objection in more general, non-geographically specific terms. No cuts to vital public programs such as health, education, legal aid etc. are sought in this study. Only program redundancies (sometimes full programs and partial redundancies in other cases) resulting from implementation of UBI are identified, along with other public revenue losses that can be better directed to UBI." The study refers to a universal basic income in which everyone receives a cash transfer but also discusses negative income tax models and argues that they have similar economic implications.

# **PART 4: Supporting Material & Key Considerations**

### REVIEWS

This section is devoted to material that provides a strong overview of multiple elements of basic income discourse.

Jiaying Zhao, Saugato Datta, & Dilip Soman, <u>Cash Transfers for Inclusive Societies: A Behavioral Lens</u> (University of Toronto Press, 2023).

This book offers "practical advice on how best to successfully design, deliver, and evaluate efficient cash transfer programs, with a view to alleviating poverty," drawing on existing experiments, studies and evidence to develop a framework for designing cash transfer programs rooted in improving inclusivity, reducing poverty and improving equality. A chapter reviewing "the research on cash transfer programs in the Global North and South to identify similarities and differences in program design, participation, operation, and outcomes" is available <a href="here">here</a>.

Jiacqi Yang et al., <u>Review on basic income (BI): its theories and empirical cases</u>, Journal of Social and Economic Development (2021).

This article reviews "152 pieces of literature on BI theories and BI empirical cases... including definitions, positive and negative conceptual impacts... [and] the implementation and the outcomes of 15 selected BI empirical cases". This article suggests simplifying existing definitions and cultivating a uniform approach to the implementation of BI.

## EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

#### **Cash Transfers**

Ryan Dwyer, Anita Palepu, Claire Williams & Jiaying Zhao, <u>Unconditional cash transfers reduce homelessness</u>, Proceedings of the National Academy of Science (2023).

This study was cited by Dr. Jiaying Zhao in a <u>Twitter thread</u> to combat the myth that money people receive through a basic income would be spent on harmful goods, such as alcohol and drugs. This study offered 50 individuals experiencing homelessness a one-time unconditional cash transfer of CAD \$7,500. Results indicated that "over one year, cash recipients spent fewer days homeless, increased savings and spending with no increase in temptation-goods spending, and generated societal net savings… via reduced time in shelters" (p. 1).

David K. Evans & Anna Popova, <u>Cash transfers and temptation goods</u>, The University of Chicago Press Journals: Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 65, No. 2 (January 2017).

This article was cited by Dr. Jiaying Zhao in a <u>Twitter thread</u> to combat the myth that money people receive through a basic income would be spent on harmful goods, such as alcohol and drugs. This meta-analysis of 19 quantitative studies reveals that cash transfers actually reduce spending on temptation goods, including alcohol and tobacco.

# **Cost Savings**

Abhijit Banerjee, Paul Niehaus & Tavneet Suri, <u>Universal basic income in the developing world</u>, Annual Review of Economics (August 2019).

This article was cited by Dr. Jiaying Zhao in a <u>Twitter thread</u> to combat the myth that basic income will complicate social services. While this study pertains to a universal model, it supports the notion that a basic income can be less costly to administer than complicated means-tested approaches.

# **Employment & Labour**

Abhijit Banerjee et al., <u>Debunking the stereotype of the lazy welfare recipient: Evidence from cash transfer programs worldwide</u>, The World Bank Research Observer, Vol. 32, No. 2 (August 2017).

This article was cited by Dr. Jiaying Zhao in a <u>Twitter thread</u> to combat the myth that basic income makes people not want to work. This study analyses data from seven randomized controlled trials of cash transfer programs and concludes that there is "no systematic evidence that cash transfer programs discourage work" (p. 1).

Manuela A. de Paz-Báñez, <u>Is There Empirical Evidence on How the Implementation of a Universal Basic Income (UBI) Affects Labour Supply? A Systematic Review</u>, Sustainability (2020).

This article was cited by Dr. Jiaying Zhao in a <u>Twitter thread</u> to combat the myth that basic income makes people not want to work. This article reveals that labour supply actually increases, rather than decreases, with a basic income. The article states: "we found evidence that labour supply increases globally among adults, men and women, young and old, and the existence of some insignificant and functional reductions to the system such as a decrease in workers from the following categories: children the elderly, the sick, those with disabilities, women with young children to look after, or young people who continued study. These results do not reduce the overall supply since it is largely offset by increased supply from other members of the community" (p.1).

#### **Inflation**

Parliamentary Budget Officer, <u>Household purchasing power at different income levels since 2019</u> (22 June 2023).

This report documents how government transfers helped lower income households survive soaring inflation rates and the rising cost of living. Lower income households "rel[ied] significantly on government transfers to preserve their purchasing power" (p. 3).

Joshua Miller, Universal Basic Income and Inflation: Reviewing Theory and Evidence (June 2021).

This article was cited by Dr. Jiaying Zhao in a <u>Twitter thread</u> to combat the myth that basic income causes inflation. The author undertakes a theoretical economic analysis and suggests it is unlikely to cause significant inflation.

Federal Reserve Economic Data, <u>Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers: Urban Alaska vs.</u> <u>US; City Average.</u>

This source was cited by Dr. Jiaying Zhao in a <u>Twitter thread</u> to combat the myth that basic income causes inflation. The graph demonstrates that Alaska has a lower inflation rate than the rest of the United States, despite having the Alaska Permanent Fund, which is a universal basic income program.

### DOWNSTREAM COST SAVINGS

\*Isobel Findlay et al., <u>Basic Income: Calculating the Cost Savings and Downstream Benefits</u> Community-University Institute for Social Research, University of Saskatchewan (2023).

This 200-page report provides a comprehensive, credible, and contemporary exploration of basic income within Canada. Drawing upon "an extensive literature review... and 35 key informant interviews", the report "examines the potential of a BI to improve social, economic, health, and other outcomes which imply downstream cost savings, wellbeing and other benefits" (p. viii – ix). In particular, this research addresses the downstream cost savings that could result from a GLI.

Ryan Dwyer, Anita Palepu, Claire Williams & Jiaying Zhao, <u>Unconditional cash transfers reduce homelessness</u>, Proceedings of the National Academy of Science (2023).

Researchers provided a one-time unconditional cash transfer of CAD\$7,500 to 50 individuals experiencing homelessness in Vancouver, BC, and documented that over one year, these individuals spent fewer days homeless, had increased savings and spending with no increase in spending on temptation goods spending, and generated "societal net savings of \$777 per recipient via reduced time in shelters."

### THE TAX SYSTEM

\*Wayne Simpson et al. <u>A Guaranteed Basic Income for Canadians: Off the Table or Within Reach?</u>, School of Public Policy Publications, University of Calgary (June 2022).

This article asserts that because a "significant portion of current taxation authority" is within federal jurisdiction, federal support is likely necessary for basic income within Canada (p. 7). This article supports the federal government's capacity to administer a basic income and provides an overview of the federal government's provision of benefits through the taxation system. The authors point to the federal government's track record of "administering GBI transfers", including the OAS, GIS, and the National Child Benefit Supplement (p. 7). The article also considers strategies to encourage tax filing, including the federal government's initiative towards free automatic tax filing. Simpson et al. also explore Goods and Services Tax credit as progress towards a basic income (p. 10). The researchers simulate potential designs for a basic income based upon the federal government's existing tax arrangements and other variables. (p. 11).

Pete Evans. Ottawa wants to automatically file taxes for low-income Canadians – and perhaps eventually for everyone (29 April 2023).

This article was cited by Dr. Jiaying Zhao in a <u>Twitter thread</u> to combat the myth that basic income cannot reach those most in need, including marginalized people and those living in

poverty. Dr. Zhao uses this article to support the suggestion that automatic tax-filing or free ID replacement services can help basic income reach everyone.

## **GLI OUTCOMES**

\*Isobel Findlay et al., <u>Basic Income: Calculating the Cost Savings and Downstream Benefits</u> Community-University Institute for Social Research, University of Saskatchewan (2023).

This 200-page report provides a comprehensive, credible, and contemporary exploration of basic income within Canada. Drawing upon "an extensive literature review... and 35 key informant interviews", the report "examines the potential of a BI to improve social, economic, health, and other outcomes which imply downstream cost savings, wellbeing and other benefits" (p. viii – ix). In particular, this research addresses the downstream cost savings that could result from a GLI.

### **Health & Wellness**

Marcia Gibson, Wendy Hearty & Peter Craig, <u>The Public Health Effects of Interventions Similar to Basic Income</u>: A Scoping Review, The Lancet, Vol. 5, No. 3, E165 (1 March 2020).

"Therefore, we aimed to provide an overview of the existing evidence on basic income-like interventions and their effects, and to consider what can be learned from them about the potential effects of a universal, permanent basic income on health and socio-economic outcomes in a high-income country. ... Evidence on health effects was mixed, with strong positive effects on some outcomes, such as birthweight and mental health, but no effect on others. Employment effects were inconsistent, although mostly small for men and larger for women with young children" (p. E165).

J.C. Herbert Emery, Valerie C. Fleisch & Lynn McIntyre, <u>How a Guaranteed Annual Income Could</u> <u>Put Food Banks Out of Business</u>, The School of Public Policy, Vol. 6, No. 37 (December 2013).

Recognizing that income supports for seniors significantly lower the poverty rate for that cohort, the article examines the potential implications for non-elderly poverty in Canada on household food insecurity prevalence and self-reported health and mental health. The article recognizes that "there are potential savings to be found as poorer Canadians, given a guaranteed income, become healthier and therefore reduce the burden on the public health-care system" (para. 3).

Evelyn Forget, <u>The Town with No Poverty: The Health Effects of a Canadian Guaranteed Annual Income Field Experiment</u>, Canadian Public Policy, Vol. 37, No. 3 (1 October 2011).

"This paper has two purposes. First, it documents the historical context of MINCOME, a Canadian guaranteed annual income field experiment (1974 to 1979). Second, it uses routinely collected health administration data and a quasi-experimental design to document an 8.5 percent reduction in the hospitalization rate for participants relative to controls, particularly for accidents and injuries and mental health" (p. 283).

# **Food Security**

Valerie Tarasuk, <u>Implications of a Basic Income Guarantee for Household Food Insecurity</u>, Northern Policy Institute, Research paper No. 24 (June 2017).

The paper examines GLI ("Basic Income Guarantee") and concludes it would be an effective policy intervention to reduce food insecurity in Ontario. The study also examines the healthcare costs associated with food insecurity.

J.C. Herbert Emery, Valerie C. Fleisch & Lynn McIntyre, <u>How a Guaranteed Annual Income Could</u> Put Food Banks Out of Business, The School of Public Policy, Vol. 6, No. 37 (December 2013).

Recognizing that income supports for seniors significantly lower the poverty rate for that cohort, the article examines the potential implications for non-elderly poverty in Canada on household food insecurity prevalence and self-reported health and mental health. The article recognizes that, "there are potential savings to be found as poorer Canadians, given a guaranteed income, become healthier and therefore reduce the burden on the public health-care system" (para. 3).

## **Poverty**

Ryan Dwyer, Anita Palepu, Claire Williams & Jiaying Zhao, <u>Unconditional cash transfers reduce</u> <u>homelessness</u>, Proceedings of the National Academy of Science (2023).

Researchers provided a one-time unconditional cash transfer of CAD\$7,500 to 50 individuals experiencing homelessness in Vancouver, BC, and documented that over one year, these individuals spent fewer days homeless, had increased savings and spending with no increase in spending on temptation goods spending, and generated "societal net savings of \$777 per recipient via reduced time in shelters."

Canada Without Poverty, The Cost of Poverty (2020) [Website].

This webpage illustrates the cost of poverty on Canada's economic, healthcare, and criminal legal systems across provinces and territories.

Leila Sarangi, 2020: Setting the Stage for a Poverty Free Canada (Campaign 2000, January 2020).

This report measures rates of child and family poverty across Canada and examines various poverty reduction strategies. Included is the recommendation that a GLI be implemented to improve existing social assistance programs.

Celia R. Lee & Alexa Briggs, <u>The Cost of Poverty in Ontario: 10 Years Later</u> (Feed Ontario, October 2019).

This report examines the cost of poverty in Ontario by analyzing the healthcare costs, criminal legal system costs, and opportunity costs associated with poverty. According to the report, the cost of poverty in Ontario in 2019 is conservatively estimated at between \$27.1 and \$33 billion per year.

Citizens for Public Justice, <u>Poverty Trends 2018</u> [Infographic].

This infographic provides data on poverty trends across Canada. The document examines who is most affected by poverty and where poverty rates are most prevalent in Canada.

National Council of Welfare, The Dollars and Sense of Solving Poverty, Vol.130 (August 2011).

This report analyzes the direct and indirect societal costs of poverty, and argues that "an investment approach is needed to end poverty, not just alleviate its symptoms." The report examines the consequences of poverty on health; justice; human rights and human development; work and productivity; and child development.

# **Employment**

Ontario Basic Income Network, <u>Rethinking Work and Income Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Case for Basic Income and Work</u> (June 2020).

This report was developed through a workshop bringing together those involved with the Ontario basic income (BI) pilot project, advocates for low-income and disabled persons and precarious workers, social service workers, experts in social determinants of health, trade unionists, faith leaders, and policy researchers. It examines changes in the labour market and the importance of employment not being the only source of financial stability for individuals. It also highlights the benefits of a Basic Income, as told through the perspectives of individuals who were part of the Ontario Basic Income (BI) pilot project.

UNIFOR, Unifor's Road Map for a Fair, Inclusive and Resilient Economic Recovery (June 2020).

"Unifor has seven recommendations to improve the income security system. They include: a minimum wage of at least \$15 and tied to 60% of the median hourly wage for full-time workers; stronger employment standards and labour legislation to provide stability for workers to ensure everyone is covered; permanent changes to the EI program to expand eligibility, access and benefits; facilitating more leisure time and work life balance in the lives of workers; rolling out the Canada Housing Benefit across the country; promoting retirement security; and designing an income security system, using the CERB as the new income floor, that ensures no individual or family lives with an income under this benchmark. This design would be reached through multistakeholder collaboration (at p. 1)."

# **Gender Equality & Women**

Cee Strauss, "Basic Income & The Care Economy", Women's Legal Education and Action Fund (LEAF) (2021). View Full Report or Executive Summary.

"This report seeks to determine whether a basic income program should be included in a feminist advocacy strategy for change in the care economy." (p. 3, Executive Summary)

"In the context of the care economy, a basic income could provide compensation for unpaid caregiving labour. Unpaid acts of care labour fall disproportionately on low-income women and gender-diverse people [...], [which] directly impacts the level of income they make, contributing to the feminization and racialization of poverty." (p. 3, Executive Summary)

"A central concern that some feminists have had about basic income is its potential to encourage women to leave the labour market. [...] One of the promises of a basic income is autonomy: the freedom to choose how to spend one's money and time. This includes, of course, the freedom to use a basic income to do care work for one's close people. However, it is imperative that a basic income not increase the costs of paid work to such an extent that women and gender-diverse people are compelled to leave the labour market, to their own financial, social, and psychological detriment." (p. 4, Executive Summary)

"For this reason, a basic income program must be accompanied by three other components of care economy infrastructure: (1) high-quality, affordable, accessible public care services; (2) valuing paid caregiving work and other gendered occupations; and (3) a shift in workplace norms to allow for flexibility and part-time work arrangements without significant financial penalty. Without these elements in place, LEAF does not support implementation of a basic income, as it would risk entrenching gendered economic and social inequality." (p. 4, Executive Summary)

Sally A. Kimpson, "Basic Income, Gender & Disability", Women's Legal Education and Action Fund (LEAF) (2021). View <u>Full Report</u> or <u>Executive Summary</u>.

"The purpose of this report is to inform current thinking about the potential of a basic income program to contribute to the full and effective participation and inclusion in society of disabled women and gender-diverse disabled people." (p. 3, Executive Summary)

"It is LEAF's position that any basic income program for disabled women and gender diverse disabled people must:

- 1. Be provided to all disabled people who meet the Accessible Canada Act definition of disability;
- 2. Either ensure that the cost of both specific and general extraordinary disability-related supports and services are covered, or be generous enough to enable disabled people to purchase these on their own;
- 3. Be portable across provinces and territories; and,
- 4. Set allowable earnings exemptions at a generous level, with minimal clawbacks of earned income above maximum allowable earnings." (pp. 7-8, Executive Summary) "Further, neither a CDB nor a basic income should be subject to any offset or clawback of Canada Pension Plan-Disability benefits, and the Disability Tax Credit should be made fully refundable." (p. 8, Executive Summary)

LEAF would support the implementation of either a Canadian Disability Benefit or a basic income program, but only if the above criteria are in place.

Tamarack Institute, <u>Basic Income: Towards Gender Equity</u> (22 June 2020).

This video is a recording of a June 18, 2020 webinar on basic income and gender equity exploring "how Basic Income could be an important strategy in gender equity actions, particularly with the exacerbated pressures from COVID-19 on women." The discussion was led by Laura Cattari, with Tracy Smith-Carrier, Josephine Grey, and Evelyn Forget. An accompanying slide presentation summarizing research and data relating to economic marginalization of women and the role of GLI in upholding equality is available <a href="here">here</a>.

Tracy Smith-Carrier & Chloe Halpenny, <u>Basic Income: Making the Case for Women & Gender Equity.</u>

Josephine Grey, What Could the Basic Income Guarantee Do for Women's Rights?, Canadian Women Studies, Vol. 33, No. 1-2 (2018-2019).

"This article discusses the implications of the Guaranteed Basic Income for women who face systemic inequalities, especially those who are caregivers. The author examines the pitfalls in traditional public services which, she claims, are inadequate because of their corporatism."

Patricia M. Evans, "Lone Mothers, Workfare and Precarious Employment: Time for a Canadian Basic Income?", International Social Security Review, Vol. 62, No. 1 (2009).

"Drawing upon qualitative data from a study in Ontario, Canada, this paper examines the particular implications of these challenges for lone mothers, who figure prominently both in non-standard employment and as targets for workfare policies. In the context of changing labour markets, the article considers the potential strengths and limitations of Basic Income approaches to achieving economic security for lone mothers" (p. 45).

Diane Delaney & James P. Mulvale, <u>Advancing Economic Security for Women Through Basic Income: Soundings in Saskatchewan</u> (Provincial Association of Transition Houses and Services of Saskatchewan, March 2006).

This paper draws upon data on women using shelters in Saskatchewan and their experience receiving social assistance to consider the desirability and feasibility of GLI ("basic income") as an alternative to current income security arrangements. This paper also considers the role of GLI in terms of environmental sustainability.

# **Criminal Legal System**

IRPP, Rethinking Criminal Justice in Canada (2018).

This report provides a review of the various round table discussions that took place regarding the need for a criminal legal system reform. It notably suggests a "social determinants of justice" approach identifying key determinants including (1) income, (2) employment, (3) stable housing, (4) education, and (5) health.

#### HighScope, Perry Preschool Project.

This website provides an overview of the Perry Preschool Project, a longitudinal study of 123 children assessed as being at high risk of failing in school, half of whom who were entered into a high-quality preschool program. The summary of findings includes a return per dollar invested in early childhood education of \$12.90 USD, and a reported \$171,473 USD in "crime savings". For a detailed report on the outcomes of the project, see: *Lawrence J. Schweinhart et al.*, *The High/Scope Perry Preschool Study Through Age 40: Summary, Conclusions, and Frequently Asked Questions* (2005) ("The study presents strong evidence that the Perry Preschool program played a significant role in reducing overall arrests and arrests for violent crimes as well as

property and drug crimes and subsequent prison or jail sentences over study participants' lifetimes up to age 40").

For evaluation and consideration of program design of the Perry Preschool Project as well as the Michigan School Readiness Program, see: *Lawrence J. Schweinhart*, *Outcomes of the High/Scope Perry Preschool Study and Michigan School Readiness Program* (*January 2007*).

The Honourable Sidney B. Linden, Report of the Ipperwash Inquiry (2007).

The Ipperwash Inquiry was established by the Ontario government in 2003, eight years after police shot and killed Mr. Dudley George, an Indigenous man, during a land claim occupation. Volume 2, Chapter 2 of the report includes a discussion of the socio-economic context of lack of other means of having one's voice heard, systemic poverty and inequality, and over-representation in the criminal legal system (Part 2.2.6) as well as the societal and economic costs of occupations and protests including policing costs (Part 2.5).

A report prepared for the inquiry provides more detail regarding the impact of colonialism and socio-economic factors on overrepresentation of Indigenous Peoples in the criminal legal system: Jonathan Rudin, Aboriginal Peoples and the Criminal Justice System.

Peter W. Greenwood, <u>Investing in Prisons or Prevention: The State Policy Makers' Dilemma</u>, Crime & Delinquency (January 1998).

This article compares the cost of prisons to the cost of decarceral options, in the United States, given concerns about growing prison costs, which represented between 8 and 10 per cent of state budgets in 1998, up from only 1 or 2 per cent two decades prior.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Bridging the Cultural Divide: A Report on Aboriginal People and Criminal Justice in Canada (1996).

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples was mandated to investigate and propose solutions to the challenges affecting the relationship between Indigenous Peoples and Canada. This report, in particular Chapter 2 (pp. 39 ff), discusses the over-representation of Indigenous Peoples in the criminal legal system as linked to historical and contemporary experiences of colonialism, including economic marginality. A section on "The Cost of Justice" (pp. 291 ff) details the significant financial consequences of failing to end this over-representation.

Ontario, "Report of the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System" (December 1995).

The Commission was established in 1992 to inquire into and make recommendations about the extent to which criminal legal procedures reflect systemic racism, with a particular focus on anti-Black racism. Chapter 4 discusses imprisonment as "extremely costly and ineffective" in terms of rehabilitation and reintegration and discusses poverty as one key factor contributing to over-representation of racialized people in prisons.

Law Reform Commission of Canada, Report on Aboriginal Peoples and Criminal Justice: Equality, Respect and the Search for Justice as requested by the Minister of Justice under Subsection 12(2) of the 'Law Reform Commission Act' (1991).

In response to a request from the Minister of Justice, this study of the Law Reform Commission considered the extent to which criminal laws ensure Indigenous Peoples have equal access to justice and are treated equitably and with respect. It aimed to develop new approaches to and new concept of law in response.

Chapter 4 includes a discussion of economic disparity when it comes to who is criminalized: "It is often contended that Aboriginal crime arises from the marginalization of Aboriginal societies as a result of colonization. ... The steps necessary to solve these problems go well beyond criminal justice reform. As LaPrarie has noted: 'Deflecting responsibility to the criminal justice system rather than addressing fundamental problems of social and economic disparity as reflected in reserve life, almost assures the continuation of the problems'" (p. 14).

Canadian Sentencing Commission, "Sentencing Reform: A Canadian Approach" (February 1987).

The Canadian Sentencing Commission was tasked by the federal government with reviewing rules on sentencing and providing recommendations on how the process of sentencing should be improved. Chapter 10 includes a discussion of the significant human and economic costs of incarceration when compared to non-carceral alternatives.

# **People With Disabilities**

Michael Prince, <u>COVID-19</u>, <u>Canadians with Disabilities</u>, and the Need for <u>Major Reforms</u>, Broadbent Institute (23 June 2020).

This blog post from Michael Prince, a Broadbent Policy Fellow and the Lansdowne Professor of Social Policy at the University of Victoria, outlines the failures of the existing social assistance support programs for those with disabilities and calls for major reform to implement a national basic income program.

Dustin Galer, <u>Life and Work at the Margins: (Un)employment, Poverty and Activism in Canada's Disability Community Since 1966</u>, School of Health Policy & Management York University (April 2016).

This report examines disability rights and activism, public and private sector policies, participation in labour market and levels of poverty for Canadians living with disabilities since the 1960s. The report includes discussion of advocacy in the 1970s, spearheaded by the National Anti-Poverty Organization, to introduce a "guaranteed income for all Canadians regardless of ability."

Michael Mendelson et al., <u>A Basic Income Plan for Canadians with Severe Disabilities</u>, The Caledon Institute of Social Policy (November 2010).

This report outlines a proposal to create a new federal basic income program for persons with disabilities that would replace provincial/territorial social assistance for working-age persons with disabilities and convert the Disability Tax Credit to a refundable tax credit in order to extend its

coverage to those who are poorest. The proposed programs would have a maximum benefit for a single person of \$12,160 which would be reduced by 50% as other sources of income increased.

Ernie Lightman et al., "Not Disabled Enough': Episodic Disabilities and the Ontario Disability Support Program", Disabilities Studies Quarterly, Vol. 29, No. 3 (2009).

Although this report does not directly mention a GLI program, it outlines the many gaps and challenges that Canadians with episodic disabilities face when trying to receive social assistance support and which a GLI would help to address. Too often those with disabilities are denied access to relevant social assistance programs because of questions about the legitimacy of their shifting medical conditions. This report describes the challenges faced by 8 respondents with episodic disabilities who applied for long-term assistance but were denied.

#### Climate

The Green Resilience Project: Conversations on climate change, income security and community resilience (2022).

The Green Resilience Project was "a series of conversations with 33 communities of varying size, geographic location and economic makeup to discuss the ways in which climate change and income insecurity affect their individual and collective wellbeing." This 2022 report developed 4 recommendations for governments and policy makers, including to "[i]ncorporate basic income into Canada's plan for a just transition."

The Office of the Honourable Senator Rosa Galvez, <u>Building Forward Better: A Clean and Just Recovery from the COVID-19 Pandemic</u> (November 2020).

The second recommendation of Senator Rosa Galvez's white paper on COVID-19 recovery and the transition to a clean economy is the establishment of a national guaranteed livable income.

# Part 5: Examples of International Approaches

This section provides some selected materials relating to experiences with GLI and cash transfers from around the world.

### **GENERAL**

Jiaying Zhao, Saugato Datta, & Dilip Soman, <u>Cash Transfers for Inclusive Societies: A Behavioral Lens</u> (University of Toronto Press, 2023).

This book offers "practical advice on how best to successfully design, deliver, and evaluate efficient cash transfer programs, with a view to alleviating poverty," drawing on existing experiments, studies and evidence to develop a framework for designing cash transfer programs rooted in improving inclusivity, reducing poverty and improving equality. A chapter reviewing "the research on cash transfer programs in the Global North and South to identify similarities and differences in program design, participation, operation, and outcomes" is available <a href="here">here</a>.

Daniel Nettle et al., Why has the COVID-19 pandemic increased support for Universal Basic Income?, Humanity and Social Sciences Communications (2021).

This article explores increased public support in the UK and US for a UBI following the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. Considering the potential for a broader shift in public opinion, this piece also provides an overview of factors informing people's assessment of basic income's attributes and drawbacks.

Ugo Gentilini et al., <u>Exploring Universal Basic Income</u>: A Guide to Navigating Concepts, Evidence, and Practices (World Bank, 2020).

"We aim to provide a compass to help navigate key issues, elucidate trade-offs, and offer new data and analysis to better inform choices around the appropriateness and feasibility of a UBI in different contexts. Unlike the bulk of UBI literature, which is skewed toward high-income societies, we examine the program primarily in the context of low- and middle-income countries. We intend to provide policy makers and practitioners with a realistic sense of the entire gamut of policy considerations; offer new quantitative insights around key choices and implications; and frame the issues within a coherent, objective, and comprehensive volume concisely capturing global knowledge on the topic" (p. 2).

\*Note that this document focuses on universal basic income (UBI) rather than GLI. Chapter 2 contains an explanation of the distinctions between UBI and GLI.

#### BRAZIL

Note that multiple different models and pilots of basic income programs have been implemented in Brazil. These include the Bolsa Familia program, the Renda Basica de Cidadania policy adopted by the Brazilian city of Maricá, the ReCivitas Project, and the recently announced emergency basic income in response to COVID-19.

Andre Coelho, <u>Brazil: The National Senate approves Emergency Basic Income</u> (Basic Income Earth Network, 7 April 2020).

This article discusses an emergency GLI ("Emergency Basic Income") of 600 reais per month (about \$113 USD) for low-income individuals implemented in Brazil in response to COVID-19. It places this measure in the context of a 2004 Brazilian law entitling inhabitants of Brazil to a "citizens' basic income". This legislation has never been implemented but was part of the context giving rise to the Bolsa Familia discussed below.

#### **Bolsa Familia**

\*Unlike a GLI, the Bolsa Familia is conditional on meeting certain requirements, such as vaccinating one's children or ensuring their attendance at school.

Rafael Munoz Moreno, Liliana Sousa and Anna Luisa Paffhausen, <u>Taking the Initial Steps to Protect</u> Brazil's Poorest During the COVID-19 Crisis (World Bank Blogs, 13 May 2020).

This article reports on the expansion of the Programa Bolsa Família, to support over 1 million eligible families who had been waiting for benefits, as a response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Stevan Ćirković, Bolsa Família in Brazil (Centre for Public Impact, 2 September 2019).

This article examines the impacts of the Programa Bolsa Família, a program introduced in Brazil in 2003, and finds reductions in inequality, poverty and hunger. The program provides cash transfers to low-income families subject to conditions such as sending their children to school and ensuring children are properly vaccinated.

# Municipality of Maricá: Renda Basica de Cidadania

\*The Renda Basica de Cidadania is a policy adopted by the Brazilian city of Maricá, providing a GLI amounting to about 75 percent of the poverty line to low-income individuals.

Paul Katz, Stephen Nuñez, & Fábio Waltenberg, <u>Renda Básica da Cidadania: What Lessons Could Latin America's Largest Basic Income Program Bring to Research on Universal Basic Income?</u> (The Global Americans, 12 December 2019).

In 2020, approximately 52,000 people in the Brazilian city of Maricá will receive a basic income under a new program called the Renda Basica de Cidadania (Citizens' Basic Income). Citizens who have lived in Maricá for at least three years, and who make less than three times the minimum wage, are eligible to receive 130 reais per month (around \$35 CAD). The program does not impose any conditions on recipients.

Dylan Mathews, More than 50,000 People Are Set to Get a Basic Income in a Brazilian City, (Vox, 30 October 2019).

Funded by oil royalties, the Renda Basica de Cidadani will provide a basic income to 52,000 residents of the Brazilian city of Maricá. "Any price effect will be localized to the city, because it's the only place where mumbucas (the local currency) are usable, and being able to compare mumbucas' trajectory to that of local currencies (which are quite common in Brazil) in other neighboring cities gives the evaluation an uncommon ability to draw conclusions on macroeconomics" (para. 15).

# **ReCivitas Project**

Marcus Brancaglione, <u>NGO Launches Lifetime Basic Incomes in Brazilian Village, Founds Collaborative</u> "Projects Network" (Basic Income Earth Network, 24 December 2016).

"The non-profit organization <u>ReCivitas</u> distributed a basic income to residents of the Brazilian village <u>Quatinga Velho</u> from 2008 to 2014. In January 2016, ReCivitas launched a new initiative, Basic Income Startup, which aspires to resume the Quatinga Velho basic income payments and <u>make them lifelong</u>."

# **FINLAND**

Note that the Finland Basic Income Experiment provided only 500 euros a month to recipients; this does not appear to be a livable amount as the poverty line in Finland is approximately 1,230 euros a month. In addition, though provided only to a sample group of who were unemployed, the amounts themselves were not income-tested as a GLI would be; participants could keep the full amount regardless of other sources of income (e.g., if they found a new job).

Joseph Zeballos-Roig, <u>Finland's Basic-Income Trial Found People Were Happier</u>, <u>But Weren't More Likely to Get Jobs</u> (World Economic Forum, 8 May 2020).

This article discusses employment rates under the Finnish Basic Income Experiment, finding employment rates equivalent or slightly higher for participants in the program relative to the control group.

Finland, Olli Kangas et al., <u>The Basic Income Experiment 2017–2018 in Finland – Preliminary Results</u> (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2019).

"This report is the first research publication presenting the effects of the basic income experiment in Finland. It includes a preliminary register-based statistical analysis of the employment effects of the experiment for 2017. An analysis based on survey data examines the impact of the experiment on the wellbeing of the basic income recipients."

An English summary of the Finnish-language final report is available <a href="here">here</a>: "According to an analysis of the register data, during the one-year assessment period employment in the treatment group on average increased by 6 days more than in the control group. Sub-studies based on survey data analyzed the health, mental well-being, economic situation, trust and experiences with the bureaucracy of the treatment and control groups. With regard to a number of indicators, the well-being of the basic income recipients was better than that of the control group" (para. 1).

Antti Halmetoja, Jurgen De Wispelaere, and Johanna Perkiö. "A Policy Comet in Moominland? Basic Income in the Finnish Welfare State," Social Policy and Society, Vol. 18, No. 2 (2019).

"[W]e find several discrete, relatively small and unintended institutional developments that have arguably aligned the design of Finnish unemployment security closer to a partial basic income scheme. While the latter may suggest Finland has important stepping stones in place, important stumbling blocks remain and the jury is very much out on whether Finland would be the first European country to fully institute a basic income." This article describes the history of the Finnish Basic Income Experiment.

Kela, Objectives and Implementation of the Basic Income Experiment (updated 1 January 2019).

Kela is the social insurance institution in Finland. This page provides an overview of the Finnish Basic Income Experiment.

Jimmy O'Donnell, Why Basic Income Failed in Finland (Jacobin Magazine, 1 December 2019).

"Political maneuvers and bureaucratic resistance helped sink Finland's widely watched basic income experiment. But the most important factor behind the policy's demise was its uneasy relationship with widespread social norms about work and fairness. ... [I]t seems like the future of basic income will depend in large part on the makeup of the new government, the findings from the final report on the experiment, and the outcome of the social security debate over the next few years."

Jurgen De Wispelaere, Antti Halmetoja and Ville-Veikko Pulkka, "<u>The Rise (and Fall) of the Basic Income Experiment in Finland</u>" (CESifo Forum, 2018).

This article describes the Finnish Basic Income Experiment and the political debates surrounding the experiment, including critiques of its design and implementation due to a small sample size that was restricted to the unemployed, the limited duration or the low amount of support payments.

### **INDIA**

Note that the pilots in the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh provided a universal, unconditional and individual monthly grant to every adult and child in the selected villages from June 2011 to November 2012 – about 6,000 men, women and children in nine villages in Madhya Pradesh. The initial benefit level was set at \$4.40 USD (200 Rupees) per adult and \$2.20 USD per child per month between June 2011 and May 2012. After May, this value was raised by 50 per cent to adjust for inflation and provide a more generous benefit, but remains a fraction (about 20-30 per cent) of the poverty line rather than a livable amount.

Sarath Davala, Renana Jhabvala, Guy Standing & Soumya Kapoor Mehta, Basic Income: A Transformative Policy for India (Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

"This book draws on two pilot schemes conducted in the Indian State of Madhya Pradesh, in which thousands of men, women and children were provided with an unconditional monthly cash payment. In a context in which the Indian government at national and state levels spends a vast amount on subsidies and selective schemes that are chronically expensive, inefficient, inequitable and subject to extensive corruption, there is scope for switching at least some of the spending to a modest basic income. This book explores what would be likely to happen if this were done."

SEWA Bharat & UNICEF, <u>A Little More, How Much It Is... Piloting Basic Income Transfers in Madhya Pradesh, India</u> (January 2014).

This report analyzes the outcomes of two cash-transfer pilots in Madhya Pradesh. It discusses positive impacts of the pilots in terms of living conditions, alcohol consumption, food security and nutrition, education, productivity, debt and women's empowerment. A helpful summary of key findings is available <a href="here">here</a>.

### **IRAN**

Note that, while a GLI would be universally accessible (i.e., available to those when in need), Iran's cash-transfer program introduced in December 2010 operates more like a universal basic income (UBI): transfers were universal in the sense that they were paid regardless of income level; the 2019 increase to cash transfers is targeted more specifically to those in the bottom 70 percent of the income distribution.

Djavad Salehi-Isfahani, New Cash Transfers May Lift 2 Million Iranians Out of Poverty (Bourse & Bazaar, 2 December 2019).

This article discusses a November 2019 increase to cash transfer payments, targeting those in the bottom 70 percent of Iran's income distribution and varying depending on the number of members of a family, as a result of gasoline price hikes.

Djavad Salehi-Isfahani and Mohammad H. Mostafavi-Dehzooei, <u>Cash Transfers And Labor Supply:</u> <u>Evidence From A Large-Scale Program In Iran</u> (Economic Research Forum Working Paper No 1090, 2017).

In December 2010, Iran established a nationwide unconditional cash transfer program to compensate for the phase-out of subsidies on bread, water, electricity, heating, and fuel. The government gave out monthly payments to families equivalent on average to 29 percent of the median household income, a proportion that has decreased in recent years due to resistance to correcting cash transfer rates for inflation. The report finds that people receiving the cash transfer did not take themselves out of the workforce and that some workers even expanded their hours. Though the transfers have been frequently criticized as a driver of inflation, the report notes that Iran's high rates of inflation have other causes, most importantly high energy prices.

#### **ITALY**

Unlike GLI which is unconditional, the "citizenship income" enacted by Italy does not appear to guarantee a livable amount, providing individuals with a base rate of 6000 euros per year; it also imposes several conditions, including that recipients retrain and return to the workforce.

Matteo Jessoula, Marcello Natili & Michele Raitano, <u>Italy: Implementing the New Minimum Income Scheme</u> (European Social Policy Network, ESPN Flash Report 2019/35, July 2019).

This article discusses the enactment of Italy's recent "citizenship income" legislation, which has the goal of addressing poverty and unemployment. It discusses and notes critiques relating to the program's strict work-related eligibility criteria and limits on recipients' savings and assets.

## **KENYA**

Note that the Kenyan pilot, overseen by researchers at Innovations for Policy Action and the charity group GiveDirectly, is set up as a universal basic income rather than a GLI, though significant numbers of people living in the 295 villages affected by the study are below the poverty line established by the government (\$15 USD per month per household in rural areas; \$28 USD per month per household in urban areas). Adults were provided with amounts determined to be a sufficient income for basic needs, about \$0.75 USD per day, or \$22 USD per month—either for two years, 12 years, or as an up-front lump sum transfer equivalent to two years' of payments. These transfers are unconditional.

American Economic Association RCT Registry, Universal Basic Income in Kenya: https://www.socialscienceregistry.org/trials/1952.

This website of the researchers working on a Kenyan pilot provides an overview of the project, which focuses in particular on the long-term effects of cash transfers over twelve years.

Mônica Dallari & Eduardo Matarazzo Suplicy, <u>Testimony of Kenya's Basic Income Beneficiaries</u> (Basic Income Earth Network, 14 May 2019).

This series of articles outlines the parameters of the GiveDirectly pilot and also provides interviews of the participants in the program regarding the program's impact.

Dylan Matthews, <u>This Kenyan Village Is a Laboratory for the Biggest Basic Income Experiment Ever</u> (Vox, 6 March 2017).

This article discusses the start of the Kenyan universal basic income program administered the charity group, GiveDirectly, including interviews with participants discussing their plans for the income and a discussion of the benefits of cash transfers versus in-kind payments (e.g., of food).

## THE NETHERLANDS

Note that the design of the Netherlands' pilots appears to vary from municipality to municipality; many appear to be targeted to individuals who were otherwise on social assistance and provide cash transfers at rates slightly less than the poverty line.

Loek Groot, Ruud Muffels, and Timo Verlaat. "Welfare States' Social Investment Strategies and the Emergence of Dutch Experiments on a Minimum Income Guarantee," *Social Policy and Society*, Vol. 18, No.2, 2019.

This article discusses the social context in which the basic income experiments in the Netherlands evolved and includes a brief description of the experiments.

Bob Van Waveren, "<u>Dutch Municipalities Start Experiment with Red Tape-Trimmed Social</u> Assistance Benefits," *ESPN Flash Report 2017/18* (European Social Policy Network, March 2017).

This brief report discusses the plans for a basic income experiment in select Dutch municipalities.

### **SPAIN**

Note that unlike a GLI, the Spanish program introduced in May 2020 does not appear to guarantee a livable amount of income—its base rate for an adult living alone is 462 euros per month, which is well below the poverty line; for families, it would provide an additional 139 euros per person, whether adult or child, up to a monthly maximum of 1,015 euros.

Manuel V. Gómez, <u>Spain Approves Guaranteed Minimum Income Scheme for Vulnerable Families</u> (29 May 2020, El Pais).

This article outlines Spain's establishment, in May 2020, of a permanent "guaranteed minimum income" program in part in response to the COVID-19 pandemic; the article provides an overview of design details including who is eligible for the program, how it will be managed and how it will be funded.

Bru Laín, <u>Report on the Preliminary Results of the B-MINCOME Project (2017-18) – Combining Guaranteed Minimum Income and Active Social Policies in Deprived Urban Areas of Barcelona</u> (Ajuntament de Barcelona, July 2019).

"The B-MINCOME, combining a minimum guaranteed income with active social policies in deprived urban areas of Barcelona, is a pilot project that aims to fight poverty and social exclusion. ... This report summarises the key results of the impact that the B-MINCOME project has had during its first year of implementation." Effects observed included increased general wellbeing, mental health and volunteer community involvement, as well as minor reductions in work hours, in line with other international pilots.

# **UGANDA**

Note that the pilot launched by Eight provided unconditional cash transfers to all residents of a village of 50 households. The basic income amounted to approximately 30 per cent of the average income of lower-income families in Uganda - \$18.25 USD per month for adults and \$9.13 USD for children.

Tyler Prochazka, <u>Interview: 'Village One' Documentary Follows Village with Basic Income</u> (Basic Income Earth Network, 26 April 2017).

"Village One is a new series that follows a village in Uganda, Busibi, where each villager is receiving an unconditional basic income of around \$18.25 USD per month for adults and \$9.13 USD for children. There are 56 adults and 88 children who are receiving the basic income in the village for at least two years. Steven Janssens, the director of <a href="Village One">Village One</a> and the founder of <a href="Eight">Eight</a>, discussed this project with the <a href="UBI Podcast">UBI Podcast</a>."

Kate McFarland, <u>UGANDA: Two-Year Basic Income Pilot Set to Launch in 2017</u> (Basic Income Earth Network, 20 November 2016).

"Eight, a charitable organization based in Belgium, is preparing to run a basic income pilot in Uganda. The two-year pilot is set to launch in January 2017, and will form the basis for a documentary."

## UNITED KINGDOM

## **England**

Dahaba Ali Hussen, <u>Universal basic income of £1,600 a month to be trialled in two places in England</u> (The Guardian, 4 June 2023).

For the first time, a "universal basic income" program will be piloted in England, providing 30 people with £1,600 a month for a period of two years. The program is backed by the thinktank Autonomy, which will study the effects of the cash transfers on recipients' lives.

### **Scotland**

Scottish Government, Minimum Income Guarantee Expert Group: interim report (24 March 2023).

The Minimum Income Guarantee Expert Group is tasked with making a "minimum income guarantee" a reality in Scotland. Its 2023 interim report outlines "work over the last year, ... findings so far, the key actions needed as first steps towards a Minimum Income Guarantee" in

anticipation of a 2024 full report that will "outline what a full Minimum Income Guarantee could look like in Scotland, together with a clear set of first steps and next steps towards that."

Anthony Painter et al., A Basic Income For Scotland (Action and Research Centre, May 2019).

This reports explores the failings of Scotland's current system of social assistance in terms of reducing poverty; the outcomes of a deliberation exercise conducted to better understand potential opportunities for a GLI, which was held in Fife and included citizens and stakeholders; a micro-simulation conducted by Landman Economics using its Scottish tax-transfer mode; and a series of scenarios for political, legal and administrative pathways toward first a Scottish GLI experiment. The report includes the recommendation that, "For policymakers at a Scottish and UK level, the powers, resources, and administrative support should be given to enable Basic Income experiments to take place. These experiments should be hosted in volunteer localities in Scotland and elsewhere in the UK."

Dr. Marcia Gibson, Wendy Hearty & Peter Craig, <u>Universal Basic Income: A Scoping Review of Evidence on Impacts and Study Characteristics</u> (What Works Scotland, September 2018).

This report contains an overview of studies conducted on unconditional, universal, and permanent payment programs around the world. "In the Scottish context of feasibility work on evaluating a basic income, this review provides an overview of the impacts of interventions similar to basic income, and what can be learned from them about the potential effects of a universal, permanent basic income."

#### Wales

Welsh Government, Basic income pilot for care leavers [Website].

The Basic Income for Care Leavers in Wales pilot project provides a monthly payment of £1,600 (£1,280, after-tax) over 24 months to youth leaving care who turn 18 between 1 July 2022 and 30 June 2023 and who volunteer to participate in the program.

### UNITED STATES

William Blauvelt, <u>Universal Basic Income and Its Effect on the Capital to Labor Ratio</u>, Economics Student Theses and Capstone Projects 132 (2019).

This paper examines GLI ("negative income tax" models) as well as "universal basic income" cash transfer programs in North America to determine whether they help address the modern issue of technology replacing the workforce.

Karl Widerquist, The Basic Income Guarantee Experiments of the 1970s: A Quick Summary of Results (Basic Income Earth Network, 3 December 2017).

This article analyzes The New Jersey Graduated Work Incentive Experiment (New Jersey and Pennsylvania), The Rural Income-Maintenance Experiment (Iowa and North Carolina), The Seattle/Denver Income-Maintenance Experiments, The Gary, Indiana Experiment and The Manitoba Basic Annual Income Experiment and notes, regarding labour market response that "participants were ... People with incomes near the poverty line. ... Thus, the response of this group is likely to be much larger than the response of the entire workforce to a national program. ... [t]he figures do not include any demand response, which economic theory predicts would lead to higher wages and a partial reversal of the work-reduction effect. ... Figures were ... Very often

misinterpreted to imply that 5% to 7.9% of primary breadwinners dropped out of the labor force. ... Instead, it was mainly caused by workers taking longer to find their next job if and when they became nonemployed. ... Most laypeople writing about the results assumed any work reduction, no matter how small, to be an extremely negative side effect. But it is not obviously desirable to put unemployed workers in the position where they are desperate to start their next job as soon as possible. It's obviously bad for the workers and families in that position. It's not only difficult to go through but also it reduces their ability to command good wages and better working conditions. Increased periods of nonemployment might have a social benefit if they lead to better matches between workers and firms."

Ioana Marinescu, <u>No Strings Attached: The Behavioral Effects of U.S. Unconditional Cash Transfer Programs</u> (Roosevelt Institute, May 2017).

This report explores how unconditional cash transfers affected the behavior of recipients in three major natural experiments: negative income tax experiments of the 1970s, the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians Casino Dividend, and the Alaska Permanent Fund Dividend. The report synthesizes data regarding the following outcomes: consumption; labor force participation (employment, hours worked, and earnings); education; health; and other social outcomes, such as marriage or fertility choices. The evidence shows that an unconditional cash transfer can improve health and educational outcomes, and decrease criminalization and drug & alcohol use, especially among youths who are most marginalized.

Alice O'Connor et al., <u>Political ramifications of the experiments</u> cited in R.A. Levine et al., "A Retrospective on the Negative Income Tax Experiments (Chapter 5)" in *The Ethics and Economics of the Basic Income Guarantee*. 95-106. (2005).

O'Connor's explores the Negative Income Tax experiments of the 1960s and 1970s, and how public perceptions of poverty has evolved throughout time. The author notes that "antipoverty and welfare policy has been subjected to scrutiny that is not applied to other areas of social policy", as demonstrated by the opposition to the NIT experiments (p. 105). This paper considers the interaction between politics and "scientific" approaches to policy making, and emphasizes how advocates must offer a nuanced alternative to the simple narrative of "lazy poor people" that has prevailed in policy discourse (p. 105).

Karl Widerquist, <u>A Failure to Communicate: What (If Anything) Can We Learn from the Negative Income Tax Experiments?</u> J of Behavioral and Experimental Economics, Vol. 34, No. 1 (2005).

"The U.S. and Canadian governments conducted five negative income tax experiments between 1968 and 1980. The labor market findings of these experiments were an advance for understanding the effects of a basic income guarantee, but their conclusiveness is often overstated. A review of nonacademic articles on the experiments reveals poor understanding of the results. One often overlooked cause of this misinterpretation was the failure of researchers to make clear that the experiments could not estimate the demand response and therefore could not estimate the market response to the program. ... [T]he evidence does not amount to an overwhelming case either for or against the basic income guarantee."

Derek Hum & Wayne Simpson, <u>Economic Response to a Guaranteed Annual Income</u>: <u>Experience from Canada and the United States</u>, Journal of Labor Economics, Vol. 11:1, pt. 2, s263 (1993).

"This article reviews research from the five income-maintenance experiments in Canada and the United States. After sketching the historical and political context of the experiments, we compare their designs and discuss some important analytic difficulties. ... If we were asked to summarize

'in 25 words or less' what has been learned from the experiments about the economic effects of a GAI plan we would respond: 'Few adverse effects have been found to date. Those adverse effects found, such as work response, are smaller than would have been expected without experimentation.' Indeed, in the emerging consensus among economists that elasticities of labor-supply response are smaller than previously estimated, particularly for married women, we argue that the experimental evidence has played an important role."

Institute for Research on Poverty, IRP Negative Income Tax Archive (University of Wisconsin-Madison): https://www.irp.wisc.edu/research/nit/irp-negative-income-tax-archive/.

Information, including bibliographies, related to the four income maintenance experiments conducted in the United States between 1968 and 1978 (New Jersey, Rural Iowa and North Carolina, Gary, Indiana, and Seattle and Denver).

#### Alaska

Note that, while a GLI would be universally accessible (i.e., available to those when in need), the Alaska Permanent Fund is paid out regardless of income level and has been restricted from its initial scope to exclude many of those in prison or with criminal records, as well as their children. The amounts also average \$1800 USD per person per year, rather than a liveable amount.

Federal Reserve Economic Data, <u>Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers: Urban Alaska vs.</u> US; City Average.

This source was cited by Dr. Jiaying Zhao in a <u>Twitter thread</u> to combat the myth that basic income causes inflation. The graph demonstrates that Alaska has a lower inflation rate than the rest of the United States, despite having the Alaska Permanent Fund, which is a universal basic income program.

Richard Dorsett, <u>Basic Income as a Policy Lever: A Case Study of Crime in Alaska</u> (Westminster Business School, 2019).

The paper explores the effects of the Alaska Permanent Fund on crime. The paper analyzes both the period before and after 1989, when the universal nature of the dividend was eliminated due to the ineligibility imposed on an increasing number of individuals in prison or with criminal records. The study primarily studies property crime. The study suggests that changing eligibility did not act as a deterrent to crime and that increasing the payment size may reduce property crime for an extended period.

Brett Watson, Mouhcine Guettabi and Matthew Reimer, <u>Universal Cash and Crime</u> (Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Alaska Anchorage, June 2018).

This paper studies the impact of the Alaska Permanent Fund on crime rates. Using a database of daily policing incidents, the study found a 17 per cent increase in substance-abuse incidents and 12 per cent decrease in property crime for up to two weeks after the once-a-year universal cash transfer, with no average change in violence.

Damon Jones & Ioana Marinescu, <u>The Labor Market Impacts of Universal and Permanent Cash Transfers: Evidence from the Alaska Permanent Fund</u> (February 2018).

This study analyzes the effect of the Alaska Permanent Fund on employment rates, labor force participation, the part-time working rate and hours worked per week. The study suggests that a

universal and permanent cash transfer does not significantly decrease aggregate employment and even increases part-time work.

Brian Merchant, The Only State Where Everyone Gets Free Money (Vice, September 2015).

This article summarizes how the Alaskan Permanent Dividend Fund was established in 1982, funded through the state's mineral royalties. The dividend is thought to be the closest working version of a "universal basic income" and has lasted significantly longer than most GLI experiments.

# Chicago

Note that unlike a GLI, the Chicago program does not guarantee a livable amount of income—it provides a cash transfer of \$500 USD to participants per month

Chicago Department of Family and Support Services, <u>Chicago Resilient Communities Pilot</u> [Website].

Launched in 2023, 5,000 individuals were chosen in a lottery from a pool of applicants with incomes below 250% of the poverty line to receive \$500 USD per month for one year with no strings attached.

## **Eastern Cherokee Reservation (North Carolina)**

Note that, while a GLI would be universally accessible (i.e., available to those when in need), the Eastern Cherokee Reservation payments operated more like a universal basic income (UBI): they were universal in the sense that they were paid regardless of income level. The amounts also averaged \$3500 USD per household per year, rather than a liveable amount.

Randall Akee et al., <u>How Does Household Income Affect Child Personality Traits and Behaviors?</u>, Am Econ Rev., Vol. 108, No. 3 (2018).

This study examines the effects of unconditional cash transfers on child emotional and behavioral health and personality traits. The study uses data from the Great Smoky Mountains Study of Youth, which began in 1993 and, five years into the study, saw the households of a quarter of the participants receive direct cash transfers from the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians tribal government. The study suggests that the intervention of cash transfers provided significant beneficial effects on children's emotional and behavioral health and personality traits during adolescence, and improved parental relationships.

Roberto A. Ferdman, <u>The Remarkable Thing that Happens to Poor Kids When you Give Their Parents a Little Money</u> (Washington Post, 8 October 2015).

The article summarizes the background of the Great Smoky Mountains Study of Youth and how it became an invaluable study for the fields of psychology, sociology and economics when it provided an opportunity to examine the effects of cash transfers on the lives of children.

# Gary, Indiana

Kenneth C. Kehrer, John F. McDonald & Robert A. Moffitt, <u>Final Report of the Gary Income</u> <u>Maintenance Experiment: Labor Supply (</u>US Government, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, November 1979).

The Gary study enrolled only Black families and focused in particular on single-parent, womanheaded families. "The results we have found ... show work disincentives for some groups but not for others... responses by prime-age married males ranged from 2.9 percent to 6.5 percent of hours worked [relatively low rates, similar to findings of the other income maintenance experiment studies], and those for female heads of families ranged from 25.9 percent to 30 percent. ... On the other hand, no response at all was found for [married women]."

# **New Jersey**

US Government, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, <u>New Jersey Graduated Work Incentive Experiment: Summary Report (December 1973).</u>

"The study is described as a carefully controlled field test of the effects on recipient families of eight different negative income tax or benefit formulas. The most striking finding was that observed changes in labor supply in response to the experimental payments were generally quite small."

# **Rural Income Maintenance Experiment (North Carolina and Iowa)**

US Government, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, <u>The Rural Income Maintenance Experiment: Summary Report (November 1976).</u>

"Hours worked by [men in wage work] moved in differing directions among the groups but on average remained essentially unchanged. No statistically significant evidence appeared in any of the groups of [men] withdrawing from the labor force in response to the experimental payments. For [women in wage work], large negative experimental effects, averaging 27 percent, appeared for hours worked ... Farm work by farm operators, however, showed a positive experimental effect of 11 percent in both states."

"[N]utrition improved significantly as a result of the experiment. Among North Carolina families but not in Iowa, in part because the level of nutrition was initially much higher in Iowa. The probability of buying a house was slightly greater for experimentals than for controls. ... School performance did improve for grade school children in North Carolina, both black and white, as a result of the experiment."

#### **Seattle and Denver**

Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, <u>Overview of the Final Report of the Seattle-Denver Income Maintenance Experiment</u> (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, May 1983).

This page describes the Seattle-Denver Income Maintenance Experiment (SIME/DIME), 4 large-scale GLI experiments that took place in the 1960s and 70s. The site includes information on payments and participants.

# **On-Going and Potential Basic Income Experiments in the United States**

### Stockton, California

Note that unlike a GLI, the Stockton program does not guarantee a livable amount of income—it provides a cash transfer of \$500 USD to participants per month

Stockton Economic Empowerment Demonstration: https://www.stocktondemonstration.org/.

Repository of information regarding the Stockton Economic Empowerment Demonstration (SEED), a program providing \$500 USD per month for 18 months to randomly selected residents of low-income areas of Stockton, California, beginning in February 2019. The <a href="Community Data Dashboard">Community Data Dashboard</a> includes data regarding demographics of participants in the program and preliminary findings regarding how cash transfers are being spent.

Sarah Holder, Stockton Extends Its Universal Basic Income Pilot (City Lab, 2 June 2020).

This article discusses the parameters of the basic income experiment in Stockton, California, and the recent announcement of its extension to January 2021 in the context of COVID-19.

<u>SEED Shows Cash Spending of Stockton Guaranteed Income Recipients During COVID Crisis</u> (Stockton Economic Empowerment Demonstration, 30 April 2020).

"Stockton Economic Empowerment Demonstration (SEED), the nation's first mayor-led guaranteed income initiative, has released spending data through March 2020, highlighting how guaranteed income payments were spent as Stockton recipients prepared for and weathered the global COVID-19 crisis."

Lois Beckett, <u>One California Mayor Has Tried Universal Basic Income. His Advice for Trump:</u> 'Think Big' (The Guardian, March 2020).

In light of the national cash-transfer proposals debated in the United States in response to COVID-19, the article discusses an on-going basic income experiment in Stockton, California. The article discusses the mayor of Stockton's support for the program, early evaluations, and how recipients are spending their cash payments.

#### **Y** Combinator

Note that details regarding participants appear not to have been confirmed yet, but that the program appears to contemplate the possibility of a universal basic income (UBI) rather than a GLI that is targeted to those in need

Nitasha Tiku, <u>Y Combinator Learns Basic Income Is Not So Basic After All</u> (Wired, 27 August 2018).

This article reports an announcement by Y Combinator, a Silicon Valley technology incubator, following a pilot in Oakland, California, of the company's intention to begin a long-term study of basic income by mid-2019 with 3,000 families; one-third of families would receive \$1,000 USD a month while the rest get \$50 USD a month as part of a control group. Both payments would be unconditional. Participants would receive the monthly payments for either three or five years.

### Magnolia Mother's Trust (Jackson, Mississippi)

Springboard to Opportunities, The Magnolia Mother's Trust: <a href="http://springboardto.org/index.php/page/the-magnolia-mothers-trust">http://springboardto.org/index.php/page/the-magnolia-mothers-trust</a>.

Repository of information concerning the Magnolia Mother's Trust: "In the fall of 2018, Springboard To Opportunities announced The Magnolia Mother's Trust, an new initiative that provides low-income, African-American mothers in Jackson, Mississippi \$1,000 cash on a monthly basis, no strings attached, for 12 months straight. The initial pilot program consisted of 20 women and ran from December 2018-November 2019. A larger study consisting of at least 75 women will begin in March 2020.

Includes "Initial Pilot Report" fact sheet providing information regarding how participants spent cash transfers, as well as documenting an increased sense of well-being, high school completion, and positive family engagement among participants.

#### Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Note that despite terminology of "universal basic income", program appears to be GLI-like in the sense that it would be targeted to those in need. Unlike a GLI, however, this proposed program would not guarantee a livable amount of income—it proposes a cash transfer of \$500 USD to families per month.

Corrinne Hess, <u>Milwaukee Considering Universal Basic Income Pilot Program</u> (Wisconsin Public Radio, 13 January 2020).

This article reports Milwaukee's consideration of a basic income program that would begin by providing \$500 USD a month for 18 months to 50 low-income families. The Milwaukee Department of Administration is reported as intending to present a plan to the full Common Council in the coming months to advance the project.

### Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Layla A. Jones, <u>More cities are offering no-strings-attached cash to residents. Here's what Philly can learn</u> (Philadelphia Inquirer, 10 July 2023).

This article provides an update on Philadelphia's experiments with cash transfer programs, including a previous program transferring \$600 per month to 109 recently incarcerated individuals and an anticipated program providing cash transfers to 250 pregnant women.

Report of the Special Committee on Poverty Reduction and Prevention, <u>Philadelphia Poverty Action</u> <u>Plan</u> (City Council of Philadelphia, March 2020).

To counteract poverty within the city, the Special Committee on Poverty Reduction and Prevention created the Poverty Action Plan. The call for action includes the implementation of a basic income program to "help families transition from poverty, including individuals aging out of government systems such as prisons and foster care," including a reference to data indicating every \$1 USD spent on basic incomes generating a \$8 USD return.

Jake Blumgart, <u>Is a Universal Basic Income Experiment Coming to Philadelphia?</u> (WHYY, 4 March 2020).

This article reports on a press conference held by Philadelphia policy makers and non-profit leaders and their announcement that the city may begin testing a cash subsidy pilot in 2020.

#### Andrew Yang - Humanity Forward

Catherine Clifford, <u>Andrew Yang's Nonprofit Giving Out \$1 Million Amid COVID-19 Crisis</u>, Including \$250-\$500 Checks via Social Media (CNBC, 20 March 2020).

"On Friday, Yang's <u>Humanity Forward</u> announced it would be giving away at least \$1 million to individuals who have been hard hit by COVID-19 pandemic in an effort called the Humanity Forward Coronavirus Relief Fund."

\*Note this program appears to involve one-time payments of small amounts of money to selected individuals, rather than livable amounts accessible to all

CBC Radio, The Current for May 14, 2020, Part 2: <a href="https://www.cbc.ca/radio/thecurrent/the-current-for-may-14-2020-1.5569302">https://www.cbc.ca/radio/thecurrent/the-current-for-may-14-2020-1.5569302</a>.

Interview with Basic Income Canada Network Chair Sheila Regehr and US Democratic primary candidate Andrew Yang, in which he advocates a universal basic income in response to COVID-19

\*Note this proposal would operate as a universal basic income (UBI) rather than a GLI

Yang 2020, The Freedom Dividend, Defined: <a href="https://www.yang2020.com/what-is-freedom-dividend-faq/">https://www.yang2020.com/what-is-freedom-dividend-faq/</a>.

Outlining Andrew Yang's 2020 US presidential campaign based on providing all adult Americans with \$1,000 USD per month with no strings attached

\*Note this proposal would operate as a universal basic income (UBI) rather than a GLI