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CPRN is a national not-for-profit
research institute whose mission is to
create knowledge and lead public
debate on social and economic
issues important to the well-being of
Canadians, in order to help build a
more just, prosperous and caring
society.

A Policy Mix For Canada's Working Poor

A new CPRN study proposes a
policy mix to see that no Canadian
who works full-time is poor.

In *Lifting the Boats: Policies to
Make Work Pay*, Ron Saunders,
Director of CPRN's
Work Network,
explores measures to
help the one in six
Canadians who work
for less than \$10/hour
improve their lot in
the labour market and
their community.

The Canadian
economy has come to
depend on paying
poverty-level wages to
almost 2 million full-
time workers. The share of jobs
paying such low wages in Canada has
not changed since 1981, despite a
43% rise in our standard of living.

“Our failure to generate higher wages
relieves the pressure on employers to
take steps to boost productivity and
become more efficient,” says
Saunders. “That’s bad for workers
and it’s bad for the economy.”

He examines three types of policies
to change the situation:

1. Steps that improve income, e.g.
increased minimum wage, income
supplements for the working poor.
2. Improved non-wage benefits and
supports, e.g. childcare, affordable
housing, dental and pharmaceutical



Photo: Designpics

benefits and better unemployment
insurance coverage.

3. Measures to increase financial assets
and skill levels.

Saunders draws on research and
experience in Canada and abroad to
bolster his arguments.

Regarding income, for example, the
average minimum wage set by Canada's
provinces ranks 9th among 13
OECD countries (behind
Australia, Belgium, Ireland, the
Netherlands, New Zealand and



the United Kingdom among others). “Raising the minimum wage costs governments nothing and especially benefits low-paid workers,” Saunders argues. He finds little evidence that raising the minimum wage results in job loss for any but the youngest workers.

Income is not the only factor behind persistent poverty. Lack of childcare, inadequate housing and medical costs can make it difficult for a working family to make ends meet. Saunders favours a universal approach to providing these benefits, relieving employers of responsibility in this area.

Finally, he argues that asset-building strategies must be part of the anti-poverty toolkit.

“We pay lip-service in Canada today to the importance of developing our human capital,” says Saunders. “But we offer little help to low-paid workers to help them take advantage of learning opportunities.”

Among his “mix” of policy recommendations:

- Higher minimum wages – on the order of \$9/hour (currently \$5.90-\$8/hour)
- An income supplement for the working poor of up to \$200-250/month
- Public pharmaceutical coverage (for at least catastrophic drug costs) and basic dental care on a universal or ‘progressive universal’ basis
- Affordable childcare
- Renewed investment in affordable housing
- Improved access to EI benefits (only 39% of the unemployed qualified in 2001, down from 74% in 1990)
- Better access to learning opportunities for low-paid workers
- Removing, or reducing, asset-based claw-backs in government programs that make asset building incentives ineffective
- Encourage firms to voluntarily embrace decent pay and working conditions for their employees

The concept of a ‘policy mix’ is important,” Saunders says. “None of these instruments works on its own, and some work better when accompanied by others.”

Income supplements, for example, could be siphoned off by employers lowering wages, were they not accompanied by an adequate minimum wage.

“This policy mix shifts some of the burden off the shoulders of the working poor onto governments and employers. It also shifts some responsibilities from the private to the public sector,” Saunders says. “The pay-off is in higher productivity, well-being and undermining the costly poverty cycle.”

Saunders calls for additional research to document the impact of policies to make work pay.



Democratic Reform: Focus on the Citizen

When democracy falters, reform begins with valuing and nurturing the individual.

So argues Mary Pat MacKinnon, Director of CPRN’s Public Involvement Network, in a recent presentation to the Social Planning Council of Ottawa.

In *Revitalizing Democratic Participation: Engaging Citizens for Change*, MacKinnon maintains that globalization and its attendant complexities could take us in one of two directions – towards greater engagement through deliberative forms of democracy and effective global governance, or, towards superpower dominance, weakened global governance and greater disparity at home and abroad. Movement towards the first, and preferred, option demands that we attend to the health of our own democracy.

MacKinnon makes the case for greater citizen engagement as a key element of democratic renewal. She acknowledges the signs of growing disaffection with and mistrust of traditional political processes and institutions. But she sees the seeds for renewal in the results of CPRN’s deliberative dialogues with Canadians. More than 2,000 randomly chosen citizens in all regions of the country have taken part. The dialogues demonstrate that citizens are eager to engage, that engagement increases their civic literacy, and contributes to better and more legitimate policy outcomes. Above all, engagement returns citizens to the central role that is their right in a democracy.

MacKinnon points to the challenge of institutionalizing democratic participation at all levels of government, the public service and parliaments. She reminds us of the important part that an active non-profit sector has played and can play in enhancing civic literacy and citizen engagement.

Making the Most of Canada's Health Data

Canadian governments have amassed a treasure-trove of health data over the years. In fact, Canada is recognized as an international leader in the collection and research use of administrative data related to health care services. Canadian researchers have also been innovators in using those data for research leading to policy development.

But we are a long way from getting the most out of this precious resource.

The problem is, despite the wealth of data, there is no standard format for compiling information, no coordination of documentation and access, no single point of entry for accessing data sources, and great variation in terms of maintaining those sources from agency to agency. Privacy issues and a need to educate the public on the importance of access to the data for research purposes further complicate the picture.

A new paper, prepared by CPRN in collaboration with the Centre for Health Services and Policy Research at the University of British Columbia, reviews the current status of health services data bases in Canada and makes recommendations for improving their contribution to health research.

Data, Data, Everywhere.....: Improving Access to Population Health and Health Services Research Data in Canada, was prepared by Charlyn Black and Kimberlyn McGrail of CHSPR, and by Cathy Fooks, Patricia Baranek and Lisa Maslove of CPRN's Health Network.

The authors interviewed data collectors, custodians and users to identify issues around the collection, storage and use of data. They review privacy and access issues, as well as international practice. They conclude with ten key recommendations and a call for a national working group to take them forward.



The project sponsors include the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR), the Canadian Population Health Initiative (part of the Canadian Institute for Health Information), Health Canada's Centre for Surveillance Coordination, and Statistics Canada.

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The authors find significant gaps in the data sources available to flesh out their framework. Even so, they argue, enough data are available to estimate many of the empirical relationships the model suggests and advance the cause of measuring educational quality.

For the longer term, Finnie and Usher recommend further data collection to fill the gaps. The goal is a database that is longitudinal, with full sets of information on beginning characteristics, inputs, learning outcomes and final outcomes. They conclude with suggestions for how that database might be constructed, presumably under the direction of Statistics Canada.

“There is no ‘silver bullet’ in looking at educational quality,” says Finnie, “There are no simple measures you can point to and say ‘Yes, there is quality. Let’s have some more of it.’ But our framework does help us think about this important and difficult issue in an intelligent fashion. It will advance the cause of a better, more accountable education system more than all the smoke, mirrors, and hot-headed debates that have characterised ‘the measurement of quality’ to date.”



Fresh Ideas Campaign – A New Direction

With over \$3.8 million in support to date, The *Fresh Ideas Campaign* is heading into its final phase. The success of the past four years is due in no small part to the many friends and champions of CPRN, who not only support the campaign financially, but are ambassadors for our work. The newly formed Campaign Advisory Council is key to helping achieve our mission to make Canada a more just, prosperous and caring society. With their advice, CPRN's circle of friends is growing, as we explore new prospects to fund various projects important to the Canadian policy landscape.

National Youth Dialogue and Summit

To celebrate the 10th anniversary of CPRN, a National Youth Dialogue and Summit is being planned to help bring the voices of young adults into the conversation about our collective future. With the Right Honourable Adrienne Clarkson as Patron, the event will welcome 160 young Canadians, ages 18-25, to Ottawa to have a dialogue – first with each other and then with about 40 decision makers from the public, community and private sectors. The broad theme of the project is *“What kind of Canada do we want? What do we and others have to do to make our vision a reality?”*

Current funders of the National Youth Dialogue and Summit include: CIBC, Canadian Heritage, the Trudeau Foundation and the Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation.

Access and Excellence in Canadian Post-secondary Institutions

The second research project that will have a major impact on policy affecting youth and their future is one being undertaken by the Work Network: *“Access and Excellence in Canadian Post-secondary Institutions”*. Inspired by the generosity of

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Red Wilson, funds raised towards this project are doubled, thanks to a matching grant from the Wilson Foundation. The first paper of the series, *“Measuring the Quality of Post-secondary Education: Concepts, Current Practices and a Strategic Plan”*, by Ross Finnie of Queen's University and Alex Usher of the Educational Policy Institute, experienced over 39,000 downloads from the CPRN Web site in the month following its release. Currently, a second study, mapping the incentive structure facing Canadian universities is well underway, led by Ken Snowdon, a former vice-president of the Council of Ontario Universities. A third study, on innovation and differentiation by post-secondary institutions, will be launched soon.

Given the nation-wide interest in this policy area, some of Canada's top universities have recently added their support for this project: McGill University, McMaster University, Queen's University, University of Alberta and the University of Toronto.

– Margaret Miedema

Funding opportunities for both these projects are still available.
For further information, please contact Margaret Miedema at mmiedema@cprn.org



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Saunders calls on employers and governments to revisit their assumptions and to develop new policies to ensure that full-time workers can reasonably look forward to a life free from the threat of poverty.

“Canadians expect no less,” he says.

Research Papers in the Vulnerable Workers Series

No|1 – *Defining Vulnerability in the Labour Market*, Ron Saunders.

No|2 – *Towards Enhancing the Employment Conditions of Vulnerable Workers: A Public Policy Perspective*, Guylaine Vallée.

No|3 – *Non-standard Work and Economic Vulnerability*, Richard Chaykowski.

No|4 – *Does a Rising Tide Lift All Boats? Low-paid Workers in Canada*, Ron Saunders.

No|5 – *Lifting the Boats: Policies to Make Work Pay*, Ron Saunders.

No|6 – *New Approaches in Achieving Compliance with Statutory Employment Standards*, Ron Saunders and Patrice Dutil.

(Continued from page 6)

- *Financial Aid* – We need to correct the current trend that is shifting financial aid away from low-income students towards students from higher income families.

De Broucker calls for further research in a number of areas, among them; determining whether students from low-income families get lower returns from post-secondary education and experience higher debt loads; assessing the impact of tuition fee increases by socio-economic background and program of studies; and, assessing the effectiveness of student aid in helping those who most need it.

A “Research Summary Table: Access to PSE” provides in tabular format further details of the literature review completed for this paper. The table provides highlights of the research results for most of the studies reviewed. The table is posted on the main CPRN Web site.

Strategies for Strong Communities – The Case of London, Ontario

The city of London, Ontario, is celebrating its 150th anniversary this year. In a recent commentary, ***Coming Together Locally and Nationally***, in the *London Free Press*, Neil Bradford, former CPRN Cities and Communities Research Fellow, argues that it is also a good time for London, like many cities its size, to take stock.

Bradford points to the paradox of the new importance of local place in an era of global economic and cultural flows. The “new localism”, he says, carries three essential messages:

- Cities are where today’s major public policy issues play out.
- Making progress requires “local knowledge” – the ideas of residents, civic groups and municipal leaders.
- Strong communities are the essential foundation for sound national development.

Bradford maps out a path for London (or any Canadian city) determined to become a strong community, drawing on experience elsewhere in Canada and abroad. He stresses the importance of a coordinating body to bring together a community’s many voices and visions. He argues that London needs to tap into the growing network of Canadian cities that share their experience and knowledge of good governance practices.

Finally, he underlines the fact that local choices are fundamentally shaped by the fiscal and other policy decisions of province and the federal government. Any city must work with those levels of government to ensure that their activities are coordinated at the community level, that they draw on local knowledge and don’t stand in the way of building a strong community.

Of course, the higher levels of government must recognize that their policies only succeed if applied effectively at the local level. And strong communities make for strong provinces and countries.



Access to College or University: Much More Than a Financial Matter

Young people (aged 18-24) from high-income families are more than twice as likely to go to university in Canada as young people from low-income families.

Enrolment in Canadian colleges and universities is at record levels, but tuition fees are also breaking records.

Are finances the reason behind this university participation gap?

A new CPRN report, ***Getting There and Staying There: Low-income Students and Post-secondary Education*** by Patrice de Broucker, Senior Research Analyst with CPRN's Work Network, reviews the research on the determinants of access to post-secondary education by low-income students and finds the answer is more complex.

According to de Broucker, the research shows that financial considerations do play a role in the decision about whether to attend college or university, but they are not the only deciding factor, nor even the most important.

"The consensus among researchers is that parents' education is more important than family income in deciding whether children go on to university," says de Broucker. "Parents' aspirations for their children, encouragement in primary and secondary school, and the quality of information about the costs and benefits of post-secondary education, are also critical."

The geographical proximity of PSE institutions matters, too, as does their capacity to meet demand.

In the global marketplace, access to higher education can mean the difference between a good job and economic and social marginalization. Canada has performed well in this regard, to date, compared to many industrialized competitors. De Broucker sees worrying signs, however, that our standing is slipping.

What can we do to ensure that all who need or desire a university education have the chance for one?

Opportunities for higher education can be lost long before a young person is finishing high school. The effects of low income, low parental aspirations and other environmental factors can be felt much earlier.

"Financial support for university or college students is important, but it doesn't address the reasons students fail to get the grades they need to get into university," says de Broucker. "We need to tackle inequalities in early childhood and throughout the primary and secondary school experience to ensure equality of access to PSE."

De Broucker highlights a number of areas for policy action:

- *Early Intervention* – We need better academic preparation in primary and secondary school, better information about PSE options and availability, and an effort to counter the idea that PSE is unaffordable.
- *Diversity of Pathways* – We need more vocational options that provide a real alternative to PSE and a path to satisfying and rewarding employment.
- *Information and Counselling* - Schools must devote more resources to information and guidance services, including discussion of financial issues.
- *Tuition Policy* – Sustained state funding is needed if we are to limit the share of PSE revenues that come from tuition fees, and tuition fees should be guaranteed for the duration of a given program.



Photo: Designpics



Decades of Stagnation: Low-paid Work in Canada

Canada's economy has persisted in paying poverty level wages to one in every six full-time workers for more than twenty years. This, despite an increase of some 43% in Canada's standard of living over the same period.

"Low wages play a bigger role in our economy than they do in many other industrialized countries," says Ron Saunders, author of a new study from CPRN.

In *Does a Rising Tide Lift All Boats? Low-paid Workers in Canada*, Saunders, Director of CPRN's Work Network, profiles those who work full-time for less than \$10 an hour (full-time students excluded), and assesses their ability to improve their situation.

"We've seen the Canadian economy grow significantly, the unemployment rate fall, and the level of education rise over the past two decades," says Saunders. "So, you might expect real wages to rise and the proportion of low-paid workers to fall. Not so."

Real wages have stagnated or fallen in many cases and low-paid workers, especially, have been left behind. The same percentage of full-time workers who received poverty wages in 1981, receives poverty wages today.

Among Saunders' findings:

- More than 16% of full-time workers, aged 15-64 were low-paid in 2000, almost the same as in 1981.
- The young are especially likely to be low-paid, almost 50% of the 15-24 age group.
- Women are more likely (22%) to be low paid than men (12%).
- Low-paid work is persistent – half those who are now low-paid will not see better wages in the next five years. Most of them are women with low education.

- 25% of recent immigrants, versus 16% of Canadian-born workers, are low-paid, with visible minority immigrants even more likely to be low-paid (almost 1/3).
- Lone parents (23%), unattached individuals under 40 years of age (25%), and persons with a disability (20%), are also disproportionately low-paid.
- Full-year, full-time Aboriginal workers earn on average 23% less than their non-Aboriginal counterparts.
- Education matters, but it's not a cure-all. High school leavers are four times as likely, and those with only a high school diploma are three times as likely, as university graduates (6.5%) to be low-paid.



Photo: Designpics

To compound the problem, Saunders finds that 30% of those who are low-paid also live in families with poverty level incomes, and low-paid jobs are characterized by poor access to non-wage benefits, employer-sponsored training and union coverage. Finally, cut-backs in social support programs during the '90s, have left low-paid workers with few levers to improve their situation.

The result is a persistent under-class of full-time workers with multiple disadvantages, unable to access the economic and social benefits of work that other workers take for granted.

How has this happened?

"In part, it's a reflection of the competitive pressures in a globalized, free-trade environment, along with the recent erosion of our social support systems," says Saunders. "But it also reflects our assumption that an employment contract is a reliable source of well-being. For a growing part of our labour force that is simply not the case."

(Continued on page 5)



Measuring the Quality of Post-secondary Education: New Tool Points the Way

A new paper from CPRN ventures onto contested turf to propose a new approach to help measure the quality of post-secondary education (PSE).

A number of actors – governments, media outlets, consumer organizations, and educational institutions themselves – have tried to measure the quality of education offered by Canada’s universities and colleges. The results have been controversial.

The different players have competing agendas and don’t agree on how to define “quality”. The resulting measures are often partial and misleading, if not inaccurate. What’s more, they may be less than transparent, with many not even made public.

Measuring the Quality of Post-secondary Education: Concepts, Current Practices and a Strategic Plan, by Ross Finnie, of the School of Policy Studies at Queen’s University, and Alex Usher, of the Educational Policy Institute, makes progress on this front while adopting a neutral stance among the warring parties.

Finnie and Usher assess current practice in Canada and abroad, review the range of factors affecting PSE quality and outcomes, and propose a conceptual framework for improving quality measurement in future.

“We choose not to join the debate over the purpose of the PSE system,” says Finnie. “We concentrate, instead, on developing an analytical approach to help identify the factors that limit or contribute to better PSE outcomes.”

The Finnie/Usher framework is straightforward, capturing the PSE experience as a story of inputs and outputs whose narrative flows like this:

- *Beginning Characteristics* – the characteristics and abilities of incoming students that affect the quality of their educational experience and the outcomes.

- *Learning Inputs* – the institutional financial resources, material inputs and the organization of those resources – comprising the determinants and characteristics of individuals’ learning experiences.
- *Learning Outputs* – the “skill sets” or any other attributes of graduates arising from their educational experiences that help determine final outcomes.
- *Final Outcomes* – the more specific “ultimate ends” to which the educational system may contribute – everything from employment, income and job satisfaction, to civic participation and continued education.



Photo: Designpics

“This notion of quality focuses on the value-added of the educational experience,” says Finnie. “The ‘higher quality experiences’ are those that result in superior learning outcomes, and better final outcomes.”

Finnie and Usher demonstrate, with the help of their new framework, the limitations of a number of “quality measurement” exercises, from the annual Maclean’s university issue to the self-evaluation exercises undertaken by institutions.

“Each of these carves out a limited part of the overall quality assessment framework. They fall short in terms of their samples, the specific data they collect, and so on,” says Usher. “Many of them ignore students’ beginning characteristics, for example.”

(Continued on page 3)



On the Net and In the Media – June 2005

As of the end of May 2005, the number of discrete visitors to www.cprn.org is up 32% over last year to 677,000 a year. Downloads of CPRN publications are at an all-time high, topping 1,127,000, up 75% over a year ago. Visits to our Web site on workplace indicators, www.jobquality.ca, are also on the rise hitting 135,000 for the past 12 months, up 42% over the year before.

We now have 104 publications registering 5,000 downloads or more, and 57 over 10,000! Recent “best-sellers”, include Julie Ann McMullin and Martin Cooke (Work Network), ***Labour Force Ageing and Skill Shortages in Canada and Ontario***; Ross Finnie and Alex Usher (Work Network), ***Measuring the Quality of Post-secondary***

Education: Concepts, Current Practices and a Strategic Plan; Cathy Fooks and Lisa Maslove (Health Network), ***Rhetoric, Fallacy or Dream? Examining the Accountability of Canadian Health Care to Citizens***; Cathy Fooks and Lisa Maslove et al. (Health Network), ***Data, Data, Everywhere...: Improving Access to Population Health and Health Services Research Data in Canada***; Frances Abele (Family Network), ***Urgent Need, Serious Opportunity: Towards a New Social Model for Canada's Aboriginal Peoples***; Jane Jenson (Family Network), ***Canada's New Social Risks: Directions for a New Social Architecture***; Mary Pat MacKinnon (Public Involvement Network), ***Public Dialogue and Other Tools for Citizen Engagement***; and Judy Watling

(Public Involvement Network), ***Citizen Engagement for Sustainable Public Policy***.

Media interest in CPRN publications has been strong – in particular, the Work Network's research on vulnerable workers, low-wage work, and access to post-secondary education, the Public Involvement Network's work on democratic reform, the Family Network's research on cities and communities, and the Health Network's perspective on wait times. CPRN people were also in demand to discuss citizenship, working hours and other topics in the news. The number of listserves distributing our work to their members continues to grow, helping us reach an ever-increasing audience here at home and abroad.

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People

We sadly say goodbye to two staff members in Information Services, Kevin Timms, Knowledge Architect and Paul Macneil, Systems Administrator.

Kevin will be joining Ascentum, a consulting firm in Ottawa. He will be taking on new responsibilities that will stretch him in new directions.



Paul has accepted a more senior position, managing an IS unit at Carleton University. This is a great coup for Paul and a wonderful opportunity to combine his technical talents with his evident skills at mentoring, organizing and managing.



Staff at CPRN gather for a picnic, enjoying the warm weather, taking in a game of bocce and even some light house-keeping duties.

National Women's Retreat Wrap-Up 2005

At the 15th Annual National Retreat for Women – Women Challenging Power discussed the importance of inclusion, the power that comes from involving a diversity of voices, of ensuring that meaningful dialogue, talking and listening occurs.



From left to right: Lecia Stewart, Judith Maxwell, Marion Lay, Irsbad Manji and Chi Nguyen.



Sponsor's Corner



For what matters.

CIBC is dedicated to playing a part in strengthening Canada's communities and improving the quality of life of its citizens. In 2004, the CIBC group of companies contributed more than \$44 million, worldwide, to charitable organizations and community initiatives. Of this, \$28 million was invested in Canada, where CIBC contributed more than \$23 million in charitable donations and over \$5 million in community sponsorships. CIBC is one of Canada's largest corporate donors whose contributions extend to health, education, community, arts and culture, the environment and United Way agencies.

To celebrate its 10th anniversary, CPRN is planning a National Youth Dialogue and Summit, to be held in November 2005. As a funder of this project, CIBC is playing a major role in bringing the concerns and opinions of today's youth into the national conversation of Canadian policy issues. Canada's youth has long been a focus of CIBC's community support. Through CIBC Youthvision, an umbrella for all contributions that support youth, they fund a wide range of programs and initiatives in education, mentoring and skills development to help young people reach their full potential. Of the \$28 million invested in Canada in 2004, more than \$10 million supported youth.

CPRN is proud to count CIBC amongst its many friends and supporters as we highlight the important contribution that youth can make to framing and exploring the policy issues that face us all as Canadians.

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Wires Crossed: Supreme Court on Wait Times

The timing could not have been worse. The Supreme Court of Canada has declared that wait times for health care are excessive, and therefore opened the door to private payment plans.

Yet, close observers of the health care system can see the early signs of a remarkable transformation in service delivery. Through bottom-up innovation, Canadians are implementing new approaches to managing care that reduce wait times, improve quality and access and make more effective use of our scarcest resource – health professionals.

How can that be? Was the evidence not presented to the Court? Probably not, for the simple reason that the evidence still exists in fragments. Breakthroughs are occurring in one region or community after another. They include reduced wait times for surgery in Saskatchewan, better access to cardiac care in Ontario, needs-based planning in the Montreal region, integrated provider teams in primary care in Ladysmith and Kamloops in British Columbia and in many other sites across the country.

These innovations are hard to track, difficult to imitate, and therefore invisible in any national survey. Instead they surface, one by one, at national and regional health conferences where local leaders get a chance to tell their success stories. Each of these successes makes it easier for other communities to follow, and

slowly the momentum grows. The Court's decision could put this transformation at risk, if provinces respond in ways that de-stabilize the more stable policy and funding environment of the last two or three years.

Because the gains are still so fragmented, no one can provide an overall accounting yet. As a result, taxpayers, the media, politicians and the Supreme Court are not informed. They are still looking back and are worried about the apparent lack of change in the system.

To make these success stories happen, local leaders need time – time to:

- build a collaborative team of administrators, doctors, nurses, and others,
- earn the trust of senior executives in the province and region,
- consult with the wider community, including citizens and patients whose care arrangements will change, and
- implement the new approach.

In cases of primary care reform, for example, it is frequently necessary to recruit doctors from outside the community because local doctors are established in solo practice and want to see the new arrangements up and running, before they will consider cooperating.



“Collaboration seems to take a long time,” said one official recently, “but the payoff is that you get it right the first time.”

In summary, to sustain this transformation, governments must respond to the Supreme Court decision with caution. Most are still in denial, and stick to their stubborn view that private enterprise can help be the engine of innovation. Yet, we know that if the most entrepreneurial doctors and nurses are encouraged to leave the public system to set up private practice, the emerging transformation in service could wither and die.

Thus, we may never know for sure that the public system can generate better quality and access while using scarce resources more efficiently.

Judith Maxwell
President

