Zero Dollar Linda

METCALF FOUNDATION John Stapleton November 2010

'Zero Dollar Linda' vs. 'Million Dollar Murray'

- We explore the weaknesses in the design of North American social welfare institutions through the stories of two individuals.
 - Malcolm Gladwell's Million Dollar Murray
 - Linda Chamberlain



Part 1

Million Dollar Murray vs. Linda Chamberlain

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Murray

- Murray Barr was a homeless and severely alcoholic man whose story was told by Malcolm Gladwell in The New Yorker.
- If Murray had had access to supportive housing and a supervised work environment, he could have lived out his life productively.
- Instead, he cost the medical, corrections, social service and shelter systems a million dollars over his lifetime, and died in the street of internal bleeding.

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5

Linda

- Linda Chamberlain is a Toronto woman with serious disabilities living in subsidized housing.
- She found part-time work to supplement her disability income.
- But her public housing landlord immediately made her rent unaffordable, while her disability support program cut her benefits.
- Like Murray, she too could have done better had she received the help and advice she needed.
- But she came to the conclusion she had to leave the work she loved.

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Million \$ Murray; \$0 Linda

- Murray Barr represents a small fraction of the shelter population -- a minority that accounts for most of its costs. Without structured support and firm guidance, the man was an outlier.
- Linda Chamberlain is Murray Barr's polar opposite. She represents the great majority of social assistance recipients, who want to get ahead and be as self-reliant as they can under their individual circumstances.

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7

Linda

- The Toronto Star showcased the dilemma Linda faced when the combination of higher rent and reduced benefits resulted in her being not much better off than before she started to work.
- Linda's story was written up three times in the space of a month in the winter of 2009-10 by two different *Toronto Star* columnists, Catherine Porter and Carol Goar.

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Linda

Here is how Catherine Porter described her situation in the *Toronto Star*:

She paid \$109 in rent every month. This summer, working 2 and 1/2 days a week, her ODSP cheque plummeted to \$183 and her rent – pegged to her income – soared to \$623. The bills are mounting. She received a letter from Canadian Tire threatening "legal action." She owes \$500 to Toronto Hydro. Now, her landlord is threatening eviction. "I've hit rock bottom," Chamberlain says. "I'm worse off now than I was when I wasn't working..." - December 22, 2009

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9

Linda's Dilemma

- The newspaper stories did not explain the bad policies that underlie Linda's dilemma.
- Nor did they discuss the complex financial advice that Linda badly needed to balance work, rent and benefits.
- The explanation follows:

Linda's Dilemma: Policy Artefacts

- Artefact #1: ODSP clawback of 50%
- Artefact #2: Rent calculations for ODSP recipients in public housing – out of line with reality but in line with provincial/ municipal politics.
- ➤ Artefact #3: Moving from ODSP shelter allowance to rent geared-to-income a huge shock to Linda's budget.
- Artefact #4: The \$440 rule obscure in its origins, buried in the policy handbooks, this rule amounts to zero tolerance for disabled people who try to become self-reliant.
- Artefact #5: Double-dipping into Linda's earned income how two government silos managed to penalize Linda twice for earning the same money.

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11

Part 2

Social Assistance & Parking Lots



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13

Social Assistance & Parking Lots

- Losing your ticket means you pay the full cost even if you parked for 20 minutes.
- ODSP letters sent to the wrong house may mean you lose benefits.
- Parking lots say: "Not responsible for damage however caused."
- Social assistance says: "pay the overpayment however caused."

Social Assistance & Parking Lots

- In Linda's case, the policy objective is to help her become self-reliant.
- Keeping rents low for people on disability is a fair policy.
- It is also fair to charge higher rent when someone on disability starts to realize more earnings.
- And it's certainly fair that a person on disability should receive less from the state as they start to make their own way in life.
- Taken singly, each one of these policies seems fair.

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15

Social Assistance & Parking Lots

- It feels good to:
 - be tough and allow no nonsense.
 - create rules that are crystal clear and unambiguous.
- If the same rules apply to everyone, then the result should be greater fairness and equity among citizens.
- It's not hard to understand why we have voted in governments that create zero-tolerance policies.



Social Assistance & Parking Lots

- The problem is that zero tolerance rules remove the possibility of discretion.
- Unlike parking lot attendants, public servants go to school and obtain advanced degrees in order to exercise discretion.
- ▶ We pay administrators, auditors, and whole departments large salaries to find better ways.

Part 3

The Auditor General

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The Auditor General

- Criticized overpayments
- In other business systems, what social assistance calls "overpayments" are called "adjustments" or "debits."
- Heating and hydro bills are typically adjusted at the end of the year. When families use more heat or water than expected, they owe money to the utility company.
- We don't think of these end-of-year adjustments as "abuse" or "fraud."

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21

The Auditor General

- The Auditor General's preoccupation with overpayments indicates that he accepts the distrustful manner in which OW and ODSP work.
- From a fiscal point of view, overpayments are a good thing. They mean that more money is being paid to recipients from "other sources."
- More people have found part-time work, increased their hours, or succeeded in getting spousal support. That reduces the cost of social assistance to government.

The Auditor General

- The welcome page of the Auditor General's website states that his office is "serving the public interest."
- ▶ His basic role is to examine government programs and hold the government to the rules it has set for itself.
- But he failed to ask the most fundamental question an auditor should ask:
 - Does the money we spend on Ontario Works and Ontario Disability Support help people to realize the overarching goals of these programs?
 - Does it support them toward greater self-reliance?
 - Do its rules treat recipients fairly when they strive for greater self-reliance?

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23

Part 4

Postscript: Linda