

**European Social Survey** and Ronnie Cowan MP

# THE FUTURE OF **WELFARE: BASIC INCOME?**

Part of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Festival of Social Science 2017



#### **16 NOVEMBER 2017**

**Boothroyd Room** Portcullis House Westminster

Professor Rory Fitzgerald, Director Gianmaria Bottoni, Research Fellow Stefan Swift, Media Officer



**INTRODUCTION TO** THE EUROPEAN **SOCIAL SURVEY** 

#### **ESS History**

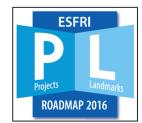


- First funded in 2001
- Won Descartes Prize for Research (2005)

Descartes research prize

Exercises of the second of the s

- Included on ESFRI Roadmap (2006, 2008, 2010)
- Groves Review (2008)
- Became European Research Infrastructure Consortium (ERIC) (November 2013)



Named as ESFRI Landmark (March 2016)

"The European Social Survey is a great project of incredible value. The huge amount of scientific data collected on public attitudes and behaviour, enabling comparisons across European nations and also over time, makes it a very useful tool for effective policy-making, including in reducing social inequalities in health."

Vytenis Andriukaitis, European Commissioner for Health and Food Safety (DG SANTE), February 2017

## **ESS Background**



- Academic cross-national survey measuring attitudes
- Face-to-face interviews every two years (since 2002)
- Over 350,000 interviews completed
- Probability sample residents aged 15+
- 8 rounds completed in 36 countries
- Data for 18 Round 8 countries now available
- All data free for non commercial use
- Over 110,000 registered users
- 3,138 academic publications used data (2003-15)







## **Participating Countries**

25 Bulgaria

26 Cyprus

27 Greece

29 Iceland

30 Latvia

31 Croatia

28 Italy





- Belgium
- Finland
- France
- Germany
- Hungary
- Ireland
- Netherlands
- Norway
- Poland
- 10 Portugal
- 11 Slovenia
- 12 Spain
- 13 Sweden
- 14 Switzerland
- 15 UK

#### 7 ROUNDS

- 16 Austria
- 17 Czech Republic
- 18 Denmark
- 19 Estonia

#### 6 ROUNDS

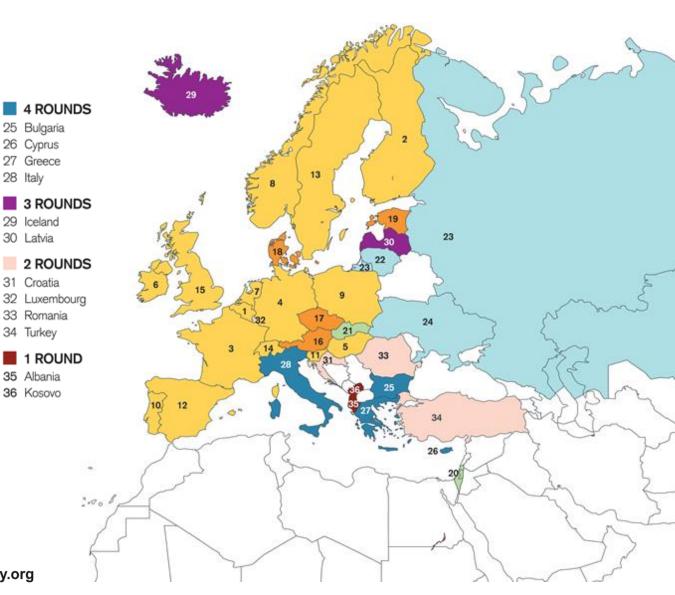
- 20 Israel
- 21 Slovakia

#### **5 ROUNDS**

- 22 Lithuania
- 23 Russia
- 24 Ukraine 33 Romania 34 Turkey

#### 1 ROUND

- 35 Albania
- 36 Kosovo

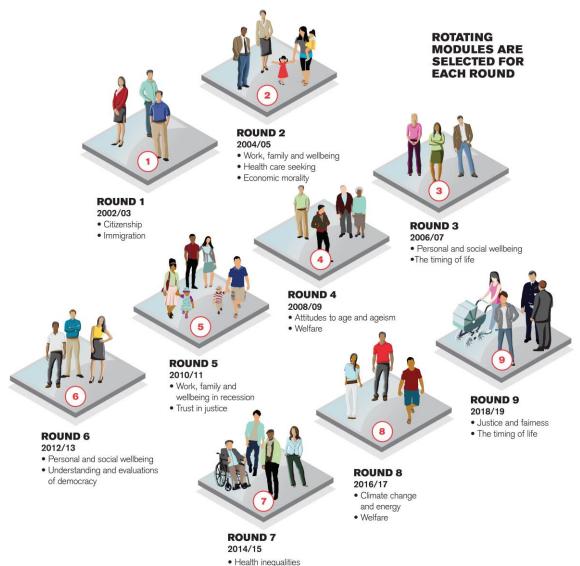


#### **ESS Questionnaire**



# CORE TOPICS IN ALL ROUNDS

- Crime
- · Democracy and politics
- Human values
- Immigration
- Media use
- · National and ethnic identity
- Perceived discrimination
- Religion
- · Social exclusion
- · Social trust/trust in institutions
- Subjective wellbeing
- Socio-demographics



Immigration

#### **Round 8 Rotating Module: Welfare**



- Welfare module first included in Round 4 (2008)
- Module repeated (with some modifications) in Round 8 (2016)
- 30 questions asked during hour-long face-to-face interview
- Basic Income Scheme question fielded in Round 8 for the first time
- Module developed by multi-national team of academics with support from the ESS Core Scientific Team
- Round 8 Welfare Module Authors: Wim van Oorschot and Bart Meuleman, University of Leuven; Christian Staerkle, University of Lausanne; Staffan Kumlin, University of Gothenburg; Tim Reeskens, Tilburg University
- Round 8 ESS team: Rory Fitzgerald, Sarah Butt, Elena Sommer, Brita Dorer, Diana Zavala Rojas



# **EUROPEAN SOCIAL SURVEY ON WELFARE**

## **Country groupings**

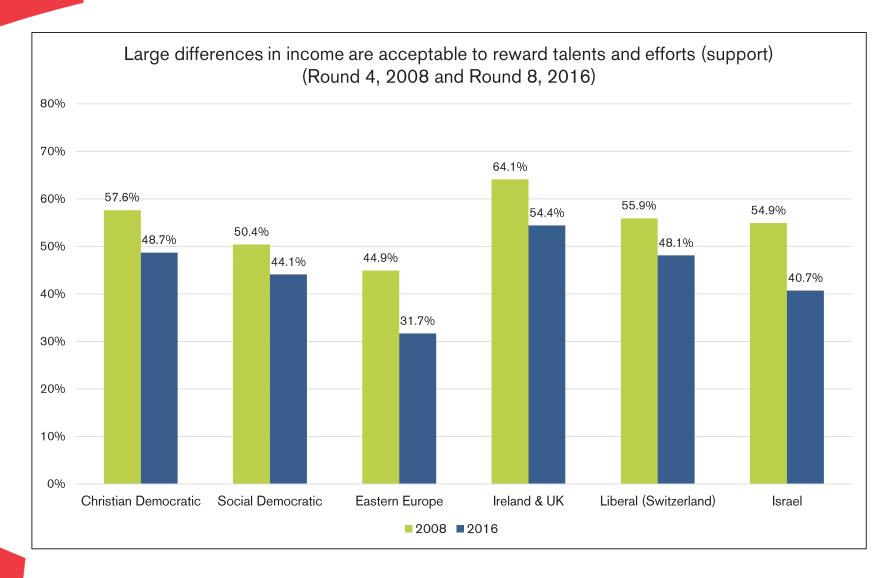


#### **Esping-Anderson Welfare State Regimes (1990):**

#### Adapted version used here:

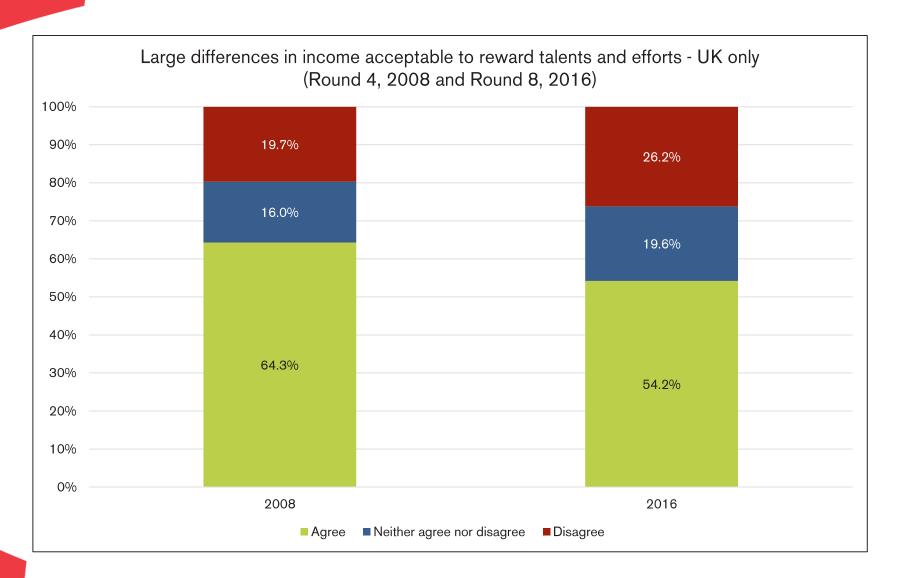
- Christian Democratic (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany)
- Eastern Europe (Czech Republic, Estonia, Poland, Russian Federation, Slovenia)
- Ireland and the UK
- Social Democratic (Finland, Iceland, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden)
- Israel
- Liberal (Switzerland)



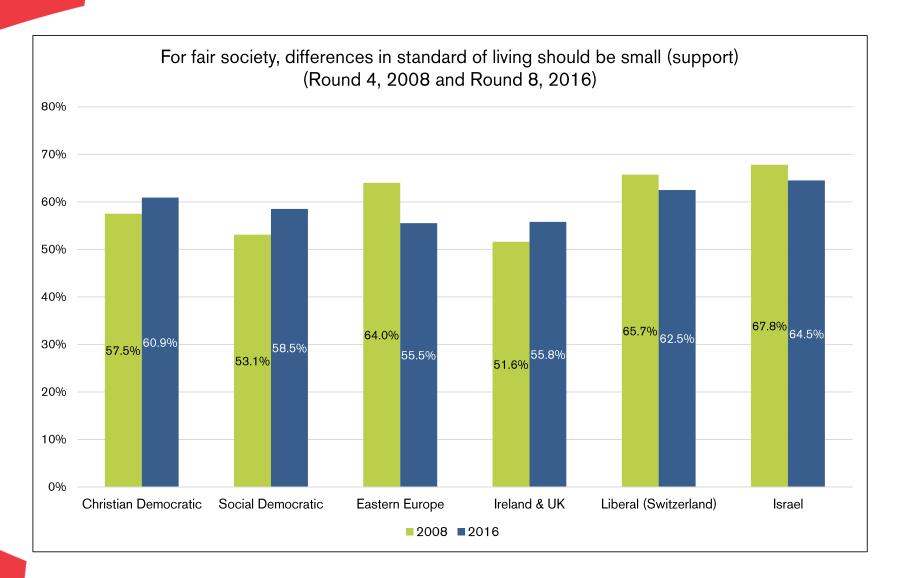


## Welfare attitudes in the UK (2008/2016)



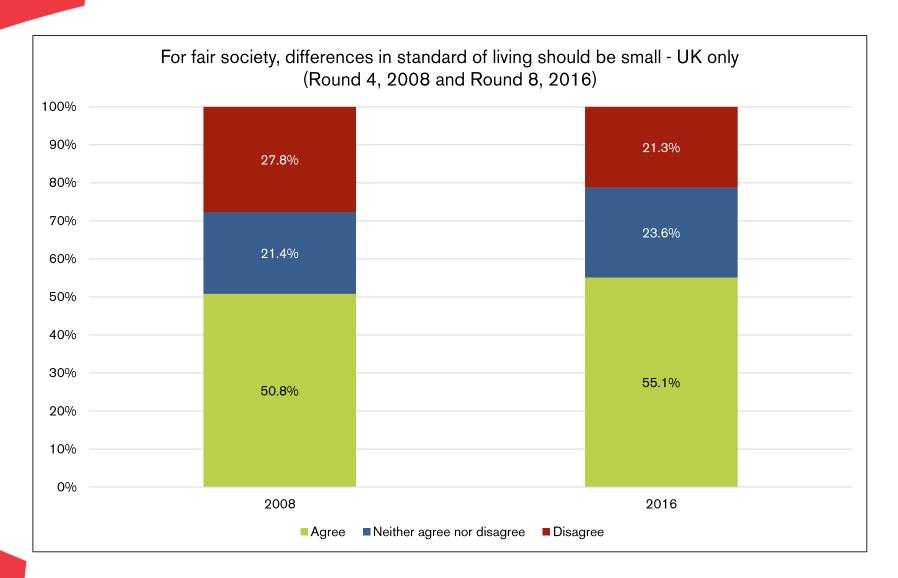




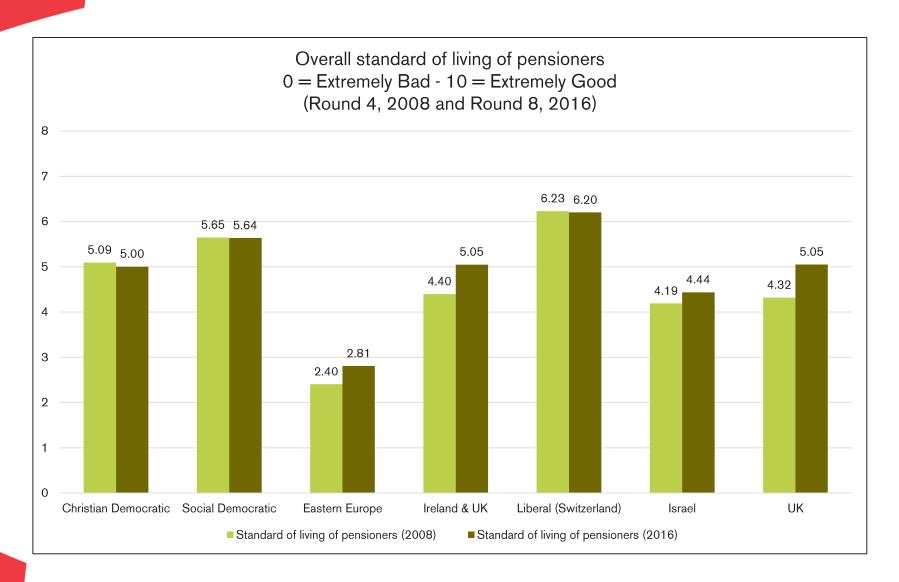


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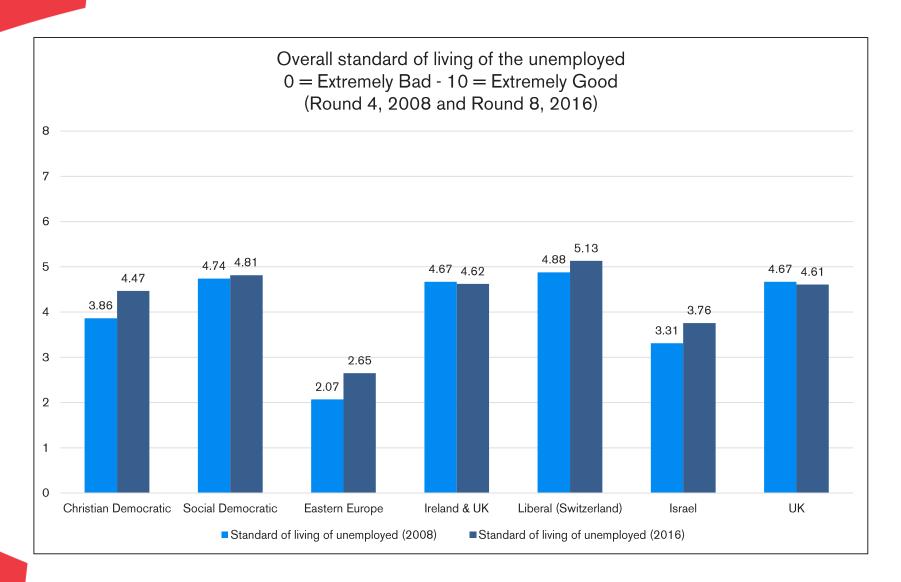




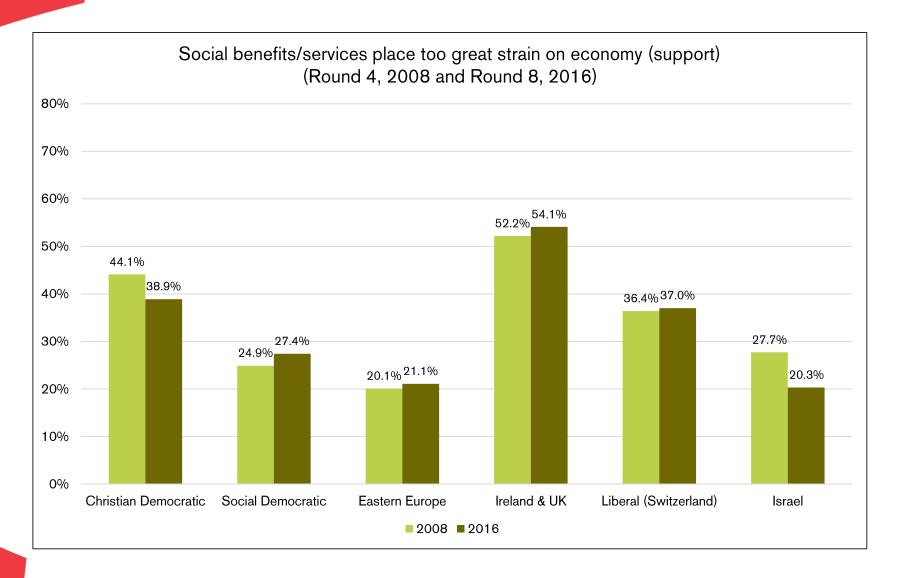






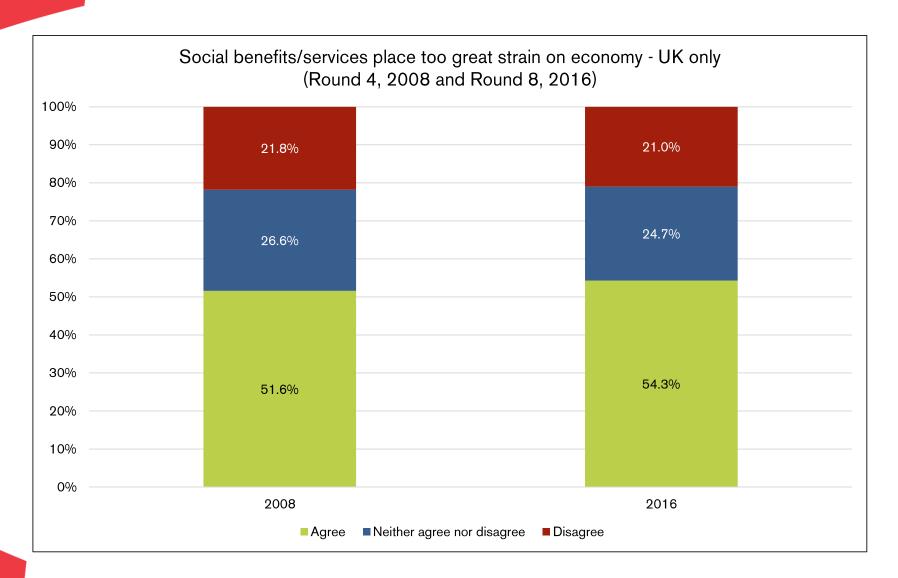




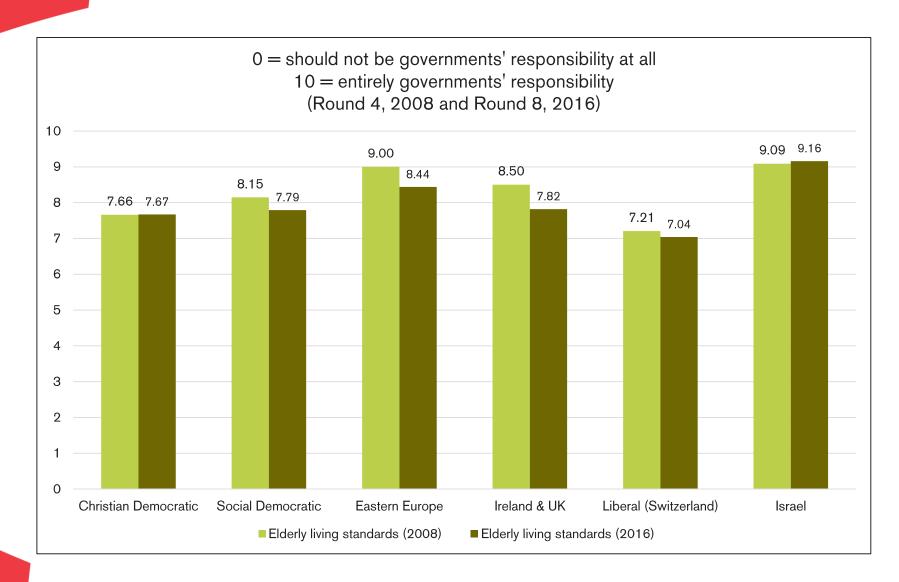


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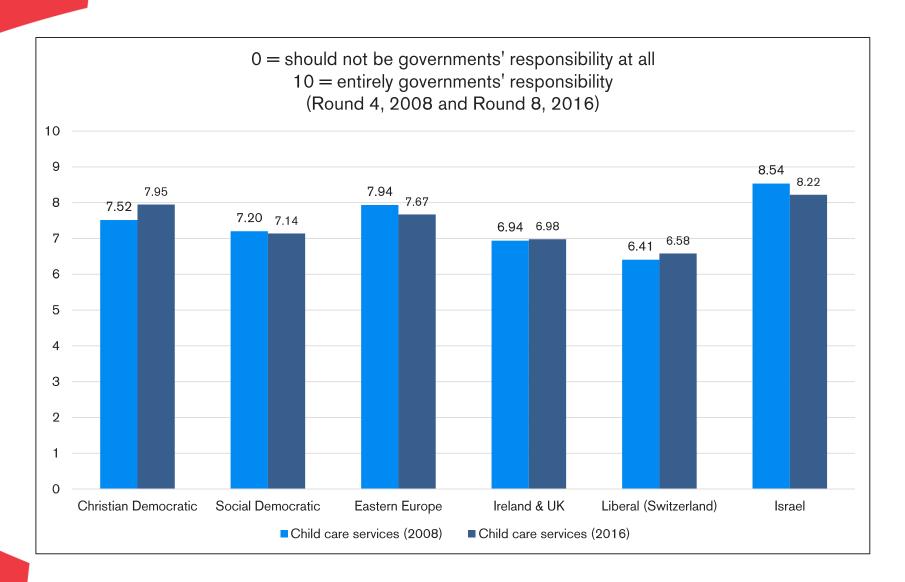




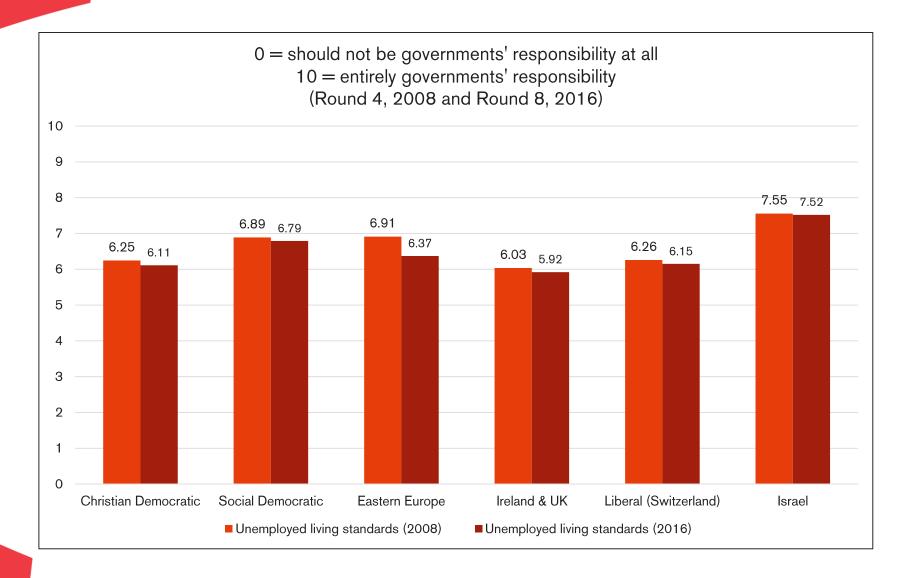














EUROPEAN SOCIAL
SURVEY ON THE
INTRODUCTION OF A
UNIVERSAL BASIC
INCOME SCHEME

#### 2016 welfare attitudes: Basic Income



#### **ESS Question:**

Some countries are currently talking about introducing a basic income scheme. In a moment I will ask you to tell me whether you are against or in favor of this scheme. First, I will give you some more details. The highlighted box at the top of this card shows the main features of the scheme. A basic income scheme includes all of the following:

- The government pays everyone a monthly income to cover essential living costs.
- It replaces many other social benefits.
- The purpose is to guarantee everyone a minimum standard of living.
- Everyone receives the same amount regardless of whether or not they are working.
- People also keep the money they earn from work or other sources.
- This scheme is paid for by taxes.

#### 2016 welfare attitudes: Basic Income



#### **ESS Question:**

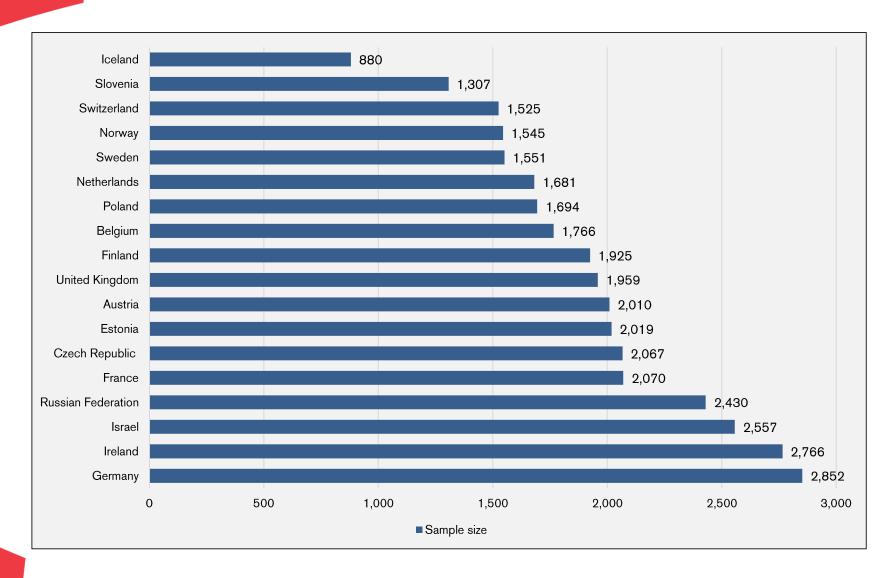
Overall, would you be against or in favor of having this scheme in [country]?

Please choose your answer from the options at the bottom of the card.

- Strongly against
- Against
- In favour
- Strongly in favour

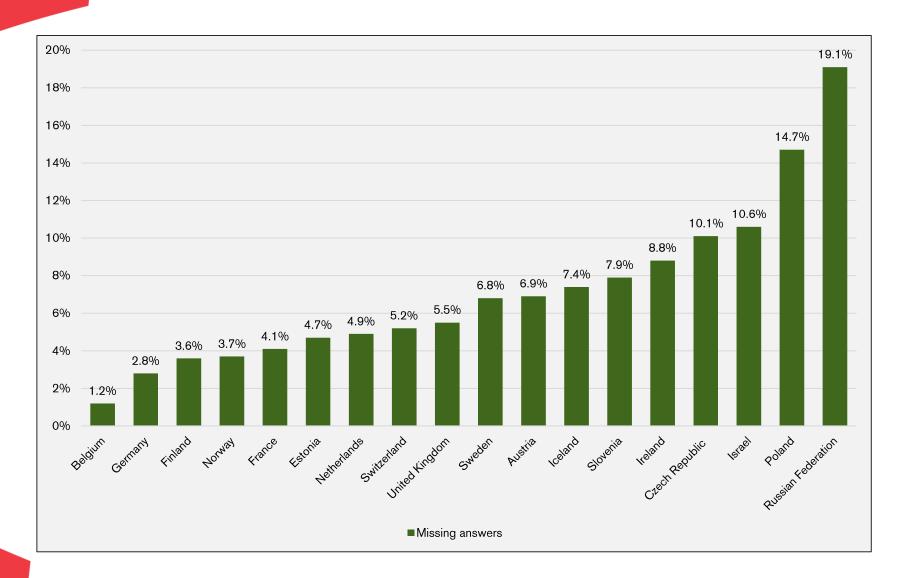
## **Basic Income: Sample sizes**





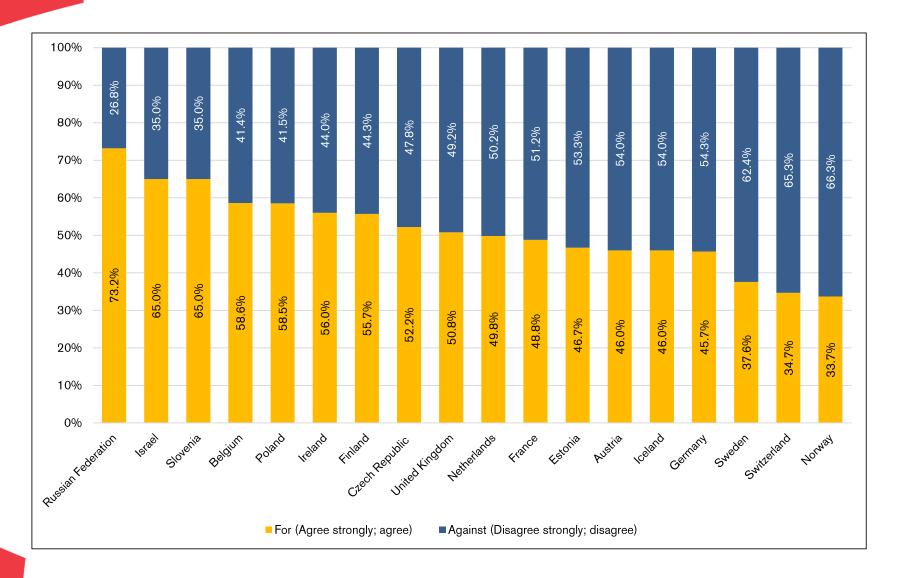
## **Basic Income: Missing answers**





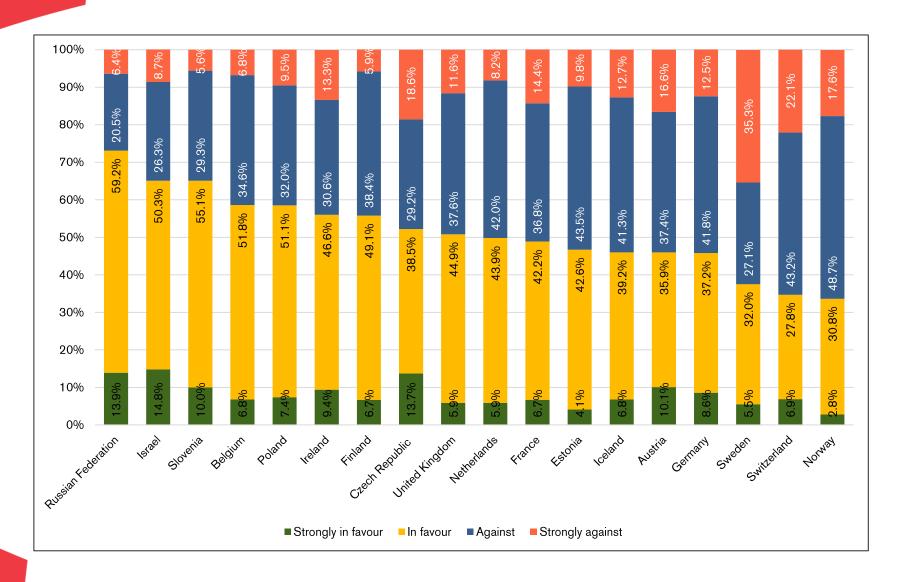
#### **Basic Income: attitudes in 18 countries**





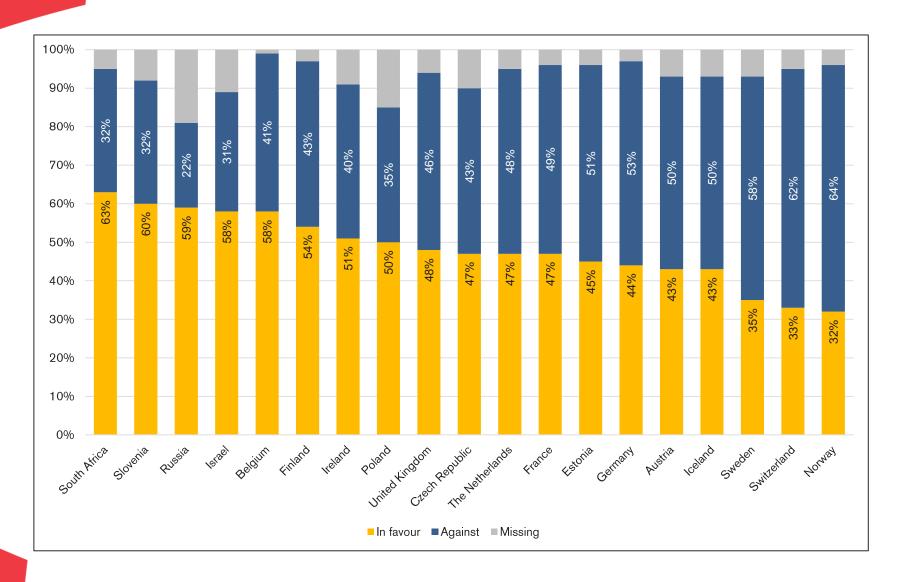
#### Basic Income: attitudes in 18 countries





## **Basic Income: including South Africa**







IPSOS MORI SURVEY
OF UK ADULTS 2017
(INSTITUTE FOR
POLICY RESEARCH,
UNIVERSITY OF BATH)

### **Basic Income: Ipsos Mori Survey (UK)**



As you may be aware, some countries are considering introducing a basic income.

If introduced in the United Kingdom, this would provide a regular income paid in cash to every individual adult in the UK, regardless of their working status and income from other sources.

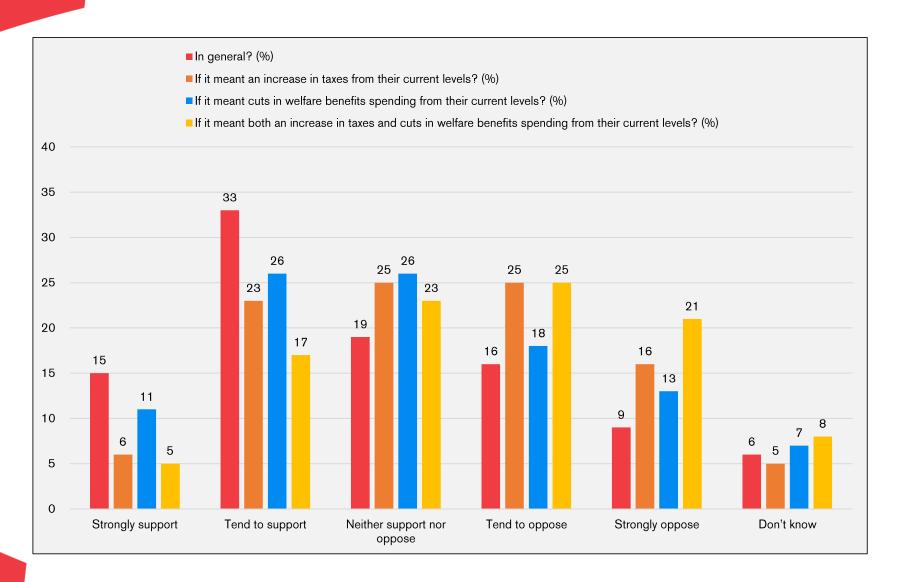
In other words, it would be:

- Universal (i.e. paid to all),
- Unconditional (i.e. paid without a requirement to work); and
- Paid to individuals (rather than to a household)

Assuming the level would be set roughly at the amount the UK government judged to be necessary to cover basic needs, e.g. food and clothing (but not housing costs), to what extent would you support or oppose the UK Government introducing a basic income...

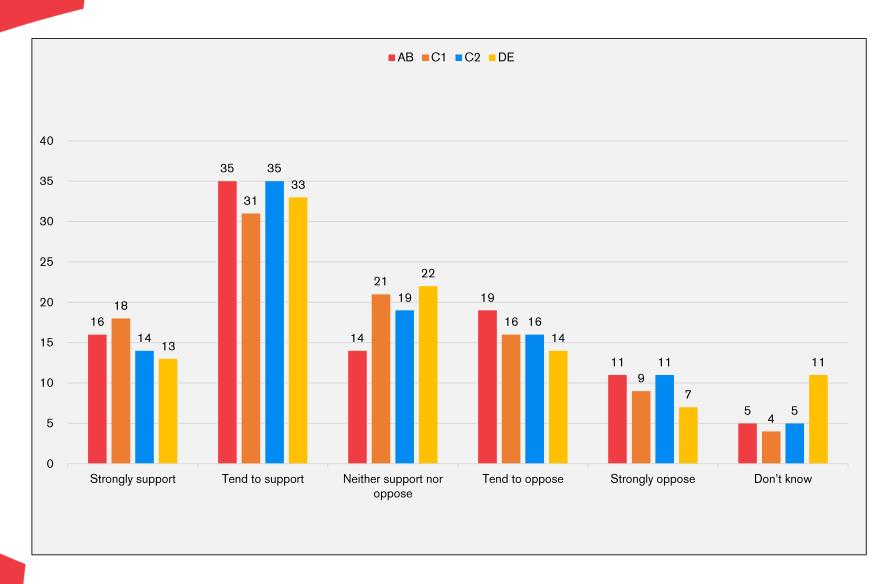
## **Basic Income: Ipsos Mori Survey (UK)**





# **Basic Income: Ipsos Social Class**



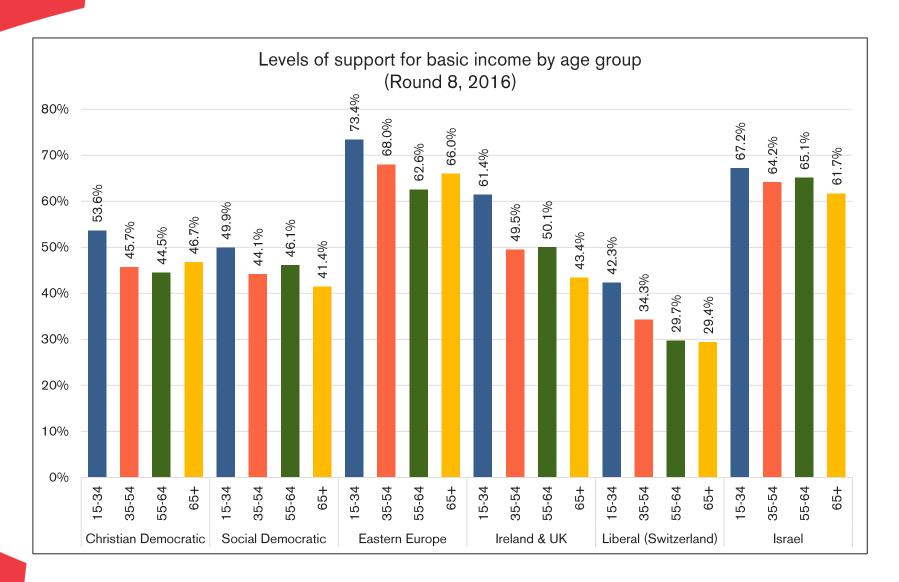




EUROPEAN SOCIAL SURVEY ON BASIC INCOME: DEMOGRAPHICS

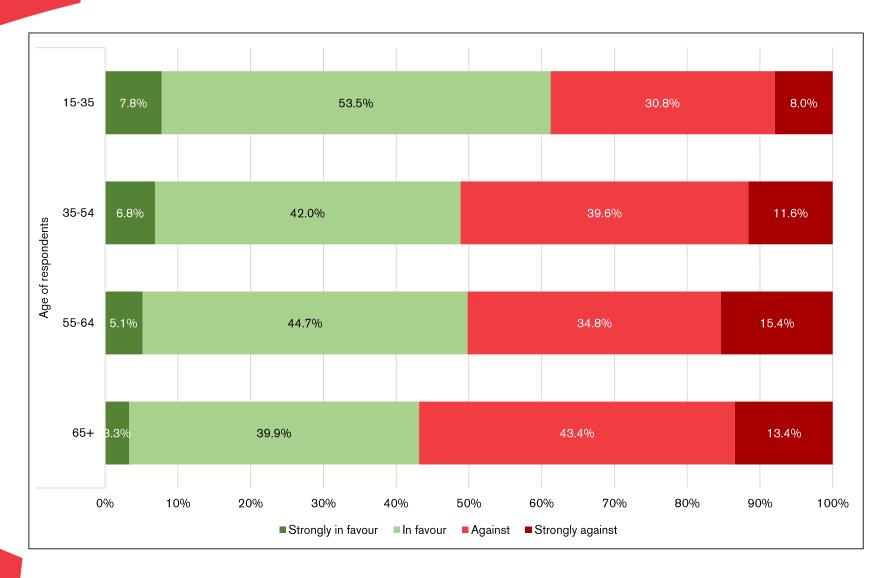
## Basic Income: support by age





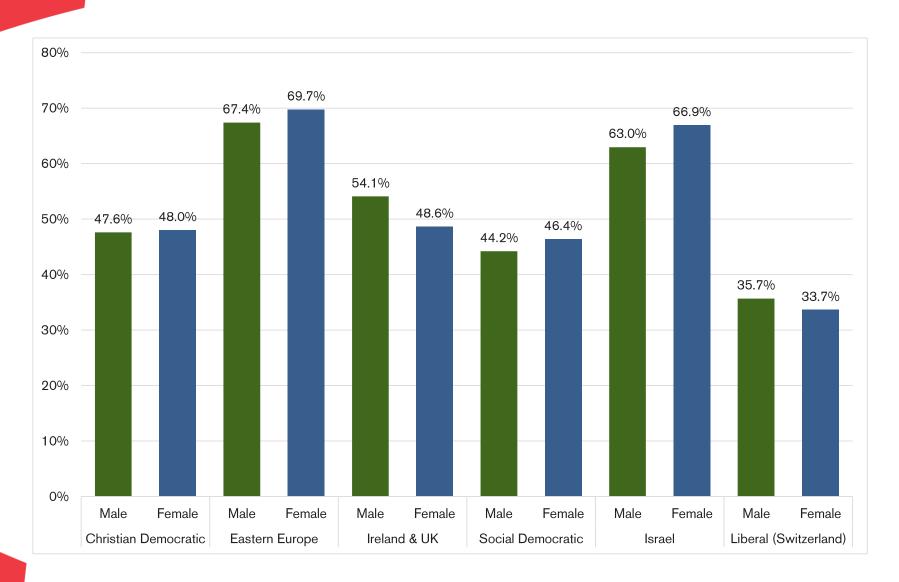
# **Basic Income: support by age (UK)**





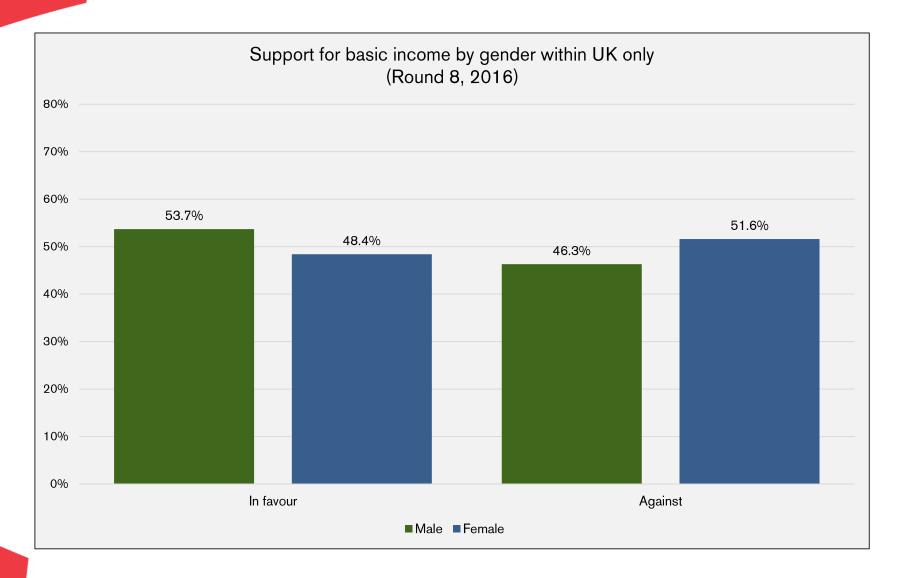
## **Basic Income: support by gender**





### Basic Income: support by gender (UK)





### **Basic Income: left-right scale**

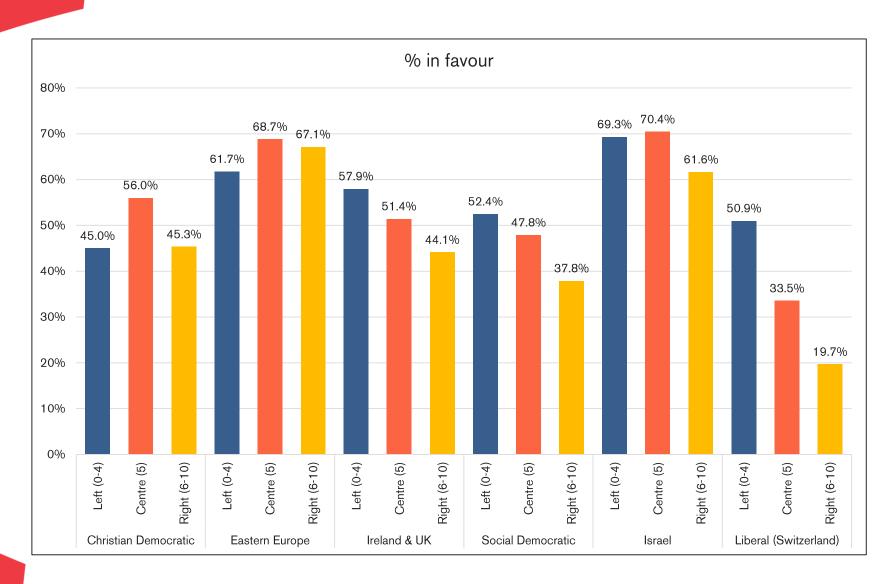


In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Using this card, where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

Left										Right	(Refusal)	(Don't know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	77	88

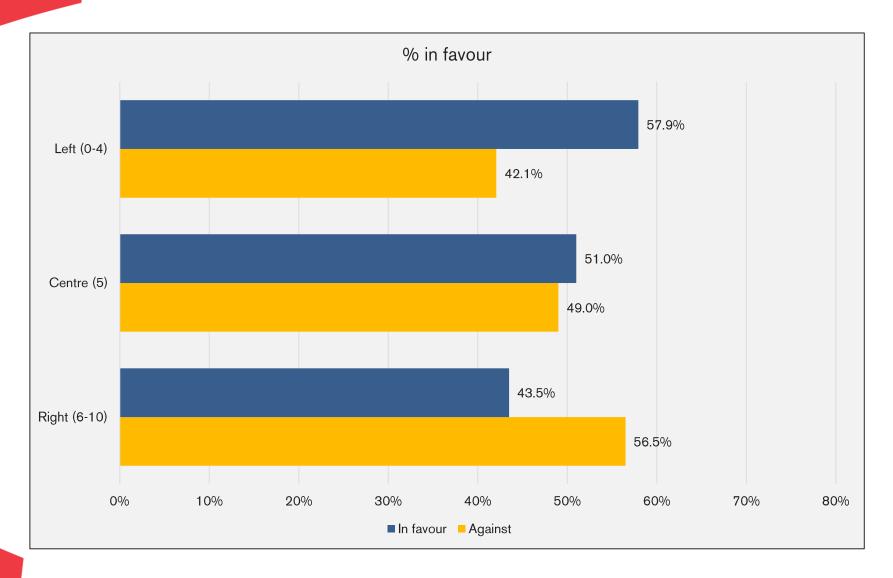
### **Basic Income: left-right scale**





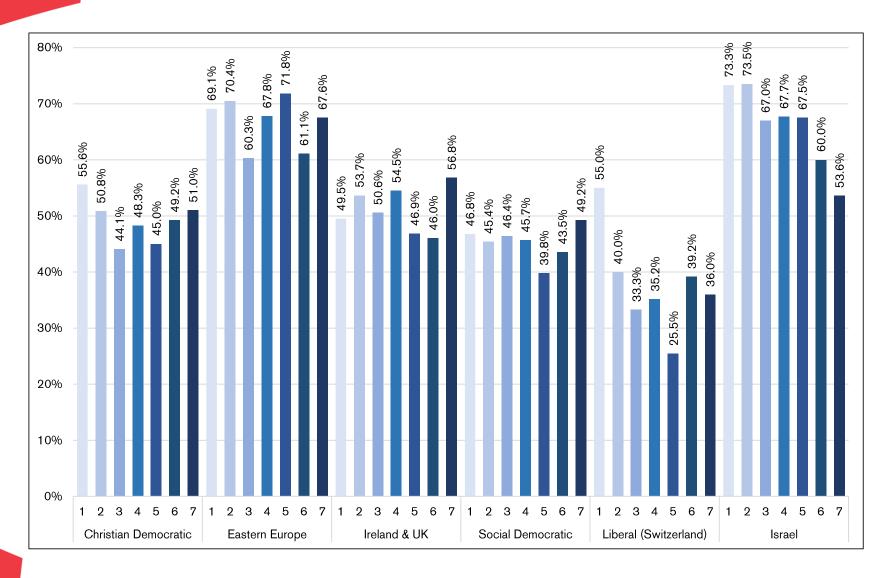
# **Basic Income: left-right scale (UK)**





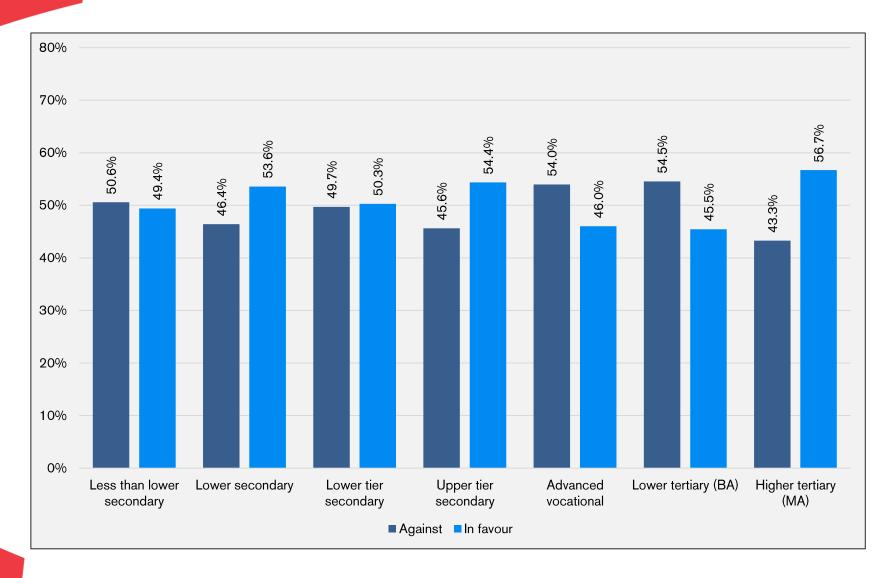
### Basic Income: support by education level





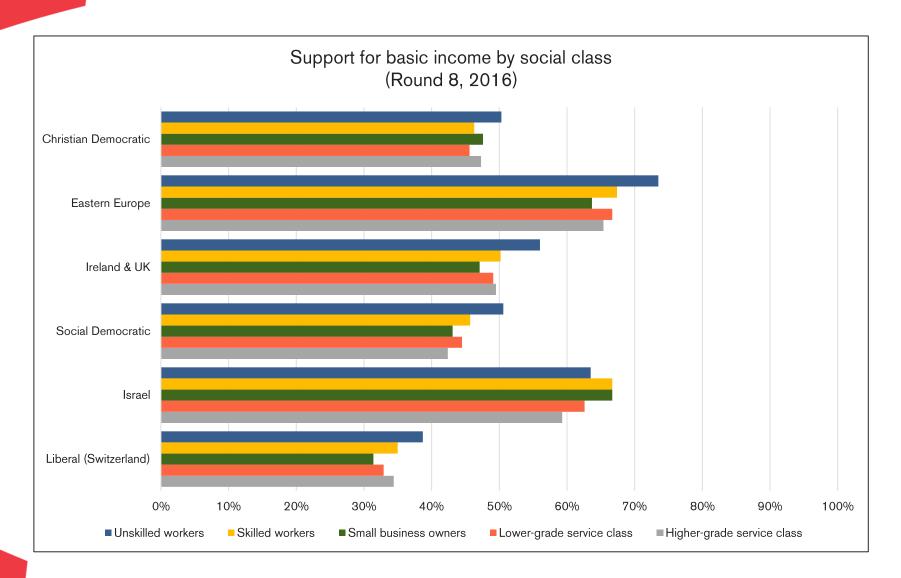
# Support by education level (UK)





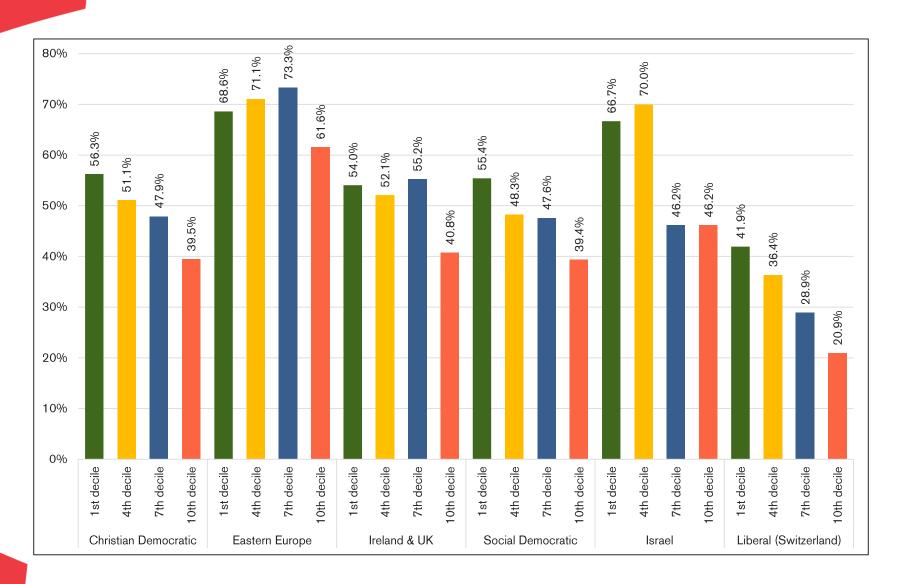
### **Basic Income: support by social class**





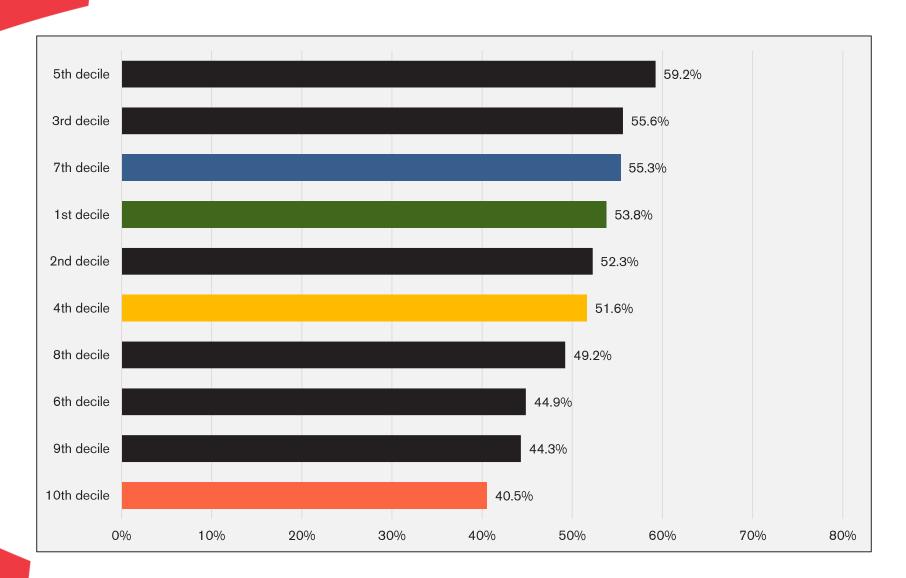
#### Basic Income: support by income level





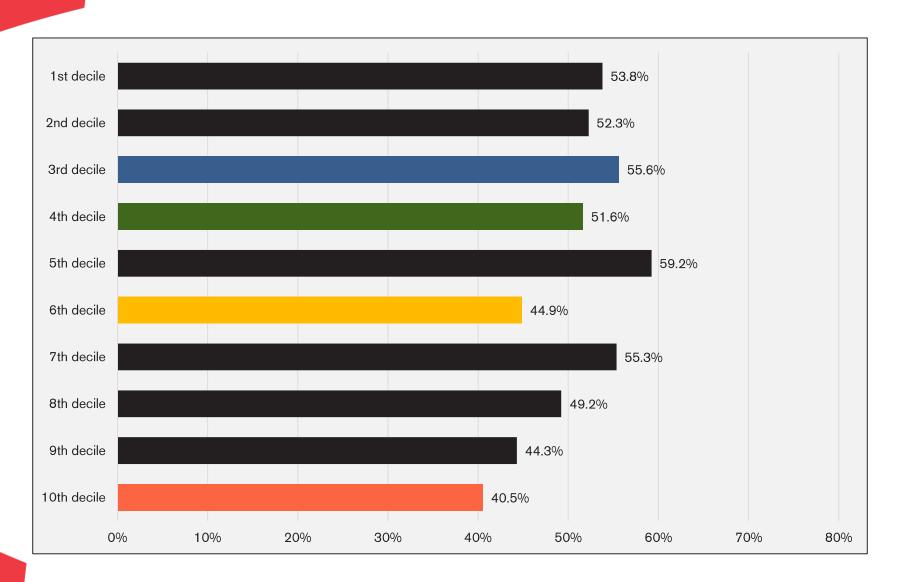
# Support by income level (UK)





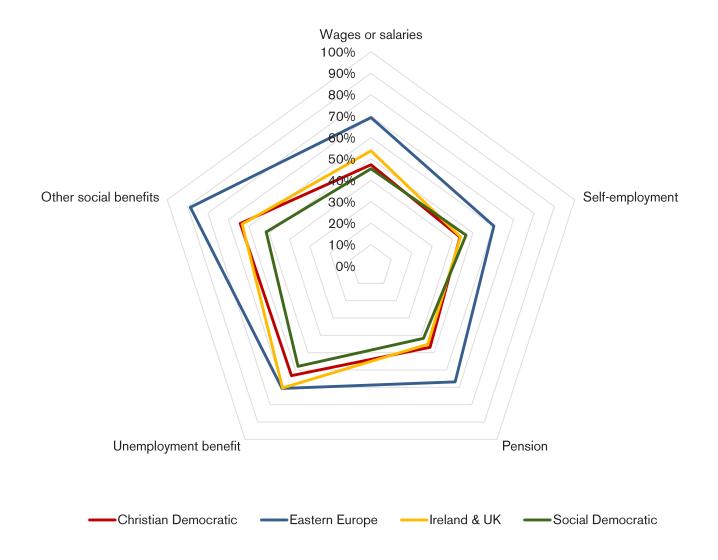
# Support by income level (UK)





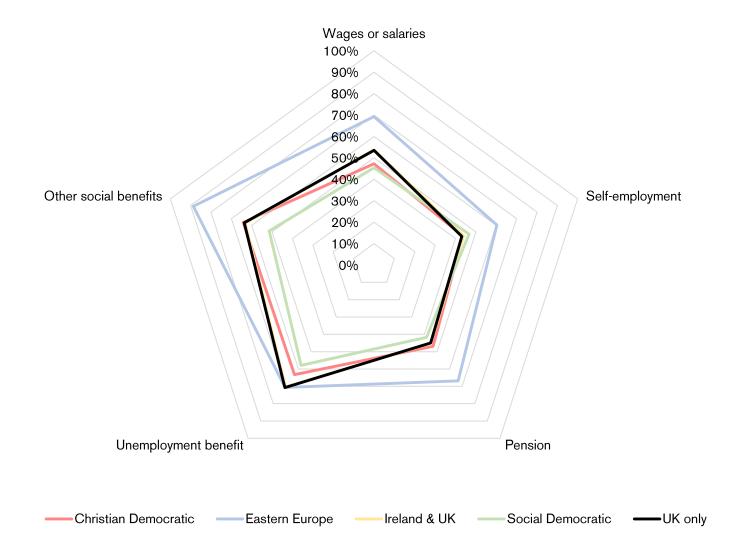
#### **Basic Income: main source of income**





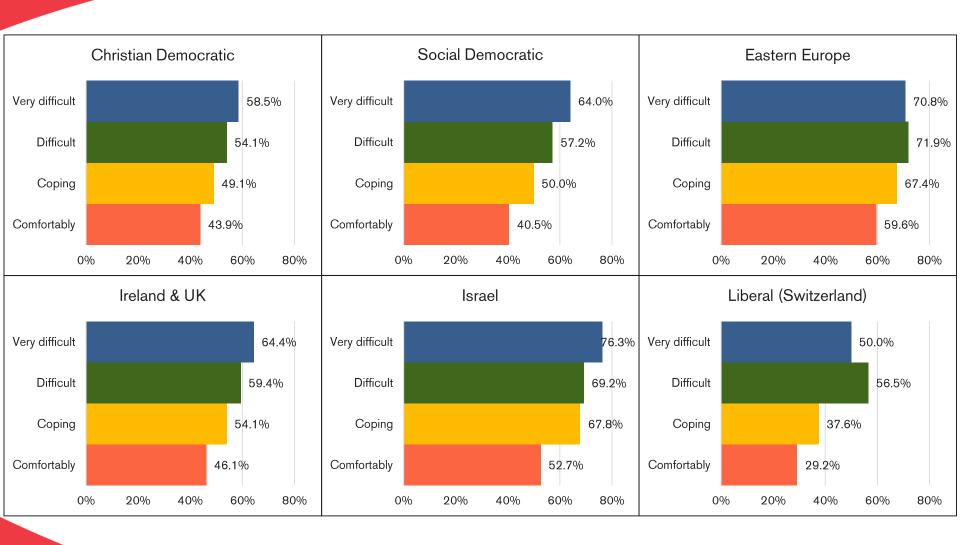
### Main source of income (UK)





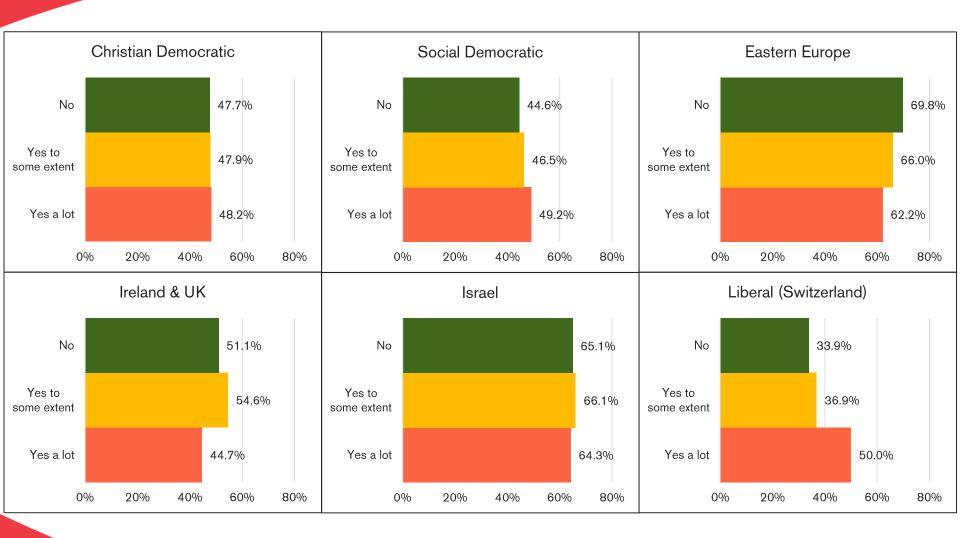
### Feeling of household income





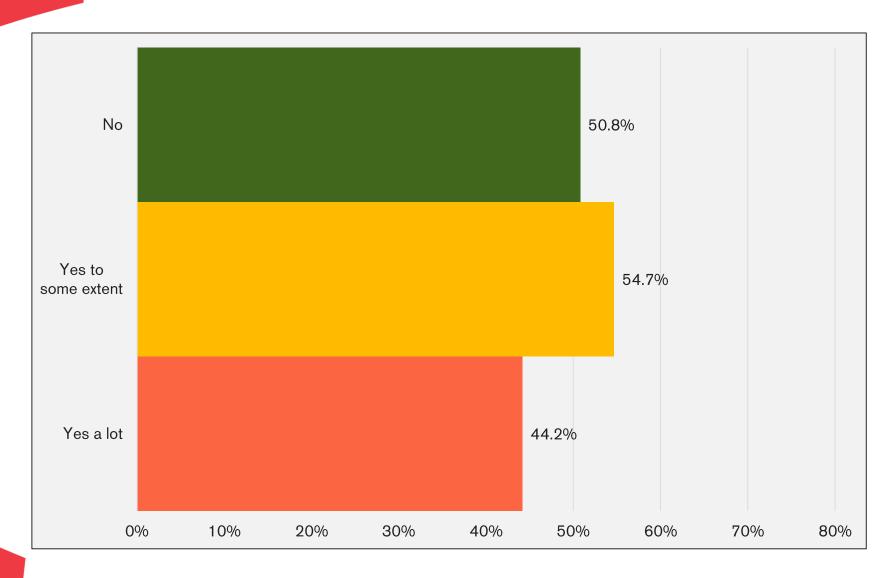
### Hampered by illness/disability





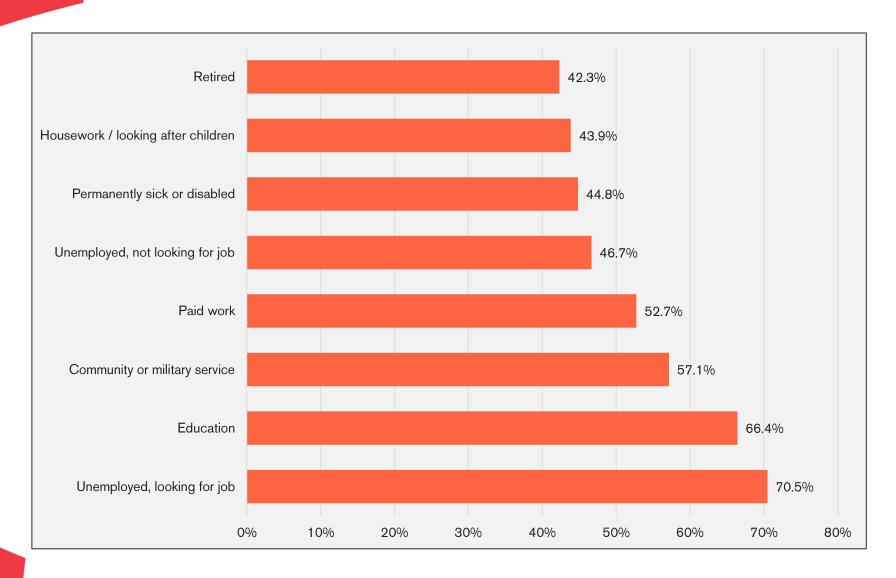
# Hampered by illness/disability (UK)





### **Basic Income: support by activity (UK)**







# **CONCLUSION**

# **Basic Income: Logistic Regression**



		Survey									
	95% C.I.for										
	В	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	EXP(B)				
							Lower	Upper			
Female	.007	.026	.064	1	.800	1.007	.956	1.060			
Age (0-34)			157.494	3	.000						
35-54	355	.034	106.152	1	.000	.701	.656	.750			
55-64	445	.041	118.003	1	.000	.641	.591	.694			
65+	357	.041	75.819	1	.000	.699	.645	.758			
Education (years)	.006	.004	1.832	1	.176	1.006	.998	1.014			
Unemployed	.140	.030	21.846	1	.000	1.150	1.085	1.219			
Left-right (left)			102.897	2	.000						
Center	203	.032	39.655	1	.000	.816	.766	.869			
Right	337	.033	101.239	1	.000	.714	.669	.762			
Low income (1-5 decile)	.121	.030	16.108	1	.000	1.129	1.064	1.197			
Feeling income (living comfortably)			156.113	2	.000						
Coping	.262	.032	68.998	1	.000	1.300	1.222	1.383			
Difficult on present income	.571	.046	152.375	1	.000	1.770	1.616	1.937			
Disability	030	.031	.944	1	.331	.971	.914	1.031			
No religion	.150	.027	29.970	1	.000	1.162	1.101	1.226			
Domicile (Farm/home in countryside)			30.880	4	.000						
Big city	.028	.070	.165	1	.684	1.029	.897	1.180			
Suburbs	199	.073	7.479	1	.006	.820	.711	.945			
Town/small city	147	.066	5.015	1	.025	.863	.758	.982			
Country/village	108	.066	2.662	1	.103	.897	.788	1.022			
Welfare groups (Uk/Ireland)			347.491	5	.000						
Social dem	192	.053	12.836	1	.000	.826	.744	.917			
Chris dem	120	.039	9.585	1	.002	.887	.822	.957			
Liberal CH	635	.102	38.542	1	.000	.530	.434	.648			
E Europe	.497	.047	109.803	1	.000	1.644	1.498	1.804			
Israel	.533	.126	17.728	1	.000	1.703	1.329	2.182			
Control Variables											
Benefits only low income people	.384	.027	200.585	1	.000	1.469	1.393	1.549			
Positive attitude toward immigration	.148	.015	102.839	1	.000	1.159	1.127	1.193			
Constant	.010	.103	.009	1	.926	1.010					

### **Main Findings**



- Preliminary analysis only
- Welfare attitudes quite stable between 2008-2016
- Decreases in acceptance of large income differences
- Signs that support for giving financial assistance to elderly declined by 2016
- Respondents generally able to answer question about Basic Income
- Perhaps support of UBI more solid than opposition?
- Main drivers of support: youth, unemployed, students
- Gender, class and education level not generally drivers



#### **CONTACT**

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- in european-social-survey