

Money for everyone?

An appendix to chapter 13

Political ideologies and arguments for a Citizen's Income

Introduction

The question which this essay tackles is this: Is a Citizen's Income politically feasible? Not simply: Is a Citizen's Income politically feasible in the context of today's particular political configuration? But: Is a Citizen's Income politically feasible in the context of any existing or likely near-future Western democratic political configuration? I shall not consider political configurations, such as dictatorship, which might develop from serious social crisis. I shall regard the period since the Second World War as offering a useful variety of continuing possibilities, but I shall not restrict myself to the list which that choice might generate.

The matrix

In order to construct a usable matrix of political ideologies I set out from a conceptual structure developed by Hartley Dean in his *Understanding Human Need* (Dean, 2010).

Need can be understood as either inherent or interpreted. 'Inherent' need is need which belongs to every human being simply by virtue of our being human – and straightaway we are into a variety of ways of understanding need because the different ways in which we understand our human nature result in different understandings of inherent need. If we understand ourselves as utilitarian subjects then our needs will be understood as objective interests; if we understand ourselves as market actors, then our needs will be understood as subjective preferences; if we understand ourselves as psychological beings, then our needs will be understood as inner drives; and if we understand ourselves as members of a species, then we will understand our needs as (evolved) constitutive characteristics. Social policy is about the meeting of need, so how we understand need matters, which means that how we understand ourselves as human beings matters.

Human need can also be understood as 'interpreted need': that is, our understanding of need is drawn from our experience of society and its culture. (Dean recognises that there is an interpreted aspect to all need. 'Interpreted need' here refers to need *understood* as interpreted). All understanding of need is culturally specific, so, for instance, in our consumer society consumerism generates our understanding of need. Social policy relates to need as we understand it, and so relates to normative (i.e., expert-defined), felt, expressed, and comparative needs, with their respective discovery methods: for instance, participatory methods for discovering expressed needs.

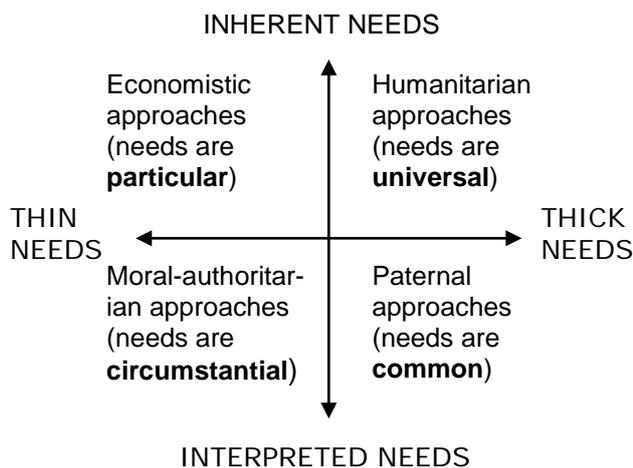
If poverty is understood in terms of unmet need, then inequality is understood as a risk that some people's needs might not be met. Social exclusion is then understood as exclusion from needs satisfaction, capabilities as the extent to which people are free to meet their needs, and 'recognition' as the extent to which people's needs are recognised. A tension underlying each discussion is that between the individual's autonomy and our interdependency within society, and the related question: To what extent are my needs purely my own, and to what extent are they generated by and understood within our societal relationships?

A second distinction which Dean explores is that between 'thin' and 'thick' needs. Needs are understood as 'thin' if 'the human subject is abstractly construed as a calculative actor without regard for her "true self" or social identity. Such understandings are premised on assumptions about the nature of utility on the one hand, and of human happiness on the other.' (Dean, 2010: 101). Needs are understood as 'thick' if 'the human subject is substantively construed as an embodied and socially situated being.' (Dean, 2010: 107-108). Dean gives a variety of expressions to his thin / thick distinction, but underlying all of them is the distinction between need as individual and need

as social, and much of his book is taken up with exploring this distinction through discussion of differing theoretical standpoints.

In the course of this exploration he develops a taxonomy of need constructed from the two main distinctions so far discussed: that between inherent and interpreted needs and that between thin and thick needs. Each resulting quadrant gives rise to a different social policy approach:

Figure 1: *A taxonomy of needs-based approaches* (Dean, 2010: 120, figure 7.1)



Dean then explores the ways in which needs imply rights. A further fourfold taxonomy is developed based on the distinction between ‘doctrinal’ (or normative) rights and claims-based (asserted) rights, and the distinction between understanding ourselves as autonomous subjects (thin needs) and as potentially vulnerable and therefore interdependent subjects (thick needs). Each quadrant generates rights understood in particular ways: for instance, doctrinal rights and an understanding of the person as vulnerable generate citizenship rights based on needs understood as universal. Dean then shows how each of Esping-Andersen’s welfare regime types prefers a particular category of rights: liberal welfare regimes selective rights, conservative regimes protective rights, social democratic regimes citizenship rights, and all of them conditional rights: and he offers a detailed critique of the ‘welfare citizenship’ to which social democracy has given birth.

Dean’s own ideal ‘would be an open understanding of human needs that are universal, not merely circumstantial, yet which can accommodate a variety of ... particular and common needs.’ (Dean, 2010: 184). His particular policy proposal is local social rights councils, but it could equally well have been a Citizen’s Income, which understands needs to be universal, which can recognise both particular and common needs, and which can promote both social engagement and self-fulfilment. (Citizen’s Income Trust, 2011).

My exploration of political ideologies and arguments for a Citizen’s Income sets out from Dean’s taxonomy (Dean, 2010: 120, 146: figures 7.1 and 8.1) and extends it by adding understandings of our relationship to the economy (Figure 2).

The connection between an understanding of need as inherent, and an understanding of the economy as a human construct which in principle we can control, is a deep one. If we believe that needs are inherent then we shall understand the economy in relation to those needs, we won’t be able to regard the economy’s present condition as inevitable or ultimate, and we shall believe that the economy can be adapted to meet our inherent needs as that’s the only way in which we can

create coherence between our understanding of need as inherent and our understanding of the ways in which the economy works.

The connection between the understanding of need as inherent and our understanding of the economy as a given independent entity is equally deep. If we believe that the economy is a given, then we shall have to understand our needs in relation to that given entity. Our needs will therefore be economically determined and must therefore be understood as interpreted.

The basic difference between the two connections is the starting-point. An understanding of the connection between need understood as inherent and the economy understood as a changeable human construct sets out from an understanding of human need. An understanding of the connection between need understood as interpreted and the economy understood as a given independent entity sets out from an understanding of the economy.

Dean's 'economistic' approach, which coheres with needs understood as particular and as both thin and inherent, sees individuals as economic actors, potentially able to make their way in an economy which is pliable to their activity. The 'humanitarian' approach, in which needs are seen as both thick and inherent, the economy is an instrument to be controlled in order to create social justice within which universal needs can be met. A common factor in both of these approaches is that the economy is regarded as subject to human agency, either by individuals making it serve their own objectives or by society as a whole using the economy as an instrument for a social end.

The 'paternalistic' approach, which coheres with needs understood as common, and as both thick and interpreted, assumes an inevitability about the hierarchical structure of society within which the economy is treated as a given: a structure within which the more important hierarchical ordering of society takes place and within which weaker members of the community are cared for by the stronger. Similarly, in the context of the 'moral-authoritarian' approach, which coheres with needs seen as circumstantial, and as both thin and interpreted, success is survival within a highly unequal society. Again, the economy is taken as a given which creates winners and losers; but unlike the paternalist approach, the moral-authoritarian approach calls on the less advantaged in society to seek redemption by keeping a rigid set of rules. A common factor in both of these approaches is that the economy is taken as a given structure within which a functioning society has to be created.

The extended table thus identifies the economy taken as a given with needs understood as both interpreted and claims-based, and the economy as subject to human control with needs understood as both inherent and doctrinal. (It is because of these identifications that I have rotated Dean's tables through 90°.) These connections are no accident. To understand needs as inherent to one's humanity is to assume that we can manipulate our context – which includes the economy – in order to meet them. Seeing the economy as a human construct which we can continue to influence is to regard human beings as agents who can, together or individually, work to meet the needs inherent to being human. To understand needs as interpreted is to be subject to a social context, and it is coherent with that to regard the economy as one of a number of elements of the given social situation which defines our needs. To understand the economy as a given is to know that we cannot change it in order to meet need and so is to know that only need defined by a society which takes its situation as a given can be met within that society.

Within this more elaborate map we can locate a wide variety of political ideologies. Each political ideology is composed of a variety of factors, often in quite complex relationships with each other. By providing a rich matrix I hope to have provided a context within which to discuss each ideological position in such a way that I retain each one's complexity. For the ideologies described, my task is then to study arguments both for and against a Citizen's Income which arise within them. For each ideological position I shall also seek out arguments for and against a Citizen's Income actually offered by the ideology's proponents. Connections and differences between the two sets of arguments will be discussed. A final section for each ideology will discuss how it expects contingencies income to be provided: that is, income during unemployment, maternity, sickness, disability, and retirement.

An ideology is a conceptual construct. Politics is inevitably more messy than any possible ideology. The matrix is of a variety of ideologies: four 'pure' and five 'hybrid' varieties, the hybrid ones coping with ambiguity and complexity in relation to its understanding of the economy (as both given and changeable), in relation to its understanding of the individual (as both autonomous and a member of a community), or in relation to both.

I call them 'political ideologies' because they are conceptual constructions which inform political action, but no real-world politics is ever entirely determined by any of the ideologies described in the matrix.

Like Dean's diagrams and his descriptions of social policy approaches, my diagrams and my descriptions are heuristic: that is, they are thought-experiments which might be educational. Real-world politics in relation to the tax and benefits system is informed by numerous interlocking factors, and not least by departmental interests; but the current exercise might still offer something useful to the making of social policy. If we find that in almost no political ideologies the arguments for a Citizen's Income generated from within the ideology and actually made by the ideology's proponents outweigh the arguments against, then we shall know that it will be an uphill struggle to argue for a Citizen's Income. If, however, we find that in most political ideologies the arguments for a Citizen's Income outweigh the arguments against, then we shall be encouraged to argue for the legislative changes necessary to establish a Citizen's Income and to manage the necessary transitional stages.

I have concentrated my attention on two cases at opposite ends of a diagonal of the diagram: the New Right and Socialism: the former because it is now a global ideology and every other ideology needs to respond to it or risk irrelevance, and the latter because it is in many ways its polar opposite and thus an implicit heuristic device for those opposed to the New Right. If for both of these political ideologies the arguments against a Citizen's Income are stronger than those for it, then it isn't worth studying the other positions.

The New Right
<i>The ideology</i>
<p>We are self-interested individuals. Our relationships are economic and contractual and are for mutual benefit. We're on our own in a harsh world, and if we all act on that basis then it will be better for everybody.</p> <p>Anthony Giddens defines the 'New Right' (or 'neoliberalism', or 'Thatcherism') in terms of 'minimal government, autonomous civil society, market fundamentalism, moral authoritarianism (plus strong economic individuation), a labour market which clears like any other, acceptance of inequality traditionalist nationalism, the welfare state as a safety net, linear modernization, low ecological consciousness, a realist theory of the international order ... The welfare state is seen as the source of all evils in much the same way capitalism once was by the revolutionary left' (Giddens, 1998: 8, 13).</p> <p>It is a mistake to call the New Right 'conservative'. It isn't. It is quite happy to dispense with time-honoured institutions. It is in many ways a radical version of classical liberalism with an added dose of moral prescription.</p>
<i>How the ideology views society</i>
<p>'There is no such thing as society. There is living tapestry of men and women and people and the beauty of that tapestry and the quality of our lives will depend upon how much each of us is prepared to take responsibility for ourselves and each of us prepared to turn round and help by our own efforts those who are unfortunate.' (Thatcher, 1987) But having said that, there are 'classes' within society, and in particular an 'underclass': 'Britain has a growing population of working-aged healthy people who live in a different world from other Britons, who are raising their children to live in it, and whose values are now contaminating the life of entire neighbourhoods ... large numbers of young, healthy, low-income males choose not to take jobs ... A key to an underclass is ... a situation in which a very large proportion of an entire community lacks fathers, ...' (Murray, 1996: 25, 37, 33: a reprint of an article published in 1989).</p>
<i>How the ideology views the economy</i>
<p>The economy is constructed out of contracts between individual actors. It's global, and free trade is the route to national and individual prosperity. Each individual must make the best of their economic potential, and that self-interested effort benefits others. 'By directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention.' (Smith, 1776: bk.4, ch.2, §9)</p> <p>The New Right's political standpoint is best understand positively as a belief that free markets deliver wealth for all, and negatively that attempts to equalise wealth have the inevitable effect of making people poor and keeping them that way. There are both practical and more theoretical positions.</p> <p>The more theoretical position is that redistribution is theft from the wealthy. The more practical argument is that redistribution requires progressive taxation and/or means-testing, and that such methods are a 'deterrent to hard work' (Joseph and Sumption, 1979: 19, 23-4). 'It is only a modest degree of redistribution which can be justified in the name of relieving</p>

poverty' (Joseph and Sumption, 1979: 27).
<i>How the ideology views human need</i>
Needs are circumstantial. Where there is need which isn't someone's fault then friends, family and neighbours will exercise compassion, and as a last resort the state will provide for necessities. If need is someone's fault then it's up to them to change their behaviour.
<i>How the ideology views rights</i>
Each individual has a right to equality before the law, to protection of their person, and to protection of property, but otherwise all relationships are contracts and so are conditional on people accepting mutual obligations.
<i>How the ideology views the state</i>
A minimal state is required, and it must not get in the way of the market: but the practice often denies the theory. 'Egalitarians rely for the achievement of their objects on the coercive power of the State', which means a choice between 'liberty and equality' (Joseph and Sumption, 1979: 47); but it is surely also true that the New Right relies on the state to provide a robust context for business, to enforce welfare conditions, and to care for those who cannot earn an income. One possibility, of course, is to remove functions from direct political control, as many countries have now removed control of their central banks from direct government control. A simpler benefits system would be amenable to the same treatment.
<i>How the ideology views citizenship</i>
'Citizenship' means permission to live in the UK and entails such obligations as supporting oneself and one's family.
<i>Arguments for a Citizen's Income generated by the ideology</i>
A Citizen's Income would facilitate a free market in labour as earned income would no longer need to provide for the whole of someone's household's subsistence. Working age adults have an obligation to provide for themselves and their families as best they can in the context of a free market economy. This isn't the state's role. There should therefore be as few disincentives as possible in the way of people seeking and keeping employment and improving their skills so that they can improve their ability to earn an income. Means-tested benefits impose disincentives because they are withdrawn as earned income rises. Universal benefits don't do that.
<i>Arguments against a Citizen's Income generated by the ideology</i>
Only a last-resort safety net should be provided, because if someone falls on hard times then it's up to them, their families, their friends and their neighbours to provide for them. Something for nothing could discourage labour market activity.
<i>Arguments actually made for a Citizen's Income</i>
Concerns about 'dependency at the bottom of society' (Mead, 1992: ix) drive the New Right's interest in a Citizen's Income. Charles Murray charts the way in which in the USA welfare provisions of the 1960s and '70s 'tried to provide more for the poor and produced more poor instead. We tried to remove the barriers to escape poverty, and inadvertently built a trap' (Murray, 1984: 9). Rising unemployment, single-parenthood, and welfare dependency, became 'rational responses to changes in the rules of the game of surviving and getting ahead' (Murray, 1984: 155). A rather extreme solution to the problem is Charles Murray's: 'Compulsory transfers from

one person to another are uncomfortably like robbery ... If we are even a little bit wrong about the consequences of the transfer, we are likely to do great injustices to people who least deserve to bear the burden ... Social programs in a democratic society ... tend to have enough of an inducement to produce bad behaviour and not enough of a solution to produce good behaviour ...' (Murray, 1984: 204, 218). He asks his readers to consider 'scrapping the entire federal welfare and income-support structure for working-age persons ...' in order to force people into the job market, with unemployment insurance being retained to fill in short-term gaps (Murray, 1984: 227, 230; cf. Murray, 1996: 50). He recommends a similar solution for illegitimacy rates: that 'childbearing entails economic penalties for a single woman' (Murray, 1996: 127) and that the benefits system should stop penalising marriage, as it currently does (Murray, 1996: 124-5).

Murray suggests that a Negative Income Tax could help to solve the problems which he identifies (Murray, 1996: 125). A Citizen's Income would have the same effect: that is, it would remove any incentive to apply for cash benefits, because everyone would be receiving them anyway; and it would provide no disincentive to applying for employment opportunities. At the same time, it wouldn't plunge into destitution those who, for whatever reason, had no other income – or their children. (Yes, there would still be some gaps, as the Citizen's Income would be unlikely to be at subsistence level: but there is a big difference between getting every individual a long way towards a subsistence income and leaving those without work with no income at all.)

Arguments actually made against a Citizen's Income

During the Conservative Party conference 2010, after the Chancellor of the Exchequer had announced that a household containing a higher rate taxpayer would be deprived of its Child Benefit, televised members of the audience suggested that 'They don't need it' and 'the money should be targeted on the poor'.

How the ideology expects contingencies income to be provided

Individuals should make their own arrangements through insurance, private pensions, and joining occupational pension schemes. Contributory benefits should be the state's contribution, with means-tested benefits as a last resort.

Socialism (and communism)
<i>The ideology</i>
<p>‘Socialism’ has a variety of meanings. It can mean an ideal society in which all contribute according to their ability, and all consume according to their need, in perfect harmony and without coercion. It can mean a democratically elected government nationalising major industries in order to provide subsidised public services and profits for redistribution. It can mean an oligopoly controlling the means of production on behalf of a population. It can mean local control of the means of production, or a network of co-operative enterprises. It can mean workers managing industries. It can mean a government providing universal public services and redistributing wealth and income from rich to poor ...</p> <p>Underlying each of these approaches is the conviction that we are all members of the human race and so share a fundamental human equality which needs to be given effect in social and economic relations. ‘From each according to his ability, to each according to his need.’ (Karl Marx, <i>Critique of the Gotha Programme</i>).</p> <p>Communism means ‘the abolition of private property ... Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means or such appropriation ... The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy. The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible’ (Marx, 1967: 96, 99, 104). Whether we should call the drafting of men into industrial armies (Marx, 1967: 105) so that they can work for wages in state-run factories ‘communism’, as Marx does, is of course an interesting question.</p> <p>Socialism as ‘State capitalism’ nationalises major industries so that the profits accrue to the Government and can be used to fund public services; or, alternatively, so that those industries can provide public services without Government payment for those services providing profits for private enterprise. The problem, of course, is that nationalised industries can make losses, and, if they have a monopoly, they can be inefficient. They can also have employment practices as diverse as those of the private sector, leading Tony Benn to suggest that ‘ownership ought not to be the sole source of management authority in public or private enterprise’ (Benn, 1974: 31). State socialism isn’t necessarily democratic, and democracy doesn’t always (in fact, often doesn’t) deliver socialist governments, so to be committed to <i>democratic</i> socialism is a political choice: a choice which itself has a variety of possible meanings. It can mean a country’s electorate choosing to vote for a socialist government. It can also mean democracy from below: ‘the supremacy of conscience over the law ... the accountability of power to the people ... the sovereignty of the people over Parliament’ (Benn, 1974: 165). This is what Alex Callinicos calls ‘revolutionary socialism ... socialism from below’, and it looks to ‘the power of the working class to transform society ... The working people of the world would co-operate together, rather than being chained to warring nation-states.’ (Callinicos, 1983: 9, 20).</p> <p>A somewhat more realistic vision is for an essentially free market economy which is regulated so as to serve the interests of workers, and a society organised so that ‘people who cannot contribute full to social production are still entitled to share substantially in its wealth ... in which inequalities of ability and differences of social function do not crystallise into major and persistent social inequalities of wealth and power’ (Breitenbach et al, 1990: 22).</p>
<i>How the ideology views society</i>

Ideally, a solidaristic reality, within which our individuality finds its meaning.
<i>How the ideology views the economy</i>
To serve society, the state as our representative owns capital. All produce is for the benefit of all, so that all can consume, preferably equally. During a transition phase the state owns the capital of 'commanding heights' industries.
<i>How the ideology views human need</i>
Needs are universal. We all have the same needs, though there are also some differences
<i>How the ideology views rights</i>
We all have a right to an equal provision of income and public services by virtue of being citizens, and during a transition phase, workers have rights to the surplus created by their labour. Rights are prior to obligations, and socialism recognises reciprocity as a social activity, and not just as a contract between the individual and the State: We all rely every day, to a large extent implicitly, on countless acts that look forward to other reciprocal acts that we expect in the future, or reflect actions that have assisted us in the past; we rely, that is, on the performance of duties. Reciprocity stretches over time and space. Neither mothers nor all those engaged in caring work or education demand an immediate reciprocal contribution from, for example, young children, the sick, inform, elderly, or pupils in return for benefits; their work is not conditional upon a contribution. Indeed, love, not expectation of reciprocity, is seen as motivating the work of wives and mothers. Providing for the welfare of citizens and the work of, and time devoted to, the social reproduction of citizens who can actively participate in a democratic polity cannot depend on immediate reciprocal contributions. (Pateman, 2005: 56) 'Most people do not want to be idle' (Pateman, 2005: 52), so they will reciprocate if given a Citizen's Income. After all, we don't require prior reciprocation before someone visits their GP or has their appendix out (though that might come, of course). For Pateman, one of the important arguments for a Citizen's Income is that it would remove some of the disincentives to employment at the same time as causing the quality of employment to improve so that workers might want it (Pateman, 2005: 53, 54, 56).
<i>How the ideology views the state</i>
The state is a political representation of a society of equals. It will dissolve when true socialism arrives. During a transition phase the state's task is to guarantee workers' rights. The problem which Callinicos identifies is that speculators will always threaten the currency of any nation state which attempts to take control of capital, so government-led socialism could only work on a global scale. Until that happens 'every country ... is part of the capitalist world system' (Callinicos, 1983: 60) and 'the State is an instrument of class rule. It is the final guarantee of class power. Reformism starts out trying to use this State. It ends up serving its class interests' - and trades unions will continue to serve their own members' interests within the existing system. (Callinicos, 1983: 26, 27).
<i>How the ideology views citizenship</i>
Citizenship is a given for every resident, and if social reproduction rather than work in the money economy is regarded as the main task of citizens, then employment is no longer the gateway to citizenship. Social reproduction should be the citizen's aim, and shouldn't be regarded as a 'drag on profit-making'. 'The connection of employment to citizenship is at

best indirect' (Pateman, 2005, 44, 43).
<i>Arguments for a Citizen's Income generated by the ideology</i>
A Citizen's Income represents social provision for universal needs. (Other provision is required for differentiated needs.)
<i>Arguments against a Citizen's Income generated by the ideology</i>
During the transition to socialism, a Citizen's Income might depress wages meaning that capitalist profits might rise and workers' share of the product of their labour might be reduced.
<i>Arguments actually made for a Citizen's Income</i>
<p>Alex Callinicos seeks steps on the way to socialism, and he recommends a Citizen's Income:</p> <p>The basis of capital's power lies ... in its control of production, not in the financial markets. One of the attractions of the idea that every citizen be granted as of right a basic income set, say, at a level that would allow them to meet their socially recognized subsistence needs is that it could help to emancipate workers from the dictatorship of capital. Such a basic income would radically alter the bargaining power between labour and capital, since potential workers would now be in a position, if they chose, to pursue alternatives to paid employment. Moreover, because all citizens would receive the same basic income (perhaps with adjustments for economic handicaps such as age, disability, and dependent children), its introduction would be an important step towards establishing equality of access to advantage. (Callinicos, 2003: 134)</p> <p>A basic income is the emblem of full citizenship, and provides the security required to maintain that political standing and individual self-government. Both the vote and a basic income can be seen as fundamental rights ... A basic income provides the life-long security that helps safeguard other rights, ensures that citizens are able – that is, have the opportunities and means – genuinely to enjoy their freedom, and helps promote respect' (Pateman, 2005: 37, 50).</p> <p>Breitenbach et al argue that a Citizen's Income would both reduce inequality, end what they call the 'dull compulsion to labour', and 'end once and for all the pre-eminent place of commodity production under capitalism' (Breitenbach et al, 1990: 31). They envisage people's being made up of some or all of: a Citizen's Income; a supplement for people with disabilities, incapacity, caring responsibilities, or old age; 'a wage earned in a state enterprise, the wage plus dividend of a co-operative, or the income from independent labour' [- they envisage the abolition of large privately-owned capitalist enterprises], and interest from savings in a state bank (Breitenbach et al, 1990: 31-2). The Citizen's Income 'would be an unconditional regular weekly payment made of all adults. Its main purpose would be to reduce the extent of reliance on wage labour as the determinant of individual and household incomes. The existence of the basic income would also reduce the proportional inequality between the highest and the lowest personal and household incomes since it would represent a higher proportional addition to the funds available to low-income recipients. The universal basic income would also perform another important function: it would allow individuals to choose whether to work or not. Initially, basic income would need to be set at a level low enough just to allow a bare existence without income from work for those who wished to live in this way. It seems to us unlikely that many people would actually choose this as a mode of life except for short periods, but the fact that it would be possible to live in this fashion would considerably reduce the monitoring, surveillance and enforcement of regulations on the duty to work that would otherwise be necessary' (Breitenbach et al, 1990: 33). A Citizen's Income would encourage more people to work for themselves or in co-operatives and would provide</p>

more people with a genuine choice between part-time and full-time paid work (Breitenbach et al, 1990: 81-2, 78).

Because the Citizen's Income, along with the supplement for care work which they envisage, would provide those caring for others with a reasonable subsistence income, the 'social economy' which Breitenbach et al envisage 'can provide a new material base for genuine equality of life between the sexes' (Breitenbach et al, 1990: 93). This would be very different from the capitalist society in which we now live, which values by payment the production of commodities (including services bought and sold as commodities) and doesn't value by payment the care work which people do for one another.

Their final argument is that a Citizen's Income would promote artistic activity (Breitenbach, 1990: 108).

But for Breitenbach et al, a Citizen's Income isn't *simply* a feasible instrument for promoting a viable socialism under present conditions. They also see it as one of a number of proposals which 'contain within them a dynamic' towards communism. In such a society the Citizen's Income could grow as a percentage of income and into 'an equal dividend for all citizens from the wealth they collectively produce' (Breitenbach, 1990: 141).

Arguments actually made against a Citizen's Income

Esam et al suggest that a Citizen's Income would be a 'subsidy to wages' - 'Employers should be compelled to meet the costs of employing the labour from which they derive a benefit', without recognising that a tax allowance - which they intend to retain - also operates as a subsidy to wages, and that profits to capital have only a partial relationship to wages paid to workers (which Esam et al should know, as they've read Karl Marx on the issue). Their major complaint, though, and the one about which they are most emphatic, is that to pay a Citizen's Income would make 'economic planning' impossible. They would rather see 'selective subsidies to those jobs which met collectively determined needs for employment and for services'. They don't say why that would be incompatible with turning tax allowances into a Citizen's Income. Their final complaint is that a Citizen's Income would not entirely solve the problem of inequality, which is of course true but is no argument against a Citizen's Income. (Esam et al, 1985: 53).

How the ideology expects contingencies income to be provided

Universal provision such as Child Benefit, state contributory benefits, means-tested benefits.

Global migrant labour
<i>The ideology</i>
I'll go where I can make money.
<i>How the ideology views society</i>
The world is my country. I might have significant relatives in one place or in several, so those places might be special; and I need some country's passport – but I belong wherever I am
<i>How the ideology views the economy</i>
A global free market offers plenty of opportunity for me to make some money
<i>How the ideology views human need</i>
Human need is what I need for wealth and preferably happiness as well.
<i>How the ideology views rights</i>
I have a right to travel, to enter whatever country I wish, and to seek and take employment.
<i>How the ideology views the state</i>
Wherever I am, the state provides security, and I try not to cause it any problems.
<i>How the ideology views citizenship</i>
I am a citizen of the world.
<i>Arguments for a Citizen's Income generated by the ideology</i>
A global Citizen's Income would do nicely. When I'm where my passport says that I belong, it would be nice to receive one, but I don't see why I shouldn't receive one elsewhere if I pay tax on my earned income.
<i>Arguments against a Citizen's Income generated by the ideology</i>
If there are residency conditions attached to a Citizen's Income then I'm not entitled to it if I've only just arrived, which doesn't seem fair. A CI could depress wage levels, so if I'm not receiving the CI then I shall be disadvantaged.
<i>Arguments actually made for a Citizen's Income</i>
<i>Arguments actually made against a Citizen's Income</i>
<i>How the ideology expects contingencies income to be provided</i>
Private provision via offshore banks, offshore private pensions, and offshore insurance companies.

Liberalism
<i>The ideology</i>
Individual freedom is the highest human aspiration. Together we can create the conditions for that. As Samuel Brittan puts it: ‘It is individuals who feel, exult, despair and rejoice. And statements about group welfare are a shorthand way of referring to such individual effects. (Brittan, 1998: 11). The individual’s effort is the heart of economic activity, but ‘there is nothing inherently right about the pattern of rewards produced by the combination of inheritance and the market’, so what’s needed is ‘a framework of rules – including, if necessary, redistributive taxation and transfers – by which a market economy can be induced to serve broader objectives.’ (Brittan, 1998: 42).
<i>How the ideology views society</i>
A society of free individuals, together maintaining the conditions for individual liberty.
<i>How the ideology views the economy</i>
Free trade between individuals is the heart of a national economy, and similarly free trade between nations is the heart of the global economy. Regulation is required to optimise the economy in order to foster the greatest possible individual liberty. A free market in labour maintains the individual’s autonomy as well as being efficient. The problem is that under current circumstances a free market in labour is generating a wide dispersion of wage rates and therefore significant social inequality. As Samuel Brittan puts it: ‘The key problem for European economic and social policy is how to obtain the benefits of a flexible US style labour market, without US poverty or US ghettos.’ (Brittan and Webb, 1990: 5).
<i>How the ideology views human need</i>
Needs are particular, in relation to barriers to autonomy. Together we can meet these needs.
<i>How the ideology views rights</i>
The fundamental right is to individual liberty, and thus to the conditions for that – and so to equality of opportunity.
<i>How the ideology views the state</i>
The state is an instrument for promoting individual freedom and therefore needs to control whatever conflicts with individual autonomy.
<i>How the ideology views citizenship</i>
Our citizenship is our freedom in relation to other people, the economy, and the state.
<i>Arguments for a Citizen’s Income generated by the ideology</i>
A Citizen’s Income would enable people more easily to choose their employment pattern and would therefore enhance individual autonomy.
<i>Arguments against a Citizen’s Income generated by the ideology</i>
Would a Citizen’s Income compromise the individual’s autonomy?
<i>Arguments actually made for a Citizen’s Income</i>
The poverty and unemployment traps make the ‘ladder of opportunity’ rather shaky, and a

Citizen's Income would ameliorate these traps and thus encourage people to seek out new economic opportunities; and 'it is positively desirable that people should have a means of subsistence independent of needs' because this would 'separate the libertarian, free choice aspects of capitalism from the puritan work ethic' (Brittan and Webb 1990: 2). Brittan sees a Citizen's Income 'not as a handout, but as a property right': as a 'return on the national capital' (Brittan and Webb, 1990: 3).

A Citizen's Income is 'a superior alternative to the minimum wage ... Minimum wages represent just that kind of interference with markets which does most harm. ... Those most likely to suffer are just the people whom the proponents of minimum wages say they most want to help. They include those on the fringes of the labour market or on the borderline of disablement or other incapacity ... and all the others who face a choice between low pay and no pay. Minimum wages are a denial of the human right to sell one's labour to a willing buyer and to make one's own decision about whether or not to take paid work at going rates.' (Brittan and Webb, 1990: 7). A recent exchange in Parliament (17th June 2011, between Philip Davies MP and Edward Leigh MP) raised precisely this issue in relation to people with disabilities who couldn't find employment at the National Minimum Wage but might be able to do so for a lower wage.

Arguments actually made against a Citizen's Income

It's too expensive (Goodwin, 1994). A Citizen's Income is 'underpinned by a negative image of humankind as weak, vulnerable and isolated. The basic thrust of this sentiment is that people cannot cope within the harsh environment of globalised capitalism without state assistance' (Richardt, 2011).

How the ideology expects contingencies income to be provided

The individual should choose from a variety of private, occupational, contributory and means-tested provision.

The Co-operative Movement / Old Labour
<i>The ideology</i>
<p>People working together can make things better for themselves and for their society.</p> <p>These two movements occupy the same position in figure 2, but for different reasons, so I shall study them separately.</p> <p><i>The Co-operative movement</i> is a broad movement, with many often competing definitions. I take the term to mean individuals freely working together for mutual advantage. Those individuals might not change the economy as a whole, but they can change those aspects of it which relate to them. For instance: members of a traditional UK Co-operative Society can use their joint buying power to reduce prices, and they can retain the profits of their retail operation and return to the business or distribute them to members. Similarly, producers can work together to reduce their marketing and other costs, and by together becoming a sizeable producer in a particular field can influence the price level.</p> <p><i>Old Labour</i> is the Labour Party up to its defeat in the 1979 General Election, and the Trade Union activity which was its institutional base. The Trades Unions can be regarded as workers' co-operatives. By working together, workers in an industry can influence their terms and conditions and can to some extent determine their pay rates. They might not be able to influence the economy as a whole, but they can influence their part of it. By forming the Labour Party, Trades Unions hoped to benefit their members by seeking power and, amongst other things, by nationalising major industries. The economies of those industries could therefore be controlled to some extent.</p> <p>The major difference between these two movements and socialism is that the co-operative and trade union movements assume groups of individuals freely working together for their mutual benefit, rather than members of an entire society finding that they belong to a society which has moved in a socialist direction. This is why both the co-operative movement and Old Labour hover between seeing the individual as autonomous and as being a vulnerable member of a community. The two movements are in practice influencing only elements of the economy, but in principle they are treating the economy as malleable, which is why they are to the right of that particular spectrum. For both movements, needs are inherent, are understood by the movements' members, and can be satisfied by people working together. They are not defined by anyone outside the movements. Needs can be either universal or particular, and rights either regarded as citizenship rights or as selective rights. The general approach is humanitarian, and also economic in a corporate sense.</p> <p>The movements' definitions allow for definition at different levels. The 'co-operative movement' can mean a small group of individuals working together, or it can mean the entire movement; and the trade union movement can mean either members of a branch seeking a safer working environment or the entire movement represented by the Trade Union Congress.</p>
<i>How the ideology views society</i>
Society is made up of classes, and the working class has to create its own wellbeing through the mechanism of trades unions and co-operative societies.
<i>How the ideology views the economy</i>
Parts of the economy can be made to work for the working class without changing the economy's fundamental character. Anthony Giddens describes the 'Old Left', or, as he puts it, 'classical social democracy', in terms of 'pervasive state involvement in social and

<p>economic life, state domination over civil society, collectivism, Keynesian demand management, a confined role for markets, the mixed or social economy, full employment, strong egalitarianism, a comprehensive welfare state (protecting citizens ‘from cradle to grave’), linear modernization, low ecological consciousness, internationalism, ... (Giddens, 1998: 7).</p>
<p><i>How the ideology views human need</i></p>
<p>Some needs are universal, but the working class also has needs of its own.</p>
<p><i>How the ideology views rights</i></p>
<p>Workers have rights, and everyone has the right to join with others to promote their own wellbeing.</p>
<p><i>How the ideology views the state</i></p>
<p>The state should, if possible, be captured for the working class, but without dismantling the capitalist economy, and the state needs to own some important elements of capital. The state also needs to step in when mutualism fails. Deacon suggests that ‘people have responsibilities and commitments to each other that arise independently of the claims they make on the State’ (Deacon, 2005: 128). But can such ‘mutualism’ be a sufficient basis for benefits conditionality? Deacon suggests not – at least, not under present conditions, because it would be unfair. It would only be fair if the idle rich were to be targeted as well (Deacon, 2005: 142):</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Welfare has to play a dual role. It has to be a mechanism through which support is provided and resources redistributed, but it also has to delineate, reaffirm and at times enforce the obligations that people have to their families, to their neighbours, and to the wider communities in which they live.’ (Deacon, 2005: 146).</p> <p>The problem with attempting to ground such enforcement in mutualism is that as soon as enforcement is actually required the State has to impose it, meaning that ‘mutualism’ is being defined in practice in terms of obligations to the State.</p>
<p><i>How the ideology views citizenship</i></p>
<p>Citizenship is membership of one’s social class, and citizenship is, above all, the citizenship of the worker. Whilst many trades unions do keep in membership people temporarily unemployed, they generally cease to be active members. Christopher Beem summarises John Locke: ‘To labour is ... to create a status and a claim within liberal society. Labour is the point of entry into citizenship and its accompanying political rights’ (Beem, 2005, 151). The question is: which kinds of labour? Just paid labour? As Beem points out, care labour amongst family and friends is rarely seen as civic labour in the same way as paid labour in the private or public sectors. The results of experiments in the United States, in which parents are paid to stay at home to look after their children, suggest that it can be (Beem, 2005: 164).</p> <p>The problem, though, is that the question and its answer seem to assume that labour is valid civic labour only if it’s in the formal economy. (Our entire treatment, functioning as it does within a diagram posited on ideologies’ relationship with the economy – amongst other things – rather assumes the same.)</p>
<p><i>Arguments for a Citizen’s Income generated by the ideology</i></p>
<p>A Citizen’s Income would enable people to choose between a variety of different ways of relating to the labour market and so would make it easier to start up and run co-operatives.</p>
<p><i>Arguments against a Citizen’s Income generated by the ideology</i></p>

We don't need a Citizen's Income. We're workers, and can and should earn our living. We should extract as much as possible from the capitalist economy.
<i>Arguments actually made for a Citizen's Income</i>
<i>Arguments actually made against a Citizen's Income</i>
Male-dominated trades unions preferred child tax allowances to Child Benefit because tax allowances benefit the (generally male) full-time worker whereas Child Benefit benefits the child's main carer (usually the mother) (Land, 1975: 169, 227)
<i>How the ideology expects contingencies income to be provided</i>
Workers earn the right to contributory benefits and to occupational pensions.

The Post-war Consensus
<i>The ideology</i>
We're all in this together, the way it was had flaws in it, so we'll tidy things up.
<i>How the ideology views society</i>
We live in a single society in which unfortunately poverty still exists. We need to slay it.
<i>How the ideology views the economy</i>
The economy is global, national, and local, and a pragmatic approach is required. Full employment is a necessary condition for social progress.
<i>How the ideology views human need</i>
We have some universal needs, and some common to those in our particular position in society.
<i>How the ideology views rights</i>
We have citizenship rights, but also rights related to our current economic and social position in society.
<i>How the ideology views the state</i>
The state regulates the economy to achieve full employment.
<i>How the ideology views citizenship</i>
Citizenship means that we're all in this together.
<i>Arguments for a Citizen's Income generated by the ideology</i>
Like Family Allowances, a Citizen's Income would function as an assumption underlying other particular and temporary provisions.
<i>Arguments against a Citizen's Income generated by the ideology</i>
Full employment and contributory benefits mean provide subsistence income for working age adults and their dependents. Universal benefits are needed for children, and might be appropriate for pensioners.
<i>Arguments actually made for a Citizen's Income</i>
William Beveridge regarded Family Allowances as a necessary condition for the viability of his proposed contributory and means-tested benefits (Beveridge, 1942: 10).
<i>Arguments actually made against a Citizen's Income</i>
Beveridge <i>didn't</i> argue against Juliet Rhys Williams' proposed Citizen's Income (Rhys Williams, 1943). He ignored it. Beveridge's argument for contributory benefits is, in a sense, an argument against a Citizen's Income. There might have been some virtue in an argument for contributory benefits in an era of high and stable employment and of adequate contributory benefits, and, in particular, of contributory benefits which provided a more adequate standard of living than the means-tested safety-net could provide once housing costs are taken into account. This was quickly not the case when National Insurance benefits were established after the Second World War, and it is not the case now. In a means-testing context, 'once you need the means-tested benefits to 'top up' your insurance benefits, your [National Insurance] contributions become worthless in practice' (Esam et al, 1985: 13).

How the ideology expects contingencies income to be provided

Full employment means that contributory benefits will provide for contingencies, and means-tested benefits will provided for those without sufficient contribution record.

One Nation Conservatism
<i>The ideology</i>
Our evolved social structures are stable and valuable, and our differentiated meritocracy works to the benefit of all in society. Those with better life changes have obligations towards those without them. This position is genuinely ‘conservative’.
<i>How the ideology views society</i>
Society is a complex structure, within which everyone has a place. We live in a global society, a European society, a national society, and a local society. The UK belongs in Europe.
<i>How the ideology views the economy</i>
The economy is a complex structure within which we all have a place. Free trade is the norm, but those who suffer its ill effects need to be protected.
<i>How the ideology views human need</i>
Needs related to our place in society.
<i>How the ideology views rights</i>
We have a right to be protected from the effects of the free market by those best placed in relation to that market.
<i>How the ideology views the state</i>
The state is the guarantor of society’s stable structure.
<i>How the ideology views citizenship</i>
Citizenship is a statement that each of us has a place in the social structure.
<i>Arguments for a Citizen’s Income generated by the ideology</i>
A Citizen’s Income signifies that we all have a place in society, and it enables those better endowed to make the most of their privilege so that all can benefit from their success.
<i>Arguments against a Citizen’s Income generated by the ideology</i>
A Citizen’s income would mean that we would no longer merit our success, and it might encourage arguments for equality of outcome.
<i>Arguments actually made for a Citizen’s Income</i>
‘There is a strong emphasis in policy today on the need for what in the jargon is called ‘targeting’ of state resources on the most needy. This is a popular approach which at first glance seems to make eminent good sense. Yet beneath the surface of this apparently attractive proposition lurks a frightening void – which we call the poverty trap. The more you relate benefits to some measure of means (and also, the lower down the income scale you take income taxation), the greater the deterrent to benefit recipients to lift their earnings. ... Here, in the impenetrably complex brew of benefits, thresholds, tax allowances, penalties and disregards, we have the makings of that strange paradox whereby unemployment and labour shortage co-exist, where saving makes you poorer, where a subculture of benefit dependency flourishes.’ The solution is ‘a partial basic income payment for all’ (David Howells MP, in

Rhys Williams, 1989: vii-viii).

Brandon Rhys Williams' Citizen's Income proposal is a direct descendent of his mother Juliet Rhys Williams' similar scheme designed in opposition to Beveridge's proposals which she believed to be a 'serious attack upon the will to work ... not only will the idle get as much from the State as will the industrious workers, they will get a great deal more' (Rhys Williams, 1943: 141-2, quoted in Rhys Williams, 1989: 7). The result of targeting is 'pauperisation' (Rhys Williams, 1989: 16).

The Tax Credits scheme proposed by the Conservative Government in 1972 was a similar idea (David Howells MP, in Rhys Williams, 1989: viii) and would have had similar effects.

Brandon Rhys Williams saw a Citizen's Income 'as the basis of a Europe-wide process of reform, underpinning the growth of the great Single Market. Above all, he saw it as a *translucent* process which people would genuinely understand, as against the murky pattern of today' (David Howells MP, in Rhys Williams, 1989: viii).

A Citizen's Income would encourage 'thrift, saving and small-scale capital ownership to spread and deepen, so as to create a genuine capital-owning democracy and the 'share economy' – the modern version of One Nation' (David Howells MP, in Rhys Williams, 1989: viii).

A Citizen's Income would redistribute income, and 'the redistribution of income must be something that people accept because it gives expression to the type of society in which they wish to live' (Brandon Rhys Williams, House of Commons, 1/3/1985, quoted in Rhys Williams, 1989: xiv).

A Citizen's Income would set people free: 'We need liberation from the millions held in dependency on state benefits to take work without committing a crime; liberation for savers to accumulate fortunes and put them to work fruitfully, without the risk of confiscatory taxation; liberation of women, so that they become wholly equal citizens whether single or married; and liberation for employers from needless, costly paperwork.' (Rhys Williams, 1989: 22). Even a very small Citizen's Income would give people more choices than they have now. (Rhys Williams, 1989: 41).

'We need an entirely fresh conception of the role of taxation in a property-owning, saving, caring democracy, where government adds to economic efficiency instead of hampering it, and where extreme administrative simplicity is seen as an objective in its own right' (Rhys Williams, 1989: 22)

A Citizen's Income would be the foundation of a life-cycle approach to income maintenance: 'At the start of life as children and at the end of life as pensioners, most people would be net beneficiaries, paying less in tax than they received through their PBIs [Partial Basic Incomes]. But in middle life most people would be net contributors, each according to his capacity.' (Rhys Williams, 1989: 26-7). Redistribution is thus mainly across the life-cycle, and not between one section of the population and another.

Child Benefit is a 'PBI [Partial Basic Income] for children ... It is one of the easiest benefits to administer and take-up is almost 100 per cent ... it is far, far too low. ... Child benefit helps all families equally. My answer to those who attack it on the grounds that rich families do not need it, is to say that child benefit does not belong either to the father or to the mother, but is the start of a life-long relationship of obligation and entitlement between the child as junior citizen and the community' (Rhys Williams, 1989: 28).

A Citizen's Income is 'about changing attitudes *all the way down the income distribution instead of just at the top*. For there is no reason to suppose that people on low incomes react differently to increased economic incentives than people who are rich.' To improve incentives at the bottom of the earnings range is more important than preserving them at the

top because more people are involved at the bottom. (Rhys Williams, 1989: 35-6).

Arguments actually made against a Citizen's Income

How the ideology expects contingencies income to be provided

Occupational and contributory and means-tested state provision

New Labour ('the Third Way', 'the new social democracy', and possibly 'compassionate conservatism')

The ideology

We live in a global free market economy, and we can't change that. Those who can work should support themselves and their dependents. The state will support those who can't do that.

The Third Way understands the dilemmas which we face to be globalisation, individualism, the loss of meaning of the older conflict between 'Left' and 'Right', political agency (citizens disengaging from the democratic process), and ecological problems (Giddens, 1998: 27-8). 'The overall aim of third way politics should be to help citizens pilot their way through the major revolutions of our time: globalization, transformations in personal life, and our relationship to nature' (Giddens, 1998: 64); its values are 'equality, protection of the vulnerable, freedom as autonomy, no rights without responsibilities, no authority without democracy, cosmopolitan pluralism, ...' (Giddens, 1998: 66); and its programme is: 'The radical centre, the new democratic state, active civil society, the democratic family, the new mixed economy, equality as inclusion, positive welfare, the social investment state, the cosmopolitan nation, cosmopolitan democracy' (Giddens, 1998: 70): a politics which 'defines equality as inclusion, and inequality as exclusion' (Giddens, 1998: 102) and which looks 'beyond the work society ... an inclusive society must provide for the basic needs of those who can't work, and must recognise the wider diversity of goals life has to offer' (Giddens, 1998: 105, 110).

The New Social Democracy is a 'third way' between two paths *not* taken: 'old-style social democracy' (with too much faith in the State) and neo-liberalism (with too much faith in unregulated markets). (Callinicos, 2001: 2). New Labour, and other parties of the 'renewed' centre-left, are parties of 'values', hoping to see 'socialist values' realised through new social policies more in tune with the market than traditional social democracy would have permitted. As Tony Blair suggests: The Third Way 'is about reasserting ourselves as a party of values ... a rediscovery of our essential values – the belief in community, opportunity and responsibility' (Blair, 1999; quoted in Callinicos, 2001: 45). Unfortunately, when some people didn't seem to share the party leadership's values, 'community' became a new authoritarianism.

We must always be wary of stories told by those who aren't happy when a new movement has displaced the ideology to which they are committed; but having said that, New Social Democracy did set out to displace a more traditional social democracy because it saw it as less relevant to our more globalised economy: so in this case we probably ought to tell the story from both sides.

New Social Democracy tells the story of social democracy's evolution from an attempt to control a capitalistic economy into attempts to mitigate capitalism's worst effects (so rather than nationalisation of major industries, regulation of private companies became the norm), and from there into impotence in the face of global capitalism. (Fitzpatrick, 2003: 3-4). The alternative which new social democrats offer is to accept the reality of global capitalism and to attempt to 'redirect the resulting environment towards the goals of social inclusion and communal responsibility' (Fitzpatrick, 2003: 31). The problem, as Fitzpatrick sees it, is that the New Social Democracy has 'failed to establish a distinct and convincing alternative to the conservative hegemony. ... [It] has remodelled the welfare state and reconfigured needs as risks and fears.' (Fitzpatrick, 2003: 95); and the important question for Callinicos is this: Does an increase in global economic integration mean 'that political action is incapable of

controlling, let alone transforming, global capitalism?’ (Callinicos, 2001: 20). He suggests that multilateral bodies such as the International Monetary Fund will now have to influence markets in the ways in which States used to do – though, as Joseph Stiglitz, formerly Chief Economist at the World Bank, has pointed out, such bodies are far from being democratically legitimate (Callinicos, 2001: 100).
<i>How the ideology views society</i>
Society is a single whole, but within it there are two tiers: the self-supporting, and the rest. ‘The new orthodoxy ... emphasizes equality of <i>opportunity</i> rather than outcome, and rights to education and training rather than benefits. It wants meritocratic access to positions of power and economic advantage, and it allows the rewards for these to be more unique than in the regimes for social justice that prevailed in the 1970s. And it provides for ‘genuine’ needs to be met, with far stricter testing for the authenticity of the claims from unemployment and disability, and probably also for the means of applicants.’ (Jordan, 1998: 18).
<i>How the ideology views the economy</i>
The global free market creates prosperity and provides the means to create public services for all, a safety net for those who can’t work, and autonomy for those who can.
<i>How the ideology views human need</i>
Some people need to be provided with disincentives which will steer them away from idleness, some people need looking after, and all need a minimum of public services.
<i>How the ideology views rights</i>
Those who work have a right to an adequate income. Those who don’t work have a right to a safety net.
<i>How the ideology views the state</i>
The state rewards those in the labour market and it enforces good behaviour on the recalcitrant.
<i>How the ideology views citizenship</i>
Citizenship is earned by good behaviour.
<i>Arguments for a Citizen’s Income generated by the ideology</i>
A Citizen’s Income would reduce disincentives and would therefore encourage good behaviour in the labour market, support the incomes of the virtuous, and provide for those unable to work.
<i>Arguments against a Citizen’s Income generated by the ideology</i>
Those not behaving well in the labour market would receive a Citizen’s Income, and perhaps they shouldn’t.
<i>Arguments actually made for a Citizen’s Income</i>
In relation to the welfare state, advocates of the Third Way write of ‘positive welfare’, as opposed to Beveridge’s ‘negative’ welfare, i.e., a welfare state <i>against</i> Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor, and Idleness (Giddens, 1998: 117). ‘Positive welfare’ replaces the ‘welfare state’ with the ‘investment state’, for instance, by replacing a fixed retirement age with more flexible arrangements and by encouraging small business start-ups (Giddens, 1998: 124). ‘Benefit systems should be reformed where they induce moral hazard, and a more active risk-taking attitude encouraged, wherever possible through incentives, but where necessary by legal obligations’ (Giddens, 1998: 122).

Such a political standpoint understands the need for smoothly rather than steeply graduated income tax (Giddens, 2000: 97) and could well understand the disincentives of means-testing and the need to replace *that* kind of ‘negative’ welfare with a ‘positive’ welfare state based on universal benefits which encourage risk-taking and don’t disincentivise hard work.

Taking a dynamic, life-chances approach to inequality means above all ensuring that poverty isn’t a permanent condition. We need to minimize situations where either poverty brings about social exclusion, or social exclusion causes chronic poverty ... The restructuring of welfare systems should have several ends in view - ... reacting to new social and economic conditions and coping with the perverse outcomes to which the welfare state has given rise.’ (Giddens, 2000: 112, 121).

There is some understanding of the need to retain a universal Child Benefit, and it wouldn’t take much of a step for proponents of the Third Way to see a Citizen’s Income as a neat way of delivering both ‘socialist values’ and labour market incentives.

The Third Way is an attempt to respond to globalization and to the knowledge economy, and to treat people as citizens rather than as either consumers or welfare recipients. It attempts to marry rights and responsibilities. A Citizen’s Income would provide it with the necessary and sufficient means to guarantee rights which would encourage responsibility, to treat people as citizens, and to encourage the kind of risk-taking which a globalised economy needs.

Bill Jordan sets out ‘a programme that accepts the aims of the new orthodoxy, but seeks a way of implementing them that is more consistent with the political traditions of liberal democracy. This programme supplements a universal and unconditional income ... by policies at the local level that go with the flow of informal economic activity, and try to support poor people’s measures to improve their quality of life, rather than suppressing them.’ (Jordan, 1998: 25). The Citizen’s Income would be employment-friendly and savings-friendly, would offer equality of opportunity, would target those in need (because the wealthy already pay more tax than do the poor), and would offer ‘universal equal autonomy’. It would be at a level ‘which allows the labour power supplied to be efficiently used for socially necessary purposes’ (Jordan, 1998: 174-5, 178-9).

Arguments actually made against a Citizen’s Income

How the ideology expects contingencies income to be provided

Private, occupational, and contributory benefits for workers. A means-tested safety net for the rest.

Social Democracy
<i>The ideology</i>
<p>Equality, liberty, solidarity and autonomy are all important ideals, and in a just society every citizen should experience all of them to some extent. Democracy is the mechanism for choosing the ways in which the three ideals combine to create the most just society possible.</p> <p>‘Social democracy refers to the attempt to bring capitalist economies under some form of collective control using statist and gradualist reforms that work from within the framework of liberal democracy. Describing the aspirations of the Left it has united both socially-minded liberals and liberal-minded socialists, despite disagreements about the nature, speed and direction of reform that have often divided these groups. ... [It is a] synthesis of economic prosperity, political participation, social justice and cultural maturity,’ (Fitzpatrick, 2003: 2, 5), with social justice being equated with what Fitzpatrick calls ‘equality of powers’: ‘the equal opportunity to convert primary resources into sources of well-being according to one’s capabilities and location within the distributional sphere.’ (Fitzpatrick, 2003: 45).</p> <p>‘Reciprocity, responsibility, ambition and achievement’ are sought via such an equality, because ‘only by lowering the bar of undeservingness can the spaces of freedom, well-being and authentic cooperation be promoted.’ (Fitzpatrick, 2003: 52)</p> <p>The balanced position underlying the report of the Labour Party’s Commission on Social Justice (1994) locates it in the world of social democracy. The introduction states that the UK ‘can be both fairer and more successful: indeed, that it must be both faire and more successful if it is to be either. The report lists four convictions: ‘the foundation of a free society is the equal worth of all citizens, expressed most basically in political and civil liberties, equal rights before the law, and so on. ... everyone is entitled, as a right of citizenship, to be able to meet their basic needs for income, shelter and other necessities. ... self-respect and equal citizenship demand more than the meting of basic needs: they demand opportunities and life chances. That is why we are concerned with the primary distribution of opportunity, as well as its redistribution. ... to achieve the first three conditions of social justice, we must recognise that although not all inequalities are unjust ... unjust inequalities should be reduced and where possible eliminated.’ (Commission on Social Justice, 1994: 17-18). The report goes on to say that economic success requires social justice, and that social justice requires economic success.</p>
<i>How the ideology views society</i>
Society is complex and organic, and it needs to find a form which everyone can regard as just.
<i>How the ideology views the economy</i>
The economy is partly a global free market, but there are also areas of national and local freedom. At all levels regulation is required to promote individual wellbeing and social justice.
<i>How the ideology views human need</i>
Needs are diverse and complex, so a flexible approach to meeting them is required.
<i>How the ideology views rights</i>
In different contexts, there are citizenship, protective, conditional, and selective rights.
<i>How the ideology views the state</i>

The state is the democratic instrument through which different needs are balanced and met, and through which different rights are guaranteed, all in the service of the most just society possible.
<i>How the ideology views citizenship</i>
Citizenship means belonging to this complex society.
<i>Arguments for a Citizen's Income generated by the ideology</i>
A Citizen's Income would provide a simple income floor on which other income can be built. Given our society's and economy's complexity, a more complex floor is unlikely to enable the greatest possible diversity of life choices.
<i>Arguments against a Citizen's Income generated by the ideology</i>
A Citizen's Income looks too simple for a complex society?
<i>Arguments actually made for a Citizen's Income</i>
The Labour Party's Social Justice Commission argued that 'the case for Citizen's Income is partly moral and partly economic. The moral case rests on the principle of social citizenship ... civil and political rights must go hand in hand with economic and social rights. And just as civil and political rights belong unconditionally to all citizens as individuals, irrespective of need or desert, so all citizens have a right to a share in the social and national product sufficient to make it possible for them to participate fully in the common of society ... the state is no more entitled to say which citizens have a right to a sufficient share in the common stock to participate fully in the life of the society than to say which citizens have a right to vote or to a fair trial. And in modern conditions that principle can be realised more simply and more completely by a Citizen's Income than by any other mechanism. The economic case rests upon the falling demand for unskilled labour. ... a Citizen's Income ... enables those without saleable skills to take low-paid or casual jobs of some kind, while at the same time receiving an income large enough to enfranchise them, without the stigma of a means test.' (Commission on Social Justice, 1994: 261-2)
<i>Arguments actually made against a Citizen's Income</i>
The Labour Party's Commission on Social Justice offers three 'severe difficulties': 1. 'A change of this magnitude would have to be backed by a broad-based consensus, of which there is, as yet, no sign. In a society with a strong work ethic many people would oppose, as giving 'something for nothing', a scheme deliberately designed to offer unconditional benefits to all ... 2. although Citizen's Income is intended to be a means of social inclusion, it could just as easily become a means of social exclusion' – and the report cites evidence that an unconditional benefit for young people had reduced engagement with education or employment; 3. ... the tax rates that would be required for funding, and their possible effects'. (Commission on Social Justice, 1994: 262-3). The Commission recommends a reformed social insurance scheme, and also discusses a Participation Income. However, the report also suggests that its strictures relate to 1994's economic climate: 'It would be unwise, however, to rule out a move towards Citizen's Income in future: if it turns out to be the case that earnings simply cannot provide a stable income for a growing proportion of people, then the notion of some guaranteed income, outside the labour market, could become increasingly attractive. Work incentives might matter less and those who happened to be in employment, knowing that they probably would not remain so throughout their 'working' lives, might be more willing to finance an unconditional payment. Our measures would not preclude a move to Citizen's Income in the future.' (Commission on Social Justice, 263-4).
<i>How the ideology expects contingencies income to be provided</i>
Everyone is different, so a mixture of both universal and other kinds of provision are likely to

be required.

Tentative conclusions

Most of the political ideologies studied generate their own arguments for a Citizen's Income, and the ideologies' advocates have in fact offered positive robust arguments generally closely related to those ideologies.

Arguments against a Citizen's Income are not so closely related to the ideologies from within which they have been offered, similar arguments are found across the field, and they can all be easily answered:

A Citizen's Income would be too expensive. That surely depends on the particular scheme. It would of course be perfectly possible to propose a scheme which saved the Exchequer money.

We shouldn't pay people to do nothing. But we're doing that already, and at the same time the way we do that is discouraging them from increasing their earned income.

Rich people don't need it. They pay more in tax than they would receive in Citizen's Income, and the low administrative costs of universal benefits mean that it's more efficient to give them a Citizen's Income than not to do so.

A Citizen's Income would discourage people from seeking employment. Precisely the opposite. It's today's system which discourages people from seeking employment. A Citizen's Income would deliver lower marginal deduction rates and so would provide a greater employment incentive than people experience today.

A note on Ecowelfare

In a context of limited resources, permanent GDP growth is impossible, and to attempt it is to impoverish future generations. An ecowelfare position recognises that members of future generations have rights (Fitzpatrick, 2003: 152) and that care work and sustainability will be the marks of an ecologically sustainable society. Fitzpatrick calls this ideological position a 'post-productivist social democracy' (Fitzpatrick, 2003: 110), but given that its focus is on future generations rather than on the main concerns of our nine matrix ideologies it would be possible to locate ecowelfare at a variety of positions. The most fitting would probably be social democracy or socialism.

A post-productivist position of this nature will need to disconnect subsistence income from production, and will also, like other forms of social democracy, attempt to establish an element of income equality and security in order to generate equality of opportunity. A Citizen's Income is thus a natural fit, especially as it would recognise the value of care work and work directed towards sustainability and would encourage a risk-taking which would be essential in a post-productivist economy. (Fitzpatrick, 2003: 42, 89).

A note on Esping-Andersen's Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism

In 1989 Gøsta Esping-Andersen suggested that there are three kinds of welfare state, differentiated in relation to the extent that they 'decommodify' rights, that is, the extent to which welfare state provisions protect people from the disciplines and vicissitudes of the market.

'In one cluster we find the 'liberal' welfare state, in which means-tested assistance, modest universal transfers, or modest social-insurance plans predominate. Benefits cater mainly to a clientele of low-income, usually working-class, state dependents ... the limits of welfare equal the marginal propensity to opt for welfare instead of work. Entitlement rules are therefore strict and often associated with stigma; benefits are typically modest. ... the state encourages the market ... this type of regime minimizes decommodification-effects ... and erects an order of stratification that is a

blend of a relative equality of poverty among state-welfare recipients, market-differentiated welfare among the majorities, and a class-political dualism between the two.’ (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 26-7) The USA is the typical case, as was increasingly the UK (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 33).

‘A second regime-type clusters nations such as Austria, France, Germany, and Italy. Here, the historical corporatist-statist legacy was upgraded to cater to the new ‘post-industrial’ class structure. ... What predominated was the preservation of status differentials; rights, therefore, were attached to class and status.’ (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 27). Commodification has always been under control.

‘The third ... regime-cluster is composed of those countries in which the principles of universalism and decommodification of social rights were extended also to the new middle classes. We may call it the ‘social democratic’ regime-type since, in these nations, social democracy was clearly the dominant force behind social reform ... the social democrats pursued a welfare state that would promote an equality of the highest standards, not an equality of minimal needs’ (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 27).

Esping-Andersen developed a further categorisation: ‘conservatism’, ‘liberalism’, and ‘socialism’, and developed a set of indicators and scored them, and in this way allocated welfare states to the three categories. (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 55-78). A more complex picture emerged. For instance, the UK scored ‘medium’ for ‘degree of liberalism’ and ‘medium’ for ‘socialism’. It scored zero for ‘conservatism’. (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 74). Esping-Andersen mapped these new categories onto his original set, meaning that the UK now mapped zero for ‘corporatist-statist’, and ‘medium’ for both ‘liberal’ and ‘universal’.

This makes sense. Beveridge’s social insurance structure was intended to provide for *universal* coverage in the context of full employment and universal family allowances. It wasn’t his fault that social insurance benefit rates were set so low that many households found themselves on means-tested benefits at an early stage in the process. As we can see in figure 4, different political ideologies now pull the UK’s welfare state in different directions: towards the bottom right of the diagram (in the universal direction) and towards the top left (in the liberal direction). To the top right and bottom left it isn’t clear in which direction entrepreneurial liberals and one nation conservatives are pulling it. I have made no decision in relation to ‘social democracy’, at the centre of the diagram.

It is an interesting question as to which way social democracy might pull the UK’s welfare state; and an equally interesting question as to where we should locate a Citizen’s Income in Esping-Andersen’s scheme. Does it belong in the ‘liberal’ direction, as a policy instrument which encourages individuals and households to make their own decisions in the market? Or does it belong in the ‘universal’ direction, providing universal coverage for every individual’s and household’s subsistence needs? It belongs in both, which suggests that it might fit nicely as the fundamental definition of a welfare state entirely appropriate to social democracy.

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