

Universal Basic Income: The Social Policy

Upgrade for the Future, a Meta-Synthesis.

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Abstract

This study illustrates that poverty takes an intense toll on every aspect of an individual's existence and that getting access to sufficient resources is the key to a thriving and healthy life that adds value to a society. The importance of understanding how best to alleviate the stressors are both empathic to the individuals and practical with regards to policy solutions. A universal basic income can show us the way forward. Using a qualitative meta-synthesis approach on poverty and universal basic income literature, the synthesized data will show how UBI is better suited to help alleviate poverty stressors than current policy. Hypothesizing that three major themes will emerge from the sample data (n=14), that of mental and physical health, self-sufficiency, and stigma. Those themes did emerge, as did additional themes and sub-themes but are grouped into a "other" category for future research. These themes are highlighted as failed goals and unintended negative aspects of current social safety net programs in the United States. Meanwhile the data suggests that implementation of a UBI would not only be more apt to achieve desired results, but that the current programs in the U.S. tend to inflame the traumas of poverty by provoking additional reasons to be in an ongoing state of mere survival. This study pursues the complex narratives and themes that are major obstacles in eliminating poverty and provide a starting place for reformation of theories that build social safety nets within the U.S.

(Keywords: Universal basic income, poverty, anti-poverty programs, Qualitative meta-synthesis, social safety nets)

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Chapter 1-Purpose of Paper

In a nation perceived to be the wealthiest and most powerful the world has ever known, 1 in 9 Americans were categorized as food insecure in 2018 and on any given night in 2020 around 580,000 people were homeless (HUD No. 21-041). Though poverty has improved over the years within the United States, as of 2019 there are 34 million people still below the poverty line (U.S. Census). Since March 2020 the Covid-19 pandemic has amplified wealth and income inequalities throughout the country, heightening the need to take a closer look at our current social safety net programs and how they can be upgraded to meet the challenges of an ever-changing economy.

In this capstone paper I will examine the social problem of poverty in the United States. Using a qualitative meta-synthesis of poverty and universal basic income literature, this study seeks to bring out best practices for desperately needed upgrades to the existing patchwork of anti-poverty programs. Using universal basic income (UBI) as a policy solution and new framework for addressing the negative impacts of poverty; the main three themes to be focused on will be self-sufficiency, physical and mental health outcomes, and stigma.

Several issues need to be considered when thinking about poverty. These issues range from inequity of resources, stigmatizing societal narratives, to the physical and mental harm

done to individuals and communities. Additionally, how poverty is measured in the US is outdated and incomplete. These deficiencies have skewed the data around poverty for current social safety net programs. Due to these shortcomings governmental programs are vastly lacking in the ability to help people get out and stay out of poverty with dignity. In an article from *The American Economic Review*, "...exits from individual spells of poverty often do not imply permanent transitions out of poverty, with half of all those who escape poverty again falling below the poverty line within the next five years" (Stevens, A.H., 1994 pg. 37). That is a staggering number of people who even if they fight their way out are a coin toss a way from falling back in. Inadequacies in the measurements also ignore the data around what alleviates people's distress when in poverty.

Improperly devised social policy results in wasted money and unjustly cruel social policies. A lack of empathy plagues many social safety net programs in the U.S., some examples of harsh means testing include demeaning drug tests, stifling bank account regulations, and enforced lack of agency over job preferences. Therefore, in this paper we aim to formalize these three main themes of physical and mental health, self-sufficiency, and stigma. Using a qualitative meta-synthesis approach in order to inform the future of social safety net programs like a universal basic income, which as a policy solution is both practical and empathetic at its core. Based on a preliminary review of the literature of UBI the three themes have already emerged. The data will show that UBI can raise the quality of life for most Americans by introducing a financial sufficiency mindset that will ease many of the symptoms of poverty and resource deficiency, helping move away from survival tactics into thriving strategies.

Definition of terms.

Before proceeding to the literature review, terms need to be defined. For the purpose of this paper, universal basic income is defined as a preventive program for the negative impacts associated with poverty. There are different variations of a basic income, the major ones being universal and partial. Partial basic income has conditions that need to be met before being eligible, and universal has no requirements other than citizenship status. This paper will be focused on universal basic income. Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN) defines UBI as a “Basic Income that is stable in size and frequency and high enough to be, in combination with other social services, part of a policy strategy to eliminate material poverty and enable the social and cultural participation of every individual is often called a full Basic Income.” It becomes the government’s responsibility to make sure that its citizens have their basic needs met, through a monthly income installment that can be spent however the individual sees fit. An article by Calnitsky & Latner states:

“...the objective of basic income is to transform the deprivations linked to non-employment and poorly remunerated employment into “real freedom.” Real freedom requires that individuals have not just the abstract liberal right to freedom, but the financial resources to make freedom a lived reality” (1995 pg. 374).

This definition shows how we could redefine the social contract with both a dignified and practical foundation through the use of universal basic income. And if protecting the people against the traumas of poverty is not what the state is for, then one might need to ask what the state is really doing for its people. The social problem of poverty in the U.S. is not about a lack

of resources, it is about the will to act on data driven best practices and a lack of empathy. Policymakers tend to have an empathy deficiency when it comes to the poor in the United States. This study defines empathy within policymaking as the ability to relate directly to the diverse experiences of their constituents and make policy accordingly. We hypothesize that the three themes in the table below will emerge from the data. These themes are often defined as follows:

Self-sufficiency	The ability to fulfill your own basic needs for health and safety.
Physical and mental health	<u>Physical Health</u> : a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity. <u>Mental Health</u> : a state of well-being in which the individual realizes their own aptitudes so they can cope with the normal stresses of life.
Stigma	A social mark of humiliation linked with a particular circumstance, quality, or person.

If the goal of anti-poverty programs is to get people to be self-sufficient and achieve overall health without attaching harsh stigmas, the current U.S. system fails at that goal. This study will conduct a meta-synthesis on the social problem of poverty, specifically the health consequences of living in poverty, social narratives constructed to stigmatize the poor, and the role of UBI can play in achieving self-sufficiency. The urgent need to formally investigate these themes is to inform the policy conversations that there are anti-poverty programs that fit the current needs of people without the negative side effects that current programs have. Addressing the deficit of those current programs with the data that offers superior results for those struggling and can also streamline and update the lackluster and expensive programs we are currently paying for. The rationale for using a qualitative meta-synthesis for the purpose of formalizing the main themes is that much of the qualitative data around UBI and poverty experiences are holding many themes

and narratives within them. Unlike quantitative, the qualitative data has not yet been used for optimal positive outcomes. If the supposedly wealthiest country in the world does not have enough empathy for its people to bother to take the lead on social policy and anti-poverty programs, what is the state doing with all its wealth? This paper will contribute to the current debate on poverty and UBI making the case that a foundation of evidence based empathic policymaking is essential.

This paper is outlined as follows, we will focus on poverty, measures, and its effects on human health individually and communally. We then move to universal basic income and the ongoing discussion about its efficacy and practicality.

Chapter 2-Literature Review

When discussing poverty and its rippling impact on society it is important to start with how traumatic it can be for those living within it. The individual trauma turns into community trauma and community trauma turns into national trauma. This review of literature will begin with the effects poverty has on the poor, continuing on to current measures and anti-poverty programs within the US. Moving finally, to universal basic income as a concept and a policy proposal for lasting change.

Poverty

There are wide ranging themes and topics within the research of poverty, including its effects on brain development, overall physical health, and mental wellbeing. In this section we will review the literature on poverty and its stressors. First, let us look at what living in poverty can do to the overall development of a person. There are numerous articles about how living in poverty can physically change the way the brain grows and develops, which then leads to a host of negative life predictors. Factors like impaired critical thinking, negative emotional attachment styles, learning disabilities, and a higher risk of mental illness are among the more serious consequences. Increasingly social scientists are using interdisciplinary methods to elaborate on the structural impact of poverty on human development. “This theme of connecting neuroscience research with the discussion of poverty is one that has repeated itself several times in the intervening years.” (Lende, D. H. 2012 pg. 183). Untreated poverty has many negative ripples across a life from inception.

“When a pregnant woman undergoes severe stress, the formation of neural connections is affected, leading to a reduction of synaptic plasticity as well as activity of neurotransmitters that, in turn, affect both behavioral and cognitive functioning in the child...When faced with severe stress in the course of gestation, the hippocampal volume reduces, and neurogenesis is affected...” (Gupta, R., et. al 2021 pg. Pg. 9)

This makes those unlucky enough to be born into poverty facing numerous disadvantages from the start. Children raised in impoverished households experience greater occurrences of ill health and psychological difficulties. (Gupta et al., 2021) These children growing up developing negative patterns of behavior like aggression towards their environments which solidify overtime, very difficult to unlearn and directly impact their communities. (Gupta et al., 2021) The contributions of neuroscience have been very helpful in this research; however, the discipline has also directed focus of policy making to the individual rather than addressing systemic issues. The environmental and cultural aspects of poverty get hidden under the ever-expanding research on personal experiences and affects to the brain.

Focusing policy solutions predominately at individuals and individual outcomes rather than antiquated systemic shortcomings lead to incomplete social policy. Those shortcomings feed into a stigma inducing social narrative that adds an unnecessary extra burden on those who can least afford it. The negative impact of piecemeal data usage conflates survival coping mechanisms and humiliating stereotypical judgments. This shifts the focus towards the victim's character, limiting the more impactful conversations that should be had regarding disjointed social safety nets. This leads to a primary systemic problem in how we measure poverty.

U.S. Poverty Measures

Poverty in the United States is measured by two federal standards: the Official Poverty Measure (OPM), and the Supplemental Poverty Measure (SPM). Both standards rely on outdated thresholds that fail to reflect the current needs of people. The former is dependent on a threshold set at three times the cost of a minimum food plan in 1963 and adjusted for family size. The latter takes into consideration factors that are not included in the OPM, such as family expenditures and geographical location. However, the U.S. Census Bureau uses only the OPM in assessing people's eligibility for governmental assistance. Furthermore, despite these antiquated measurements with roots in the 1960's, in 2017 the OPM reported that the rate of people who lived under the poverty line was 12.3%, while the SPM reported it at 13.9%. In contrast, a 2019 article uses the example of how the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which includes 34 wealthy democracies, reported the percentage of Americans below the poverty line at 17.8% in 2017. (Fremstad 2019) Yet even those numbers do not take into consideration the diverse differences in living costs across the U.S. The article goes on to say, "At a minimum, we should set the poverty line in a way that is both transparent and also roughly consistent with the public's evolving understanding of what is necessary for a minimally decent life." (Fremstad 2019). They also pointed out that in 2018 the official poverty threshold for a family of two adults and two children was \$25,465 or \$2100 a month. (Fremstad 2019) To contextualize this, statista.com has the average rent of a two-bedroom apartment in 2018 at \$1083 per month, not including utilities. That would equate to over 51% of their monthly income, just for housing, leaving little left for groceries, transportation, utilities, and nothing for savings. These numbers are likely to be worse once the fallout from the Covid-19 pandemic is realized, and some of the data coming out now is supporting the damaging impact of our social

safety net programs. An Urban Institute article (Giannarelli et al., 2021) is projecting 13.7 percent of people will hit the SPM level for poverty. This data will also fail to capture the true impact because it too will be based on an outdated metric.

Measures are not just missing a needed upgrade to the metrics; they are vastly lacking the human component. Lived experiences are discounted as non-quantifiable and empathy as not pragmatic enough. This lack directly impacts the quality of programs that are meant to help alleviate poverty stressors. Anti-poverty programs in the United States are not built on a complete picture of the situation.

U.S. Poverty Measures Impact on Current Anti-Poverty Programs

Anti-poverty programs in the U.S. vary in their approaches to assist the poor. Programs such as Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Programs (SNAP aka. food stamps), Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and Social Security Insurance (SSI) are helping many poor people to meet their minimum nutritional needs and not losing their households in the short term. Nevertheless, the persistence of poverty in the U.S., despite such programs, raises the question of whether those programs are following adequate methodologies that aim towards eliminating poverty. Researchers have correlated the ways policymakers identify poverty with the structure of anti-poverty programs. In his paper, “Theories of Poverty and Anti-Poverty Programs in Community Development”, Ted K. Bradshaw argues that the approaches behind the anti-poverty programs are influenced by the program developers’ ideologies of what causes poverty. He discusses how those ideologies can be unfitting to their communities’ needs. He claims that to succeed in their goals to reduce poverty, community leaders need to adopt

ideologies that are appropriate for their community to design an effective framework (Bradshaw 2006). Applying the connection between ideologies and application leads us back to the federal standards used by the census bureau to identify who is poor and who is not. Referring to the criticism made against the ways those standards fail to measure poverty, we can see how crucial it is to reexamine those metrics, and the theories behind them. Bradshaw continues in his paper, “Increasing the effectiveness of anti-poverty programs requires that those designing and implementing those programs need to not only develop adequate theories of poverty to guide programs, but they must make sure that the community development approaches are as comprehensive as possible” (Bradshaw 2006). U.S. anti-poverty programs are yet again shown to be incomplete in their approaches to societal dilemmas and their solutions.

A study by Ben-Shalom et al. (2011) found in, “An Assessment of the Effectiveness of Anti-Poverty Programs in the United States” findings showed that a demographic group such as poor people who are not elder, nor have children, get neglected from needed assistance from programs such as TANF, social insurance and SNAP. The review shows that federal standards can fail to acknowledge the appropriate demographics and eligibility requirements for being a recipient of governmental assistance. Policymakers tend to look at nuclear families’ structures from the 1960’s as the “proper” family metric, which is not the experience of many Americans in the present.

Social safety net programs are supposed to relieve the physical and mental stressors that many Americans face. Programs, such as SNAP have always been partially effective at covering some basic nutritional needs of poor households, however overall basic needs are not being addressed. Programs such as social security and TANF, that provide direct financial benefits to their recipients seem to contribute the most to reducing deep poverty (Hiltzik 2018). These

programs could allow the poor to utilize their earnings and social benefits for addressing their personal stressors and set a solid foundation towards self-sufficiency, but current programs are more focused on when to cut benefits than if the people receiving them are ready and prepared for successful transition out of poverty. This hyper focus on the monetary costs, over how much the human benefits could be warps the value of personal experiences for some abstract goal of balancing the budget.

Additional budgetary items such as the military are looked at as all benefit no matter the cost considering it is rarely a debated expense. The military funding does not come under the same scrutiny as the social programs meant for the citizens they are safeguarding. When it comes to investing into the social safety nets, which is arguably the foundation of a successful and equitable democracy, suddenly the costs need to be justified at every budgetary level. This has changed some during the Covid-19 pandemic, and the glaring lack of robust social safety nets has made the policy of universal basic income come charging back into the global dialogue including the United States.

Universal Basic Income

Universal basic income has had a revival within policy discussions mainly because of the Covid-19 pandemic. Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN), defines it as, “a periodic cash payment unconditionally delivered to all on an individual basis, without means-test or work requirement.” This means that all individuals get a cash payment for their fundamental basic needs to be met. BIEN also states there are five characteristics of a UBI. First, it must be a periodic payment, paid in regular installments, like a monthly deposit. It is not a one-time payment. Secondly it must be a cash payment, allowing those receiving it to decide on how they

spend it without restrictions. Services, food, or vouchers do not meet that criteria. Third, it is an individually paid benefit, it is not given to households as a unit, for example. This allows for everyone to have a level of control over this basic income. Fourth, is that it must be universal, everyone gets the payment no matter what their socioeconomic class is, this allows for no stigma in that all people should have their basic needs taken care of. Lastly, it is an unconditional payment with no strings attached. There are no work requirements or invasive audits of personal spending habits.

The concept of universal basic income has a long history as a policy solution for those in need. It first appeared as far back as the 16th century, along with similar ideas to meet fundamental basic needs of the time. Those alternatives to a UBI will not be discussed in this section unless it is needed for context. During the Renaissance the role of taking care of the impoverished started moving past the church towards all of society. The issues during those times were significantly different than those of today, however it was considered a rational solution to stopping crimes of poverty, such as theft, which in England, came with the punishment of death during that period. One of the first to discuss such an idea was Thomas More, an English humanist and statesman who was chancellor of England from 1529-1532. Starting with a conversation More had with a Cardinal about the punishments for theft he says, “Petty larceny isn’t bad enough to deserve the death penalty. And no penalty on earth will stop people from stealing, if it’s their only way of getting food.” (More 1516, 1963 pg. 43) A more pointed exchange More had as a response to an English lawyer gleefully discussing the deadly punishments being handed out shows a mix of empathy and practicality. More criticizes the English and the lawyer by stating, “Instead of inflicting these horrible punishments, it would be far more to the point to provide everyone with some means of livelihood, so that nobody’s under

the frightful necessity of becoming, first a thief, and then a corpse.” (More 1516, 1963 pg. 43)

This is a familiar conversational tone, because many of today’s politicians' views of poverty are equally as harsh within the current context, but more importantly, this links the lack of empathy to those suffering with harsh punishments that will not deter the desperate. The logic of giving those in need the means to live is not a new one, however it is still something debated even to this day. This example from a more recent article shows the updated logical links, “A basic income system is simple, efficient and transparent and it eliminates the unemployment and poverty traps which exist in current means-tested social welfare systems.” (Healy, S et al. 2013).

This is illustrating the debate between those looking for prevention of harsh living conditions in a practical and humane manner, with those wanting to harshly punish those trying to survive has been going on for a regrettably long time.

Thomas Paine (1737-1809) an English born-American activist, philosopher, theorist, and revolutionary is another foundational voice on UBI. Paine’s argument was based on the concept of natural inheritance, that all the land of earth belongs to humanity, and with the invention of property ownership it is only right to pay those who work the land regardless of their ownership status, it belongs to all of us, and we should all be compensated for that. John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was an English philosopher, economist, and member of parliament, also having an important contribution to the concept of a universal basic income. Mills explains it best in his book, *Principles of Political Economy*:

“...Stated in more familiar terms, the plan we are advocating amounts essentially to this: that a certain small income, sufficient for necessities, should be secured to all, whether they work or not, and that a larger income – as much larger as might be warranted by the

total amount of commodities produced – should be given to those who are willing to engage in some work which the community recognizes as useful...”

Mills was the first to combine UBI ideas with socialism, however, it would be a long time until this conversation would pick up global interest again.

Moving into the 20th century, the discussion around a universal basic income became a passionate part of the social dialogue again. With names like “social dividend”, “state bonus” and “national dividend” became important topics in England because of the world wars of that time. After the First World War Bertrand Russell (1872-1970) a Nobel laureate in literature, a mathematician, philosopher, non-conformist political thinker, and militant pacifist wrote and published his book, *In Roads to Freedom*. Russell focuses on combining the benefits of socialism and anarchism, taking the aspect of liberty from anarchism and the enticement to work from socialism. His vision of a society that is free to work, and rewarded to do so, however they are not forced to work and given a small amount of funds to pay for the bare necessities of a free livelihood. UBI also gained momentum in Canada during the same period around 1880’s through the 1950’s. but ultimately fell out of political fashion, thus being dropped from the national conversation. Falling out of political fashion seems to come up a lot when talking about UBI becomes part of the public discourse and will continue to do so.

The United States takes a serious look during 1960’s & 1970’s

Then during the 1960’s and 1970’s in the United States UBI became a popular policy, being discussed as “demogrants” and a “negative income tax” proposal. When UBI resurfaced back into the public discourse, it was a tumultuous time in America being the peak of the civil rights movement of the 1960’s. During this time there were three approaches to a basic income

proposal, the first coming from Robert Theobald (1929-1999) an American economist and futurist author, where he advanced the ideas of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution, defending a guaranteed minimum income on the belief that automation would make working for pay obsolete and the government needed to address this issue before it was too late. The theme of automation will become a mainstay in the UBI discussion from this point on and is a major rallying call from UBI supporters.

Next, comes the popular American economist and Nobel Laureate Milton Friedman (1912-2006) who introduced the concept of the negative income tax, which is when those who make under a certain income threshold get money from the government, and those over the threshold pay into the government. This idea is still proposed to this day as an alternative to a direct UBI payment. Friedman did not mean this to take the place of existing social welfare programs only to offset their shortcomings. Lastly, James Tobin (1918-2002) an economist and professor at both Harvard and Yale and John Kenneth Galbraith (1908-2006) an economist, diplomat, and public official are among other popular liberal voices of the time. They were quite vocal in the defense of a UBI, which was more generous and less restricting than the current social welfare programs. Tobin introduces the term demogrants his version of Friedman's negative income tax. He focused on restructuring the social safety net systems for a more efficient and worker friendly program to help raise the standard of living for the poor. In an interview with the Basic Income European Network in 2001, Tobin stated that he came to UBI from a practical mindset rather than a scholarly one and had not reviewed the existing literature on the topic. He was in favor of a universal basic income; however, he was in the middle of researching economic solutions for people of color in the US, and this was the practical idea that he came up with, a cash transfer payment. This echoes another proponent of UBI, Martin Luther

King, Jr, as a way forward towards equality within the US. Although King was for a universal basic income not a partial one just for people of color in the U.S. He was intensely focused on helping all Americans be rid of the trauma of poverty and moved that conversation forward in a powerful way. He also had the theme of UBI being both practical and humane. Dr. King's own words say it best:

“The curse of poverty has no justification in our age. It is socially as cruel and blind as the practice of cannibalism at the dawn of civilization, when men ate each other because they had not yet learned to take food from the soil or to consume the abundant animal life around them. The time has come for us to civilize ourselves by the total, direct and immediate abolition of poverty.”

His influences even helped get conservatives at the time joining in, the Family Assistance Plan in the late 1960's, which was an ambitious social welfare program backed by the Nixon administration. This was adopted by a large majority in the US House of Representatives, however ultimately rejected in the US Senate in 1970, with arguments both stating it did not go far enough to help, and others claiming it was a far too bold of a policy. With Watergate and Nixon's resignation the policy that was being intensely debated ended, and went on to live in academic circles from that point on.

One of the most interesting historical moments of UBI, is with the only genuine UBI in existence today, which is in Alaska in the form of the Alaska Permanent Fund. The PFD as it is called in Alaska was passed in the 1970's by Republican governor Jay Hammond. Concerned about the wealth being generated by the oil mining in Prudhoe Bay, the largest oilfield in North America, only benefiting a few he introduced the idea of investing part of that revenue from the oil. The PFD is a true universal basic income paid to all residents of the state of Alaska and has

been immensely successful and popular with Alaskans. This program is used as an example in all conversations about the validity of UBI as a policy. UBI went back to the halls of academia until a surprising 2020 presidential candidate.

Andrew Yang 2020

Andrew Yang was a 2020 democratic presidential candidate whose main policy platform was universal basic income, or as he called it “The Freedom Dividend”. Yang’s campaign's unexpected success has brought UBI back into the larger public discourse on social safety nets, and along with the Covid-19 pandemic has helped launch many UBI pilot programs all over the US. Yang sold his education company after the financial crisis of 2008 and decided to focus on real world solutions to the problems facing the U.S. He was a long shot for getting the presidential nomination, however Yang has brought UBI back into the public discussion in a major way by focusing on the automation of jobs which has destroyed millions of manufacturing jobs and is also poised to effect white collar jobs as well because of the rapid advancements in artificial intelligence technology. From Yang2020.com:

“Andrew Yang wants to implement the Freedom Dividend because we are experiencing the greatest technological shift the world has ever seen. By 2015, automation had already destroyed four million manufacturing jobs, and the smartest people in the world now predict that a third of all working Americans will lose their job to automation in the next 12 years. Our current policies are not equipped to handle this crisis. Even our most forward-thinking politicians are unprepared.”

Along with the ever-widening wealth and income gaps within the U.S. it is not surprising how UBI keeps finding its way into the conversation. Though Americans are mixed on UBI currently, the extremely divided U.S. has had little time to think clearly about policy solutions such as UBI, because of the polarizing nature of national politics. However, with Covid-19 wreaking havoc across the US, Yang's UBI has become a major part of the relief conversation, both in the U.S. and abroad.

Several countries have used a UBI to help their citizens get through this unprecedented time in modern history. From Canada to Spain, the use of UBI as a response to the Covid-19 pandemic's negative impacts, have been telling. One article brings up another aspect to the discussion, one of social safety net programs and how well they work, "While UBI provides an option for the widespread unemployment that has occurred with the COVID-19 pandemic, experiences from the crisis also provoke the question of whether current social security systems are sufficient for security in a flexible economy." (Ståhl, C.& MacEachen, E. 2020) This also brings us back to Yang's vision of the future of economies and work as a whole needing to be adaptable. Only time will tell, and the data is becoming more and more abundant on the usefulness of a universal basic income as the data from the pilot programs become available.

One such present-day pilot program for UBI is happening in California. The frontrunners are Californian cities like Stockton, Compton and Oakland which are leading the way with pilot programs to help with extreme poverty. Programs like Stockton Economic Empowerment Demonstration (SEED) and the Compton Pledge are pilots that are willing to take bold action to help those suffering more and more from the effects of poverty and inequality. These are pilot programs led by the mayors of these cities looking to add to the data about UBI, and how it works to improve overall health and self-sufficiency for its residents. These mayors are showing

how practicality and empathy can work within policy making. The preliminary data shows that those receiving the benefit tend to report higher levels of psychological and physical well-being and spend the cash payments in ways that help their overall situations. From the SEED executive summary, it perfectly states, "...we believe that SEED provides an opportunity to imagine a fairer and more inclusive social contract that provides dignity for all." This is how the UBI conversation is moving the narrative about not just poverty but how social safety nets should be upgraded to meet the needs of the people in a rapidly evolving economic environment.

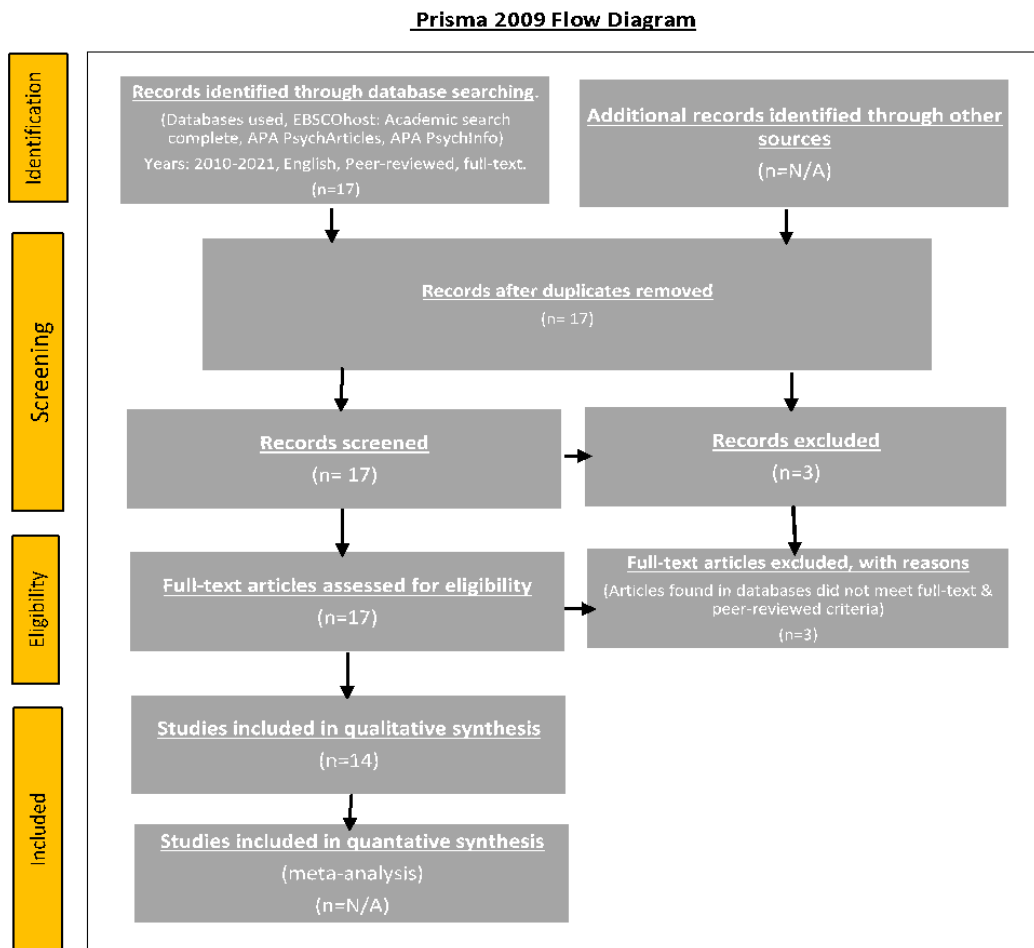
Chapter 3-Methodology

The methodology is a qualitative meta-synthesis (QMS). Defining QMS, from Eriwn, E.J., et al. (2011), Qualitative meta synthesis is a deliberate and comprehensible method to analyze data across qualitative studies. It is a process that enables researchers to identify a specific research question and then search for, select, evaluate, encapsulate, and bring together qualitative evidence to address the research question. Using the realist qualitative approach and the Prisma 2009 flow chart (diagram 1.) for identification, screening, and eligibility. I will conduct this meta- synthesis on the social problem of poverty, specifically the theoretical approaches to understanding poverty and how intervening with empathy as the foundation of policy making is the best way forward. Specifically, this meta- synthesis will examine the literature on universal basic income and poverty to start building the foundations of resource theory. Using universal basic income as the archetype of a social policy that is based in empathy and dignity. I will analyze a current data sample around UBI, and poverty as stated within my criteria section.

Criteria

The criteria for articles in the sample for the qualitative meta-synthesis will be focusing on universal basic income and poverty as the keywords, articles will be peer-reviewed from the databases Academic Search Complete, APA Psych Articles, and APA Psych Info. The search was limited by dates 2010-2021, full text, English language articles. Article criteria will be inputted into the Prisma flow diagram shown below as (diagram 1.) Using the memoing templates from below in the analysis section. (Table 1.0) As stated earlier, we investigate the three themes translated out of the articles within the sample: self-sufficiency, mental and

physical health, and stigma. The linkage between these main themes and the literature of UBI emerged clearly from the data. The reasoning for selecting these three themes out of the many are because they show the major negative impacts of poverty next to the current objectives of U.S. anti-poverty programs alleviation strategies, and how a universal basic income is better suited for alleviating those negative impacts. The other themes will get their own category for later research, but will be talked about later in the discussion section for added context to recommendations and future research studies.



(Prisma 2009 Flow Diagram (diagram 1.)

Analysis

The analysis will be conducted by reading through the sample articles looking for themes ranging amongst best practices in social safety net programs, poverty, narratives around the poor, universal basic income, stigma, mental and physical health, and self-sufficiency. Looking into the conversations about these topics and pulling out why programs like UBI should be the focus of policymakers in the future, because the data is clear on the traumas of poverty and what helps relieve those traumas. Coding with memoing the articles from all sides of the discussions to see where they meet, where they diverge, and why. Using a templates like the one below for coding:

1 <i>Reference</i>	2 <i>Findings from Primary Sources</i>	3 <i>Within-Study Memos</i>	4 <i>Cross-Study Memos</i>	5 <i>Resource Theory</i>

(Table 1 Memoing Templates)

Memoing methods being used as the collection point for the data as to introduce resource theory in future studies, but will start with looking for what the literature says about poverty, poverty's effect on the individuals and the country, what people need to thrive in the U.S., what basing policy in empathy could look like, the need for anti-poverty programs to be updated and upgraded, means testing and paternalistic judgmental rules that follow a toxic meritocracy narrative, and what the literature is saying about UBI as a policy.

Chapter 4-Results

The results from the qualitative meta-synthesis of poverty and universal basic income confirm that the three main themes of physical and mental health, self-sufficiency, and stigma exist across the entire article sample (n=14). In addition, we find some alternative sub themes that we will shortly discuss and group as "other." Many of these themes are a part of an in-progress resource theory, however, for this study we will stay focused on poverty and universal basic income, looking at how poverty harms people and how a policy like UBI offers a framework for updated social safety net programs according to the data. Looking at what is helpful to the impoverished, and how UBI as a policy framework moves social policy closer to eliminating poverty. Other themes like framing of narratives, meritocracy myths, the highly conflicting nature of resource classes will be noted but not explored in this paper. Using the criteria from the above section this study will look at the three themes of self-sufficiency, mental and physical health, and stigma as patterns across different UBI studies and pilot programs (n=14) and how the impacts of a UBI have the potential to move people out of poverty/resource deficiency into a level of resource sufficiency/thriving. Table 2 shows the collections of main themes into categories, showing connections between what poverty does to people and how UBI offers remedies directly to them.

Poverty themes	Universal basic income (UBI) themes
<p>SELF SUFFICIENCY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Poverty keeps people in survival mode, which is short-term in its tactics and strategies. ● Current poverty measures are outdated and incomplete, leading to poverty traps within policy. <p>HEALTH AND MENTAL HEALTH</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Both physical and mental health outcomes are very dire for the poor. ● Poverty is a health crisis, but rarely framed that way ● Parenting is negatively affected for the poor. <p>STIGMA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Narratives and framing of the poor have more influence than data about the poor, ignoring research on poverty’s effects on behavior. ● Poor are not trusted to have freedom with benefits. ● Deservedness is a framing that is consistent. <p>OTHER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Poverty’s negative effects ripple across society. ● Extreme ends of the resource spectrum are causes for concern for policy makers. ● Impacts on the poor are well known, impacts on the wealthy need more research ● Survival vs. Thriving. 	<p>SELF SUFFICIENCY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Educational achievements are better ● Worrying that labor will leave and become lazy is a concern, but not supported by the data. ● UBI has positive effects on parenting and childhood outcomes. ● Allows thriving foundations to people ● Automation of working-class jobs is another main theme for UBI advocates. <p>HEALTH AND MENTAL HEALTH</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● UBI data shows higher levels of positive overall health outcomes. ● Poverty outcomes with UBI and the like are higher or equal and have added positive mental health outcomes than current policies. <p>STIGMA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Takes out negative narratives because it is universal, eliminating the humiliations that poor are subjected too. ● Shows trust in people to know what they need. ● Values and narratives matter more than data within the discussion. <p>OTHER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Lower crime rates and overall aggression goes down. ● Cost of UBI is still being debated, and how to implement such a policy within current frameworks. ● UBI details need to be fleshed out, from funding to administration. ● Status quo policies are easier than overhauling for updated policy. ● Political appetite and leadership are major hurdles for UBI. ● Lack of trust in the government is a large hurdle for UBI. ● UBI could get co-opted into agendas that want to dismantle all other welfare programs.

(Table. 2 themes from memoing.)

In table 2, the themes about poverty and UBI are similar to the larger conversations within the literature of poverty and UBI. The main themes of self-sufficiency, mental and physical health, and stigma are broken up. The other subcategory is for themes that can be researched in another study. The interesting findings is that the data of how poverty has massive negative impacts to the individual and our society as a whole has had little impact on policy. The literature on what has the best outcomes for keeping people out of poverty and thriving are in line with a policy like UBI, however, non-data driven narratives, value judgements, and negative opinions of the poor are still the main issues with upgrading social safety nets according to the data. UBI data, if it is used and looked at, shows positive outcomes increasing in many areas, from health, parenting, education, and lower crime rates. Looking at table 2 above, UBI has the solution for many of the impacts of poverty. The more UBI experiments that are done, the outcomes have been similar and overall positive. Taking people out of survival modes, which is short-term, into a solid financial foundation allows people to thrive. Direct from the memoing data are quotes from the synthesized articles in table 3 lining up with the main three themes from table 2, labeling quotes with UBI or poverty for context. There were many quotes that bring the themes to life and point towards how a UBI policy can have a positive comprehensive impact for the negative multidimensional impacts of poverty.

Self-sufficiency	Mental and physical health	Stigma
<p>“... has argued, the guaranteed income was designed with the explicit purpose of balancing economic security with economic self-sufficiency.” (Calnitsky, D., & Latner, J. P. 2017 pg. 381) [UBI]</p> <p>“Parents of young children, in particular, felt that balancing strict work requirements and single parenthood had negative repercussions on their ability to parent. One parent stated that, “there were times I came home from work and fallen asleep when she’s in a tubful of water” ...” (Hamilton, L., & Mulvale, J. P. 2019 pg. 582) [Poverty]</p> <p>“They had always desired to be members of the workforce and gain financial independence, but work disincentives and bureaucratic hurdles in traditional welfare programs had trapped participants in a cycle of economic precarity and dependence.” (Hamilton, L., & Mulvale, J. P. 2019 pg. 593) [Poverty]</p> <p>“There are stark differences in outcomes in practically every sphere of life (health, education, employment, etc.) between those who have sufficient access to monetary resources and those who do not.” (Gupta, R., Jacob, J., & Bansal, G. 2021 pg. 2-3) [Poverty]</p>	<p>“Respondents reported that basic income has improved their nutrition, health, housing stability, and social connections; and better facilitated long-term financial planning.” (Hamilton, L., & Mulvale, J. P. 2019 pg.576) [UBI]</p> <p>“The existent basic income research to date has been largely quantitative. A review of the various basic income pilots in the United States and Canada (Marinescu, 2017) found that, in general, recipients reported improved nutrition, minimal changes to workforce participation, improved educational outcomes for children, decreases in hospitalization rates, improved mental health, decreased fertility, increased birth weights, and decreased criminal activity.” (Hamilton, L., & Mulvale, J. P. 2019 pg.583) [UBI]</p> <p>“The interaction between poverty and mental disorders is said to be a vicious cycle. Mental disorders add to further disabling individuals from sustaining themselves, whether it is in the form of work or in their daily life functions.” (Gupta, R., Jacob, J., & Bansal, G. 2021 pg. 3) [Poverty]</p> <p>“...economic pressures may be in the form of material needs such as the need for proper food and clothing that are left unmet, making ends meet, cutting back on expenses, such as medical insurances, etc. The experiences that result from these unmet needs contribute to the psychological strain on individuals amid economic hardships...” (Gupta, R., Jacob, J., & Bansal, G. 2021 pg. 7) [Poverty]</p>	<p>“Unlike the theoretical expectation that participants were simple leisure maximizers, participants that left the labor force typically cite limited employment opportunities, engagements in care work, disability, old age and illness related leaves, or educational investment.” (Calnitsky, D., & Latner, J. P. 2017 pg. 375) [UBI]</p> <p>“Thus, when basic needs are unmet, the rational poor will see “poverty reducing behavior”—in this case, an hour of work—as a suboptimal choice since it does little to diminish the array of challenges posed by living in poverty.” (Calnitsky, D., & Latner, J. P. 2017 pg. 381) [Poverty]</p> <p>“Perhaps more pointedly, universality implies that “there is nothing humiliating about benefits given to all as a matter of citizenship.”⁴⁶ Thus, universality removes the social stigma from accepting transfers, as well as presumably increasing political support for it.” (DIMICK, M. 2017 pg. 481) [UBI]</p> <p>“As one stated, “I became a human again under basic income.” (Hamilton, L., & Mulvale, J. P. 2019 pg. 590) [UBI]</p>

(Table 3)

Seeing the data put into the tables helps visualize the results without having to go through the vast amount of memoing data. The parallels between what the negative impacts poverty has

on individuals, and the positive impacts UBI has on people are striking, and further research should be done. The *other* themes from table 2 have additional interesting narratives like meritocracy and work ethic myths, funding for a UBI, political appetite and automation. Narratives of labor opting out or becoming lazy are worries that come up against UBI, however, the data does not back this up. In many cases people are energized to work so as to become more self-sufficient and thrive. Concerns for funding and implementing a UBI are valid and still an active part of the UBI discussion, however much of that argument has led to political feasibility and will to act, than having the resources to do it. Other themes are merit, deservedness and work ethic are very strong and should be saved for another study. The research states that there is good evidence to support an upgraded social safety net like UBI is worth the cost, and worth larger scale pilots to be conducted at the least. A larger meta-synthesis including those themes could help further the discussion between UBI, poverty, and the urgent need for upgraded social safety nets.

Chapter 5-Discussion

The findings of this qualitative meta-synthesis, focusing on poverty and universal basic income have shown that there are complementing themes. Loose observations suggested these themes were possible, and the results of our analysis confirm the major three, and additional unexpected themes and sub-themes were grouped into the “other” section for later research purposes, which can be seen as a limitation of this study. Poverty inflicts both physical and mental health trauma, while making self-sufficiency almost impossible because of the constant stressors of poverty, all while having to deal with social stigma that blames poverty on individuals. Universal basic income has shown promise helping alleviate many of the traumas of poverty, offering higher health outcomes both mentally and physically, taking away stigma due to universality while helping people build solid financial foundations which allow them to have higher levels of self-sufficiency. The data around poverty is clear in that it is a health crisis caused by economic hardship, and the current anti-poverty programs are not built with that fact in mind. UBI and other cash transfer programs are among the most effective and dignified ways to alleviate poverty. The data is clear on what to do and what not to do, and it is showing many themes that could be impeding the data from being used. It would seem that it has little to do with what should be done, it comes down to the will of policymakers to act on the data. Data shows that personal values, judgements, opinions about deservedness, political ambition, meritocracy, and work ethic myths persuade more than the overflowing amount of data that is available.

Universal basic income according to the data can be used as a policy that can help alleviate many economic social problems that we are currently facing like poverty and consistent

automating of jobs out of existence, and future social problems like the climate crisis and how the global economy of constant consumption need to change for the human race to survive. One thing is clear from the data on poverty and UBI is that the U.S. is embarrassingly lacking and trailing behind many other nations on social safety nets for its people. The reasons are also coming through the data, and it is pointing towards, at the least, an empathy deficient ruling class that is so far removed from the lives of most Americans they have become obstacles to progress, or at worst, have a toxic elite culture that is based on distorted meritocracy myths that cause callous and intentionally cruel policies. This study shows that the health crisis of poverty ripples across most regions of the U.S., and the traumatic consequences that people endure are horrendous. Stealing self-sufficiency from hard working Americans, while they drown in societal stigma that then gets internalized, consequently leading to increasingly worse mental and physical health outcomes for them and their families is not the goal of U.S. social safety net programs, however, the data shows that it is regrettably the outcome.

Chapter 6-Conclusion

The data states that poverty takes an intense toll on every aspect of an individual's life and getting access to sufficient resources is the key to a thriving and healthy life that adds value to a society. This study used a qualitative meta-synthesis on poverty and universal basic income to find themes within the literature on the effects of poverty on individuals and how UBI is better suited to help alleviate the negative effects more so than the current policies. The three major themes of focus, mental and physical health, self-sufficiency, and stigma were highlighted among the many because they are the supposed goals of social safety net programs. However, the data suggests that not only would a UBI be far better suited for achieving those outcomes, but that the current anti-poverty programs in the U.S. tend to inflame the traumas of poverty by provoking additional reasons to be in a state of survival. This study can be used as a starting place for reforming the theories used to build social safety nets within the U.S., by continuing to study what the data states about poverty alleviation. It can also help break down the complex narratives and themes that are major obstacles to using the data to eliminate poverty.

The limitations of this study are the smaller sample size (n=14) due to only one researcher available for synthesis. Qualitative meta-synthesis is a new methodology and is still evolving, and usually is done with larger research teams. Other limitations are QMS researchers' biases in article selection, regardless of controlling for this with strict criteria and the researcher's distance from the original research. Using the strict criteria for the sample has helped keep internal validity higher due to being able to replicate the article search criteria. More qualitative meta-synthesis studies should happen to understand what the data is pointing to as the

best practices, furthermore, looking at what obstacles and barriers have been keeping this data from becoming the foundation from which public policy is constructed.

When the supposed wealthiest country in all of human history has not figured out the solution to poverty, but we have individual's wealthy enough to casually go to space with their friends less than a year after the Covid-19 pandemic has wreaked havoc on the majority of Americans lives, the answer is not that we do not have the money. Poverty in the US is a complex combination of the interactions of individuals within a corrupt and neglected system. The data paints the picture of hardship and distress for those within poverty, wanting to be self-sufficient, but having no resources to build a sufficient foundation for their most basic needs. You cannot thrive when in a constant state of survival, it is extremely unhealthy and possibly the worst trauma poverty inflicts. The data is clear that poverty should be a harsh relic of the past that is long overdue for extinction. Poverty should be the main focal point of all our efforts, because its roots lead to the larger societal war over resources that belong to everyone on this planet, but are dominated by very few.

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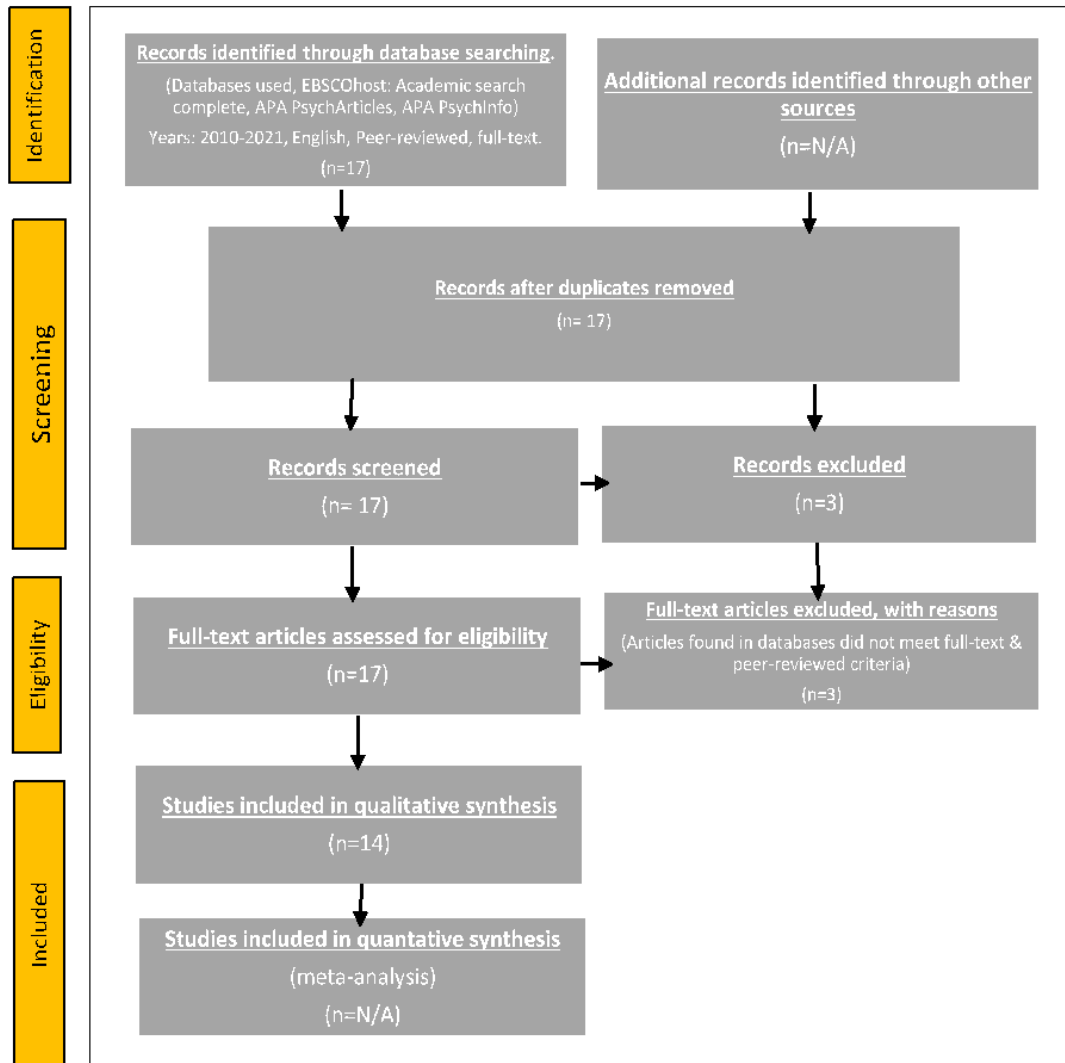
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Tables and diagrams:

(Prisma 2009 Flow Diagram (diagram 1.)

Prisma 2009 Flow Diagram



(Table 1 memoing template)

1 <i>Reference</i>	2 <i>Findings from Primary Sources</i>	3 <i>Within-Study Memos</i>	4 <i>Cross-Study Memos</i>	5 <i>Resource Independence Theory</i>

(Table 2 themes table.)

Poverty themes	Universal basic income (UBI) themes
<p>SELF SUFFICIENCY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Poverty keeps people in survival mode, which is short-term in its tactics and strategies. ● Current poverty measures are outdated and incomplete, leading to poverty traps within policy. <p>HEALTH AND MENTAL HEALTH</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Both physical and mental health outcomes are very dire for the poor. ● Poverty is a health crisis, but rarely framed that way ● Parenting is negatively affected for the poor. <p>STIGMA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Narratives and framing of the poor have more influence than data about the poor, ignoring research on poverty’s effects on behavior. ● Poor are not trusted to have freedom with benefits. ● Deservedness is a framing that is consistent. <p>OTHER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Poverty’s negative effects ripple across society. ● Extreme ends of the resource spectrum are causes for concern for policy makers. ● Impacts on the poor are well known, impacts on the wealthy need more research ● Survival vs. Thriving. 	<p>SELF SUFFICIENCY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Educational achievements are better ● Worrying that labor will leave and become lazy is a concern, but not supported by the data. ● UBI has positive effects on parenting and childhood outcomes. ● Allows thriving foundations to people ● Automation of working-class jobs is another main theme for UBI advocates. <p>HEALTH AND MENTAL HEALTH</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● UBI data shows higher levels of positive overall health outcomes. ● Poverty outcomes with UBI and the like are higher or equal and have added positive mental health outcomes than current policies. <p>STIGMA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Takes out negative narratives because it is universal, eliminating the humiliations that poor are subjected too. ● Shows trust in people to know what they need. ● Values and narratives matter more than data within the discussion. <p>OTHER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Lower crime rates and overall aggression goes down. ● Cost of UBI is still being debated, and how to implement such a policy within current frameworks. ● UBI details need to be fleshed out, from funding to administration. ● Status quo policies are easier than overhauling for updated policy. ● Political appetite and leadership are major hurdles for UBI. ● Lack of trust in the government is a large hurdle for UBI. ● UBI could get co opted into agendas that want to dismantle all other welfare programs.

(Table 3 direct data and themes.)

Self-sufficiency	Mental and physical health	Stigma
<p>“... has argued, the guaranteed income was designed with the explicit purpose of balancing economic security with economic self-sufficiency.” (Calnitsky, D., & Latner, J. P. 2017 pg. 381) [UBI]</p> <p>“Parents of young children, in particular, felt that balancing strict work requirements and single parenthood had negative repercussions on their ability to parent. One parent stated that, “there were times I came home from work and fallen asleep when she’s in a tubful of water” ...” (Hamilton, L., & Mulvale, J. P. 2019 pg. 582) [Poverty]</p> <p>“They had always desired to be members of the workforce and gain financial independence, but work disincentives and bureaucratic hurdles in traditional welfare programs had trapped participants in a cycle of economic precarity and dependence.” (Hamilton, L., & Mulvale, J. P. 2019 pg. 593) [Poverty]</p> <p>“There are stark differences in outcomes in practically every sphere of life (health, education, employment, etc.) between those who have sufficient access to monetary resources and those who do not.” (Gupta, R., Jacob, J., & Bansal, G. 2021 pg. 2-3) [Poverty]</p>	<p>“Respondents reported that basic income has improved their nutrition, health, housing stability, and social connections; and better facilitated long-term financial planning.” (Hamilton, L., & Mulvale, J. P. 2019 pg.576) [UBI]</p> <p>“The existent basic income research to date has been largely quantitative. A review of the various basic income pilots in the United States and Canada (Marinescu, 2017) found that, in general, recipients reported improved nutrition, minimal changes to workforce participation, improved educational outcomes for children, decreases in hospitalization rates, improved mental health, decreased fertility, increased birth weights, and decreased criminal activity.” (Hamilton, L., & Mulvale, J. P. 2019 pg.583) [UBI]</p> <p>“The interaction between poverty and mental disorders is said to be a vicious cycle. Mental disorders add to further disabling individuals from sustaining themselves, whether it is in the form of work or in their daily life functions.” (Gupta, R., Jacob, J., & Bansal, G. 2021 pg. 3) [Poverty]</p> <p>“...economic pressures may be in the form of material needs such as the need for proper food and clothing that are left unmet, making ends meet, cutting back on expenses, such as medical insurances, etc. The experiences that result from these unmet needs contribute to the psychological strain on individuals amid economic hardships...” (Gupta, R., Jacob, J., & Bansal, G. 2021 pg. 7) [Poverty]</p>	<p>“Unlike the theoretical expectation that participants were simple leisure maximizers, participants that left the labor force typically cite limited employment opportunities, engagements in care work, disability, old age and illness related leaves, or educational investment.” (Calnitsky, D., & Latner, J. P. 2017 pg. 375) [UBI]</p> <p>“Thus, when basic needs are unmet, the rational poor will see “poverty reducing behavior”—in this case, an hour of work—as a suboptimal choice since it does little to diminish the array of challenges posed by living in poverty.” (Calnitsky, D., & Latner, J. P. 2017 pg. 381) [Poverty]</p> <p>“Perhaps more pointedly, universality implies that “there is nothing humiliating about benefits given to all as a matter of citizenship.”⁴⁶ Thus, universality removes the social stigma from accepting transfers, as well as presumably increasing political support for it.” (DIMICK, M. 2017 pg. 481) [UBI]</p> <p>“As one stated, “I became a human again under basic income.” (Hamilton, L., & Mulvale, J. P. 2019 pg. 590) [UBI]</p>

Appendices: All memoing data.

Universal Basic Income memos tables. Total found with criteria 17, after exclusions 14

1 <i>Reference# 1</i>	2 <i>Findings from Primary Sources</i>	3 <i>Within-Study Memos</i>	4 <i>Cross-Study Memos</i>	5 <i>Resource theory</i>
<p>HENDERSON, D. R. (2015). A Philosophical Economist’s Case against a Government-Guaranteed Basic Income. <i>Independent Review</i>, 19(4), 489–502.</p> <p>(Henderson, D. R. 2015 pg.)</p>	<p>“The specifics matter. In 2013, about 230 million people in the United States were age twenty or older. Of all U.S. residents, 87.1 percent were born in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau 2014). Of the foreign-born people, a substantial percentage would have, like me, become U.S. citizens. So, a lower-bound estimate of the percentage of residents who are citizens would be 90 percent. Applying this factor to the 229.8 million adults gives us 206.8 million adult U.S. citizens. The annual BIG expenditure for U.S. citizens, then, would be approximately \$2,068 trillion. This expenditure estimate does not include any expenditure for administering the program or for monitoring for fraud. In other words, it is a minimum estimate.” Pg. 489-490</p> <p>“Zwolinski has argued elsewhere that a BIG “would be much better than the current welfare state.” He writes: “Current federal social welfare programs in the United States are an expensive, complicated mess. According to Michael Tanner, the federal government spent more than \$668 billion on over one hundred and twenty-six anti-poverty programs in 2012. When you add in the \$284 billion spent by state and local governments, that amounts to \$20,610 for every poor person in America” (2013b, emphasis in original). He wonders, “Wouldn’t it be better just to write the poor a check?”” pg. 490</p> <p>“A \$2,068 trillion program would replace programs whose total expenditures in</p>	<p>This study is takes on UBI from a libertarian viewpoint and is a rebuttal to another libertarian scholars’ argument for it. This article bases much of its arguments in costs and unfair taxes. It talks about the money already spent on welfare programs and how a UBI is not a more practical, moral, or just programs replacement.</p> <p>He economic and cost arguments are basic and awfully specific to his rebuttal of Zwolinski’s proposal. His strongest argument is the cost and how to pay for it, but it is narrow and only talks about policy outcomes from an even narrower and outdated perspective.</p> <p>His argument is the cost outweighs the benefits. And his moral and justice arguments seem embarrassedly limited when addressing the traumas of poverty, slavery, and has a built-in absolute that it is impossible to make up for the atrocities of the past with money now. Using outdated and racist narratives about those living today in the US have better lives then kings of old, industrial barons, and that POC in America are better off because of their ancestors being slaves in the US, as opposed to those who stayed in Africa. Also talking about those in Africa who did the “selling” have some</p>	<p>This article points to funding issues with UBI, which in an important part of the discussion. The funding debate for UBI is a complex one, however there has to be a level of consistency from those who are for UBI or against it.</p> <p>The narrative values that tend to press the UBI cost analysis are implicitly baked into both sides of the argument, however the data across the UBI/Cash transfer literature show that UBI puts money back into the local economies. The question is the cost worth the benefit with UBI, values of those discussing it seem to have a direct impact on how UBI can be viewed.</p> <p>Also the elitism of policy makers tends to mover past the cost, towards what I call there meritocracy myth, which pushes the work ethic myths that come with discussing poverty, and UBI as a policy upgrade for social safety net programs.</p> <p>This article is blunter with its disconnected and bias perspective, however many of the debates on UBI, and welfare programs have the explicit and implicit narrative of the poor and working class would be lazy if you help them. In the US it is a odd argument to have considering people in the US work the most, and hardest among developed countries. Even the data from UBI experiments shows people work at the same rates, just happier and living healthier lives.</p> <p>The redistribution of wealth is another theme that gets</p>	<p>With regards to resource theory, this article shows how narratives, themes, and values are pressing a lot of the conversation with UBI. These outdated narratives do not go with current research on how humans thrive within a society.</p> <p>Those same themes are in the budgetary concerns of those against a UBI. The structure of the premises used against it and many other anti-poverty programs come from wanting to punish and control the poor until they get it “right.” If you used these fiscal concern arguments with other SES/Corp. interests the foundation of the argument starts to change on the deservedness scale, without looking at all the immense challenges those growing up in poverty have to overcome to get to the elite’s definition of what contributions to society are worthy.</p> <p>This leads to the lack of empathy from elites to multiple sectors of society they have a highly unequal level of control over. It would seem that the data is vast on how SES and resources effect everyday life, but the bootstrap narrative usually is weaponized against the most vulnerable in society by those living in resource</p>

	<p>2012 were \$952 billion. Even rounding up the \$952 billion to \$1 trillion, the program that Zwolinski advocates is more than twice as costly in budgetary terms as current antipoverty programs.” Pg. 490</p> <p>“Let’s grant for now Zwolinski’s assumption that all other antipoverty programs would be eliminated. How would the federal government obtain the additional \$1,068 trillion?” pg. 490</p> <p>“So if the federal government were to implement a \$10,000 BIG today, spending by the federal government would increase by 30 percent. This amount is actually an underestimate. I am assuming that Zwolinski would want the BIG to be a federal program.” Pg. 490</p> <p>“This would be a whopping 38 percent increase in federal spending.” Pg. 491</p> <p><i>“One of the most well-established facts in the economics literature on government finance is that raising a tax rate by x percent raises the revenue from that tax by less than x percent.”</i>⁴ The reason for this relationship is that the higher tax rate discourages the activity being taxed, so the tax base on which the tax is levied is smaller than otherwise. So if the federal government were to raise all tax rates by the same percentage to generate the revenue needed, it would have to raise all tax rates by more than 45.7 percent and probably substantially more.” Pg. 491</p> <p>“The bottom marginal tax rate on individual income, instead of being 10 percent, would be 15 percent. The top marginal tax rate on individual income, instead of being its current 39.6 percent, would instead be 59.4 percent.” Pg. 491</p>	<p>blame and cost to pay, which he at least states is not just.</p> <p>Overall, this philosophical economic argument is narrow and lack luster at best, and does not age well when looking at what comes after 2015. His solutions offered instead of UBI are all over the place, from ending the war on drugs, to getting rid of regulations with certain sectors of the free market.</p> <p>As for a case against UBI, he leaves much out of the discussion, and what he brings to the table is rigid, narrow, and out of touch with what is going on in peoples lived experiences. He seems to have painted his argument in libertarianism barely, but as of today this would be a very conservative argument, and ignorant of many social issues. Comparing the Jim Crow(?) policies impacts to bad gas policy shows a lack of importance the author puts on human dignity as the core of policy.</p> <p>I would say the authors own personal and professional bias and preferences where not checked, and I find it a poor argument against UBI.</p>	<p>in the way of the UBI discussion because the merit/work ethic narratives, and wealthy elites not conceding to the exploitive nature of wealth accumulation at the higher levels, is possible through profitable exploitation from the past, that gets pasted on, through personal relationships like inheritance, and system level polices, and institutions made by those who profited off the exploitation. The line from the past to current times is a subject that is always fighting against competing narratives. Those with the most resources get their narratives out there far more than those who are living with the negative consequences of those past exploitations.</p>	<p>excess or resource extravagance.</p>
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"A reasonable minimum estimate of the deadweight loss from the current federal tax system is 25 percent of revenues raised. So the tax increases required to fund the BIG would push deadweight loss from about 25 percent of revenue to 62.5 percent of revenue raised."
Pg. 492

"In short, three effects of a \$10,000 BIG for all U.S. adults would be (1) a huge increase in the size of the federal government, (2) a huge increase in federal taxes, and (3) a huge increase in the deadweight loss from federal taxes. This analysis assumes, moreover, that the BIG would replace all existing federal welfare programs, including Medicaid, that are aimed at the poor and near-poor." Pg. 492

"In his August 21 email message to me, Zwolinski suggests a way around the huge tax increases that I have laid out: the way proposed by Charles Murray in his book *In Our Hands: A Plan to Replace the Welfare State* (2006). That method is to tax \$5,000 of the \$10,000 grant with a 20-percentage-point increase in the marginal tax rate on people who make \$25,000 or more. At the \$50,000 income level, \$5,000 of the grant would be paid back. This method does reduce the amount of other taxation required, but, of course, it increases marginal tax rates over a range of incomes by 20 percentage points. Employed people making between \$25,000 and \$50,000 are often in a 15 percent federal tax bracket, a 7.65 percent payroll tax bracket, and a 2 to 3 percent state tax bracket, for a total marginal tax rate of 24.65 to 25.65 percent. Adding 20 percentage points to their marginal tax rate would increase their marginal tax rate to 44.65 to 45.65 percent. This increase would

be a substantial disincentive to work and a substantial incentive to make money in the underground economy. To the extent the latter happened, the government would collect zero revenue. It is difficult to estimate either the revenue effects or the deadweight loss without knowing more than we currently know about the elasticity of labor supply of a substantial swath of the U.S. labor force.” Pg. 493

“I have challenged the idea that the BIG would be less bad, at least in a budgetary sense, than the status quo. But Huemer’s point is on target: even if the BIG were less bad than the status quo, that is not a strong argument, especially for a libertarian to make. To put it bluntly, the status quo is ugly.” Pg. 493-494

“To drive the point home, consider two libertarians discussing the drug war. Libertarian A wants to end the drug war and allow as free a market in drugs as is allowed in candy bars. Libertarian B wants to make illegal drugs legal but tax them heavily and severely restrict their distribution. Libertarian B argues that his option is better than the status quo, under which hundreds of thousands of people, if not millions, have their lives wrecked by government. Libertarian A agrees but thinks we would do better by ending the drug war altogether. In this argument, the status quo in the drug arena is so awful that simply coming up with a less intrusive alternative is not good enough because it is still intrusive.” Pg. 494

“Zwolinski does not make simply a pragmatic case for the BIG. He also makes a moral case:

One of libertarianism’s most distinctive commitments is its belief in the near-inviolability

of private property rights. But it does not follow from this commitment that the existing distribution of property rights ought to be regarded as inviolable, because the existing distribution is in many ways the product of past acts of uncompensated theft and violence. However attractive libertarianism might be in theory, "Libertarianism . . . Starting Now!" has the ring of special pleading, especially when it comes from the mouths of people who have by and large emerged at the top of the bloody and murderous mess that is our collective history. (2013b, emphasis in original)

I think, though, that the last sentence is not particularly accurate. When I think of people who have emerged "at the top," I think more of Bill Gates and Warren Buffett, and, unless I have missed it, they haven't been chanting "Libertarianism . . . Starting Now!" More's the pity, as the British say." Pg. 494

"My guess is that Zwolinski has a wider view of those at the top, a view that would include the top 20 percent of the wealth distribution. But if we really widen the top, we realize that virtually everyone alive in the United States is at or near the top, historically speaking. Someone even in the bottom 20 percent income bracket in the United States today typically has better housing, food, medical care, and travel options than Louis XVI had. And in some important ways, he has even more than what the wealthiest man in America a century ago, John D. Rockefeller, had. In his widely used textbook Principles of Economics, Harvard economist N. Gregory Mankiw writes: "Despite his great wealth, Rockefeller did not enjoy many of the conveniences that we now take for granted. He couldn't watch television, play video

games, surf the Internet, or send e-mail. During the heat of summer, he couldn't cool his home with air-conditioning. For much of his life, he couldn't travel by car or plane, and he couldn't use a telephone to call friends or family. If he became ill, he couldn't take advantage of many medicines, such as antibiotics, that doctors today routinely use to prolong and enhance life" (2009, 554). An earlier multimillionaire, Andrew Carnegie, died of pneumonia, which can now be treated with antibiotics even among the poorest Americans." Pg. 495

"...that the existing distribution of property rights ought not to be regarded as inviolable. I agree with that. I also agree with the reason that gets Zwolinski to that conclusion—namely, that "the existing distribution is in many ways the product of past acts of uncompensated theft and violence." But how do we get from that fact—both he and I would regard it as a fact—to the conclusion that a BIG is justified? That is difficult." Pg. 495

"I think we all can agree that many people have what they have at least in part due to previous rights violations. It is not clear to me that these people are "at the top" in what I take to be Zwolinski's narrower sense rather than in my wider sense. I think, for example, of people who paid into Medicare and Social Security only a fraction, even in present value terms, of what they get back from taxes paid by the current young and middle-aged people. Sure, many of them are on top, but many are not. I don't see how a BIG redresses that rights violation." Pg. 495

"Again, however, go back to my Social Security and Medicare example. Social Security and Medicare are

huge systemic attacks on people's rights, and I don't see a guaranteed minimum income as even an approximate rectification of these wrongs." Pg. 496

"An explanation of Friedman's point about African slave traders is required. Because many potential slave owners in the United States were competing for slaves, the price of slaves paid in Africa was bid up to approximately equal the gain that slave owners would get. So slavery created, ex ante, no large wealth transfer to U.S. slave owners. *According to Friedman's reasoning, the big wealth transfer was to the original enslavers—that is, Africans. I should point out, though, that ex post the story is different. Many slave owners in the United States bought slaves before commodity prices soared, increasing the marginal productivity of slaves. Had they not been slaves, they would have received these gains. So the issue does become messier than Friedman claims. Nevertheless, he is right that for the sake of simple justice some of the wealth of relatively poor Africans would need to be transferred to relatively wealthy African Americans.*" Pg. 496

"Think about where the slaves came from: Africa. What do we know about in the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries? It was incredibly poor, and most people were not very free there either. They weren't slaves— they were substantially freer than slaves—but they were not very free. So what did slavery do for these descendants? It caused them to be born in a more prosperous country where, although they had to contend with Jim Crow laws, most of them still had more freedom—and better opportunities—than they would have had if their

parents had not been enslaved and they had been born in Africa. So one might argue that the net effect of the injustice of the enslavement of their ancestors was that they themselves were freer and more prosperous. Then no compensation could be justified." Pg. 497

"There have been no substantial Jim Crow laws since the middle of the 1960s, which is now about two generations ago. Economist Walter Williams, himself a descendant of slaves, likes to point out that he is substantially better off precisely because slavery caused him to be born in a country with great opportunities (2010, 95). The moral claim for a BIG as a form of reparation requires not merely that an injustice has occurred but also that the injustice led to material deprivation for one's descendants. If the injustice led instead to material improvement for one's descendants, one can still deplore the initial injustice while failing to justify any claims for reparation." Pg. 497

"It is difficult to think of a group that should pay. It can't simply be those with high income. Most people with high income probably did not get much of it by treating others unjustly. This is not a small dilemma. It's the same one that economist Thomas Piketty confronts in *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (2014). After pointing out specific instances of what he regards (and many libertarians might regard) as fortunes acquired unjustly, Piketty writes: "In any case, the courts cannot resolve every case of ill-gotten gains or unjustified wealth. A tax on capital would be a less blunt and more systematic instrument for dealing with the question" (446). Piketty is right that a

tax on capital would be “less blunt and more systematic.” It would also be profoundly unjust. Advocates of a BIG, looking around for whom to tax to fund their program, face the same problem.” Pg. 498

“But there is a further problem. It is not only that we “do not have the kind of detailed information about past events or the relevant counterfactuals that would be necessary to make everyone precisely as well off[f] as they would have been had no injustice occurred.” It is that even if we had that detailed information about past events, that would still not suffice to “make everyone precisely as well off as they would have been had no injustice occurred.” The reason is that most unjust government policy creates losses to the losers that substantially exceed, in dollars, the gains to the winners. That is, most unjust government policy creates large deadweight losses.” Pg. 498

“Price controls on gasoline and the drug war are good examples of the problem of compensation, but, as noted earlier, the typical example of an unjust government policy will have the same problem. The simple fact is that almost all of us, except possibly the most-inside cronies, who are probably fewer than 5 million people, are worse off because of thousands of unjust government policies.” Pg. 499

“If we fight for a BIG, we will divert time and money away from fighting against unjust regulations. That is not a good trade-off.” Pg. 501

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1 <i>Reference# 2</i>	2 <i>Findings from Primary Sources</i>	3 <i>Within-Study Memos</i>	4 <i>Cross-Study Memos</i>	5 <i>Resource theory</i>

<p>Calnitsky, D., & Latner, J. P. (2017). Basic Income in a Small Town: Understanding the Elusive Effects on Work. <i>Social Problems</i>, 64(3), 373–397.</p> <p>KEYWORDS: Guaranteed Annual Income; Basic Income; Work; Economic Sociology; Poverty; Social Policy</p> <p>("...never-before-analyzed data from a basic income experiment that took place in a rural town called Dauphin in the Canadian province of Manitoba.")</p> <p>(Calnitsky, D., & Latner, J. P. 2017 pg.)</p>	<p>"The problem of poverty persists in the world's wealthiest societies. While its persistence is often attributed to insufficient human capital or weak labor markets, a simpler view was expressed by Paul Samuelson: "The curse of the poor is literally their poverty. Give them more money" (Coyle and Wildavsky 1986:169)." Pg. 373-374</p> <p>"While there is a vibrant theoretical literature on the desirability of basic income (see debates in Van Parijs 1992 and Wright 2006), the question of its viability once implemented has not been extensively explored. In particular, the effects of basic income on work are not well understood. In our view, the best way to understand the transformation of a system as complex as the work–income relationship is to observe it directly." Pg. 374</p> <p>"We analyze the effect of a universally available basic income on labor market participation using never-before-analyzed data from a basic income experiment that took place in a rural town called Dauphin in the Canadian province of Manitoba. The Manitoba Basic Annual Income Experiment, or Mincome, operated in Dauphin for three years between 1975 and 1977." Pg. 374</p> <p>"Never before or since has a rich country conducted an experiment in a setting intended to mirror the community-level experience and future administration of a program where the abolition of one family's poverty coincides with its abolition as such." Pg. 374</p>	<p>Poverty is a trapping cycle and what they need is money and resources so they can setup a foundation in their lives so they can thrive, which a UBI can give, though rigorous testing and observation is only starting to happen.</p> <p>One key concern about UBI is its effect on labor market participation, which this study is looking into. It shows that decline is modest, usually being those who are disabled, raising children, youth going to school, and elderly.</p> <p>Unlike critics of UBI, stating many would leave the labor market for leisure, it was mostly care giving and self-improvement to re-enter the labor force with more skills.</p> <p>There were much improved outcomes in HS graduation rates, and other implicit benefits observed. It was shelved and the data left unanalyzed for political reasons or shifts in power. The raw data is what they analyzed.</p> <p>Those arguing from a place of economic privilege and incorrect economic theories about why the poor would stay on assistance do not seem to acknowledge how little resources the poor are trying to work with. If working costs more than getting benefits, because stagnant wages and overall expenses it would make sense to opt out until a</p>	<p>Like many other articles that use data from UBI pilots/experiments the benefits have both explicit and implicit benefits, from overall health to the success of children.</p> <p>This article brings the meritocracy/work ethic myth to the forefront, with the concerns of people leaving the labor market for leisure, or the "lazy surfer" argument which asks if those who do not fit or want to participate in a capitalist societies norms, do they deserve to have their basic needs met?</p> <p>The data that was not analyzed by those who did the experiment in Canada, because the different political party decided it did not care too, also shows a lack of interest in data driven best practices. It shows that political ideology matters more then finding the most impactful and dignified ways to help with social problems. The data shows many of the UBI benefits from other studies and experiments, while also showing very little drop in labor. But data vs internal philosophical narratives rarely change minds, so the foundations of these narratives should be accounted for, and not allowed to steer the UBI/Welfare reform conversations unless backed up by creditable data.</p> <p>Overall, it would seem from this Canadian UBI pilot experiment that it would be better than many other policies in place. So, the question is why their elite policy makers are allowed to disregard the hard data for personal anecdotal beliefs.</p>	<p>It would also seem that the cycle of poverty has a baked in theme of deservedness in it, that those at the bottom need to be punished and supervised to get aid or benefits from the government, leaving out the research about what the trauma of poverty do to a person born into it, or is subjected to it for longer periods of time. Meritocracy myth is found within these narratives about those in poverty. The UBI data suggest that if given resources without means testing and paternal oversight cash transfer get spent on basic needs or self-improvement to get better employment.</p> <p>More studies like the Mincome one in Canada should be used to get more data and evidence on whether UBI and programs like it are the best practices of the time, and the upgrade that is needed.</p>
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	<p>“No published research has analyzed the experiment’s own qualitative or quantitative survey data in order to understand the experience in Dauphin.⁴ Using a difference-in-difference model, our analysis shows that a moderately sized basic income generated an 11.3 percentage point reduction in labor market participation.” Pg. 375</p> <p>“Using a difference-in-difference model, our analysis shows that a moderately sized basic income generated an 11.3 percentage point reduction in labor market participation. For some perspective, this gap is not unlike the current labor market participation gap between countries like the U.S. or Canada on the one hand, and a country like Belgium on the other.⁵ We estimate that nearly 30 percent of that 11.3 percentage point fall in labor market participation—or, about 3.1 percentage points—can be attributed to “social interaction” or “community context” effects.” Pg. 375</p> <p>“The portion of the effect linked to the modified social dynamics or norms that appear in a community with a universally available basic income is the social interaction effect. Thus, ignoring the community-level context underestimates work reductions. Adjudicating between individual and community effects is a key contribution of this study.” Pg. 375</p> <p>“We show that both young and single-headed households drive withdrawals disproportionately.” Pg. 375</p> <p>“Unlike the theoretical expectation that participants</p>	<p>reasonable opportunity for work comes along.</p> <p>It also observes that people with UBI that can work, do and are more incentivized to do so because of basic needs being met. They can build a more stable financial foundation to thrive from.</p> <p>Then there is the argument that is working in the labor market required for someone to “deserve” to live a decent life? Most people would not live off just a UBI, but some would make it work for a level of time wealth. Is this something to be worried about? Research says no.</p>		
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were simple leisure maximizers, participants that left the labor force typically cite limited employment opportunities, engagements in care work, disability, old age and illness related leaves, or educational investment.” Pg. 375

“Like the American experiments, the chief aim of Mincome was to track the labor market effects of an income security program administered in the form of a negative income tax (Hum, Laub, and Powell 1979). Also like the American experiments, Mincome included “dispersed modules” in Winnipeg and rural Manitoba where randomly selected treatment participants would be evaluated against controls. However, due to an interest in gaining administrative experience with the GAI, not least among politicians (Manitoba, February 22, 1974; Hikel and Harvey 1973; Schreyer 1971), the central design difference was the inclusion of a saturation site in Dauphin, Manitoba.” Pg. 376

“In Dauphin, administrative and community issues could play out in a less artificial setting, shedding light on what a national GAI might look like. Researchers felt that the reduced chance for joint leisure activities or the fear of hostility to work time reductions might bias behavior in the dispersed sites (Atkinson, Cutt, and Stevenson 1973; Hum et al. 1979).” Pg. 376

“The saturation site was intended to simulate a delivery and administration system where costs, community participation and experience would resemble, at the community level, a

Canada-wide program.” Pg. 376-377

“Detailed econometric results from the experiment might have emerged more promptly had the project not faced major setbacks from the outset (Hum 1985). The original \$79 million budget proved, over the course of the Mincome program, to be insufficient. Unlike the guaranteed incomes themselves, the budget was not indexed to inflation. The experiment in Dauphin was completed, though different research elements were jettisoned along the way, such as the embedded sociologists (see Rhyne 1979). Data were to be archived but not analyzed. The project concluded all activities in 1979, publishing no official report and leaving vast amounts of collected data unanalyzed. Reflecting on the unfortunate demise of the experiment, original Mincome research director Derek Hum (1985) recalled that “[t]he data, it was hoped, would at least be preserved for analysis at a later date” (p. 42).” Pg. 377

“Using aggregate data from the Department of Education she showed that during the Mincome years, Dauphin students were more likely than their rural or urban counterparts to enroll in high school. Additionally, using Manitoba Health data, she showed that relative to controls Dauphinites saw a reduction in hospitalization rates during the Mincome years. As Forget’s research demonstrates, an experiment of this sort elicits a variety of interesting macro-social questions. In the section below we motivate the value of experimentation at the community level.” Pg. 378

“These produced valuable datasets used chiefly to answer one key question: is there a difference between the labor supply of people that receive a guaranteed annual income and those that do not? The answer was a modest yes. Across the various experiments, men receiving the income supplement had worked between 0.5 and 9 percent fewer hours than men not receiving the supplement. Married women and single mothers typically saw somewhat larger labor supply effects (see Burtless 1986; Greenberg and Robins 1986; Hum and Simpson 1991; Keeley 1981; Robins 1985; Widerquist 2005).” Pg. 378

“They were, however, communities without access to the GAI, and therefore not the relevant communities. The relevant community to study individual decision-making is one where individual decisions are made amidst neighbors facing the same decisions (see Blalock 1984; Durlauf 2001; Garfinkel, Manski, and Michalopoulos 1992; Hedstrom 2005; Przeworski 1974).” Pg. 378

“In short, the appeal of macro-experimentation is rooted in a deeply sociological instinct that micro-level incentive adjustments are not independent from macro-level contexts.” Pg. 379

“Macro-social feedback is as significant to the question of work as it is in the example of education. Yet, the implicit assumption of micro-experiments with dispersed participants is that context is uninteresting subject matter.⁹ The possibility, for example, that an emerging social milieu makes work reduction more socially

	<p>acceptable is ruled out. In fact, as spelled out in section four, the significance of community-level experimentation lies in the diversity of social interactions that develop around a revolutionized policy regime.” Pg. 379</p> <p>“The Dauphin experiment sheds light on a number of interesting macro issues that cannot be discovered in the context of randomized controlled trials.¹⁰ For this reason, thinking about basic income’s effects on work requires distinctions between the individual-level effects that operate at the scale of changes in the micro-level incentive structure, and social-interaction effects involving a dynamic interdependence between individuals and the communities in which they are embedded.” Pg. 379</p> <p>“Macro-experiments have the advantage that they do not require the unlikely pretense that an individual’s behavior will not affect the behavior of others.” Pg. 379</p> <p>“This section presents a map of sometimes mutually reinforcing, sometimes crosscutting mechanisms at social and individual levels. While our data allow us to distinguish the social from the individual levels, it is inherently difficult to distinguish among the specific individual and social mechanisms. However, if we hope to understand the real-world effects of a policy like basic income, it is necessary to outline the relevant candidates. The case of basic income in a small town provides an opportunity to expand the theoretical toolkit and outline the constellation of mechanisms at work.” Pg. 379-380</p>			
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“The central individual-level hypothesis dominating the debate on basic income argues that in the absence of the dull compulsion of economic relations, individuals may reduce work in formal labor markets.¹¹ This general hypothesis—the only mechanism considered by economists studying the work effects of the NIT—was analyzed within the highly stylized theoretical context of static consumer choice theory applied to rational individuals optimizing the trade-off between labor and leisure (Burtless and Greenberg 1982; Kesselman and Garfinkel 1978; Metcalf 1973).” Pg. 379-380

“We retain this general mechanism but interpret it more broadly. We see the mechanism as an individual’s basic “exit option” from formal labor markets, but do not assume that it implies more leisure.” Pg. 380

“As we will see in our discussion, the abstract binary of formal labor market participation and leisure does not summarize the menu of relevant options for most people.” Pg. 380

“Karelis argues that contrary to much microeconomic theory, the law of diminishing marginal utility does not apply under conditions when (context-dependent) basic needs are unmet. This is a rejoinder to the neoclassical logic, which suggests that since the first dollar is the most valuable dollar, the poor are irrational for working less than the non-poor. Instead, Karelis’ premise is that the poor are as rational and responsive to economic incentives as anyone else. He compares poverty to having dozens of bee stings. While having only one bee sting may induce

individuals to work, say, an hour, to seek relief for that lone sting, working that same hour for relief from that same marginal sting is irrational amidst dozens of other stings.

Thus, when basic needs are unmet, the rational poor will see “poverty reducing behavior”—in this case, an hour of work—as a suboptimal choice since it does little to diminish the array of challenges posed by living in poverty.” Pg. 381

“Against the neoclassical vision, Karelis suggests that the context of poverty itself generates a low marginal utility of work. On this view, by reducing economic deprivation a basic income shifts people away from a position that disincentivizes work, and toward a position where work becomes easier.” Pg. 381

“Another argument made by many basic income advocates stresses that the scheme reduces work disincentives: no one is made worse off by taking a job. As Brian Steensland (2007) has argued, the guaranteed income was designed with the explicit purpose of balancing economic security with economic self-sufficiency. In fact, some proponents’ central argument in favor of BI over traditional welfare programs has to do with the absence of “poverty traps”—positions where not working at all is preferable to working for a small amount of income (Atkinson 1995, 2015; Vanderborght and Van Parijs 2005).” Pg. 381

“Welfare programs often reduce benefits dollar-for-dollar of earned income or maintain high marginal tax rates thereby making it difficult for welfare recipients to work (Brewer, Saez, and

	<p>Shephard 2010; Caniglia 1996; Moffitt 1992, 2002). This dynamic may have been particularly strong in North American welfare programs in the 1960s and 1970s (Danziger, Haveman, and Plotnik 1981; Hum and Simpson 1991).” Pg. 381</p> <p>“It is possible that by removing the work disincentives associated with poverty traps—particularly if the traps are deep—BI could actually increase the supply of labor from some households.” Pg. 382</p> <p>“...there is good reason to regard actual empirical results as combinations of the variety of forces.” Pg. 382</p> <p>“We identify four kinds of social mechanisms that should be considered when analyzing the realistic context of a macro-experiment: diminished stigmatization, labor demand effects, reductions of overemployment, and changes in power relations.” Pg. 382</p> <p>“One young married man stated he joined Mincome with his family because “everybody else was.” Put simply, individuals might be more inclined to reduce work hours when their friends and neighbors have already done so.” Pg. 382</p> <p>“The implicit assumption was that firm behavior is unaltered in a world of basic income. Labor demand was not determined by employers bargaining with workers with access to guaranteed incomes, ones that might make adjustments in response to the adjustments of workers.” Pg. 382</p> <p>“A third interactive effect is that “overemployed” workers—especially in a</p>			
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period of labor surplus—may reduce labor hours, making it easier for underemployed and unemployed workers to find work (Purdy 1988, 2008; see also Bosch and Lehndorff 2001; and Bruegel, Figart, and Mutari 1998). Thus, even if the labor supply decreases in terms of average work hours per worker, it is possible that the number of people employed stays constant or even grows.¹⁴ This mechanism predicts not an increase or decrease, but a redistribution of available work.” Pg. 383

“Taken together, this means that relative to controls, just over 70 percent of the 11.3 percentage point reduction in labor market participation can be attributed to individual-level mechanisms and the remainder, nearly 30 percent, can be attributed to community effects.” Pg. 386

“Among young people there is a similarly large treatment effect, at 18.6 percentage points. Dual-headed households appear less sensitive to Mincome. For this group, the equivalent treatment effect is 7.4 percentage points. Thus, the overall experimental effect on labor market participation is disproportionately driven by changes in young and single-headed households.” Pg. 387

“On this view it might be implausible to expect new norms to form and sustain in our short experimental period. On the other hand, the introduction of a radically different system of social provision that significantly altered the work-income relationship might have interrupted traditional common sense around appropriate labor market behavior. Moreover, some people might have “role

	<p>modeled” various responses to Mincome. That is, the behavioral response of one person—say, to go to school or take time off to look for a better paying job—may have influenced the behavior of another.” Pg. 388</p> <p>“These examples—like the young married man above who joined because “everybody else was”— suggest that the behavior of others impacted at least some participants. Mincome participation also appears to have carried little stigma: when asked whether any problems with people or businesses in Dauphin happened because they were on Mincome, 98 percent of participants said “never.” Pg. 390</p> <p>“Overall, two points stand out clearly in the qualitative evidence above. The first is the diversity in the accounts. Mincome’s flexibility in responding to diverse social needs, working-class needs, needs of the poor, students, parents, people at different life stages, and people facing various kinds of uncertainty, bears on its appeal to a broad segment of the population. The basic exit option, discussed in section 4.1, was valuable to a range of people with high barriers to labor market participation, meager returns to work, or now-feasible alternatives. The second is the absence of a rationale that resembles the conventional interpretation of the labor-leisure model. Historically, the labor-leisure model would likely define spending “a year at home with my children” as opting for “leisure” (i.e. Metcalf 1973), even though this is far from the intuition it conveys.” Pg.390</p> <p>“It is true that people might be reluctant to share</p>			
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information that paints them in a negative light; however, no qualitative account provides any evidence, even if stretched, which could be construed as documentation of the “Malibu surfer” (Van Parijs 1995). Instead, the diverse individual reasons to exit the labor force—some of which may have become increasingly socially acceptable due to Mincome’s social milieu—may be more closely connected to care work, early retirement, leave related disability or illness, or educational investments.” Pg. 391

“Still, it is reasonable for basic income advocates to be anxious about a scenario where work reductions diminish the underlying revenue source for the program. However, moderate declines in labor market participation should not trigger this anxiety. This is true not only because a moderate fall in participation rates will not undermine the revenue base supporting redistributive efforts. It is also true because a host of important activities from care work and education to community engagement and artistic endeavors may be unleashed when people’s basic needs are secured outside the market. These alternate activities may be highly socially productive and may improve our collective wellbeing, even though, as sources of wealth, they are not tracked well by conventional income statistics.” Pg.39

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1 <i>Reference# 3</i>	2 <i>Findings from Primary Sources</i>	3 <i>Within-Study Memos</i>	4 <i>Cross-Study Memos</i>	5 <i>Resource theory</i>

<p>DIMICK, M. (2017). Better Than Basic Income? Liberty, Equality, and the Regulation of Working Time. <i>Indiana Law Review</i>, 50(2), 473–515.</p> <p>Subjects: BASIC income; INCOME distribution; LABOR market; TECHNOLOGICAL innovations; UNEMPLOYMENT; INDUSTRIAL welfare</p> <p>(DIMICK, M. 2017 pg.)</p>	<p>“In its largest advance to date, a basic income proposal was put to a referendum vote in Switzerland. Although the proposal failed, that such a plan was voted on at all is rather momentous.” Pg. 474</p> <p>“For supporters, basic income does several things: it eliminates poverty; counters rising income inequality; non-paternalistically promotes freedom because recipients are free to use their basic income in whatever way they deem appropriate, in contrast to traditional means-tested and in-kind welfare state policies; and it offers a solution to what many fear is the approaching apocalypse of technological unemployment. Central to its appeal—and this Article—basic income eliminates dependence on the labor market and makes possible meaningful lives not dictated by market imperatives.” Pg. 476</p> <p>“The goal of this Article is to compare basic income¹³ with another policy: the regulation of working hours.¹⁴ The novel contribution is that, despite initial impressions, both basic income and working-hours regulation have, surprisingly, implications for an identical list of normative criteria. Both have consequences for broad normative principles, such as enhancing individual liberty¹⁵ and increasing social and economic equality.” Pg. 476</p> <p>“Because it is an important concern for political sustainability, basic income and working-hours regulation can also be evaluated in terms of what is called their “universality.”²⁰ Thus, despite first appearances, basic income and working-hours regulation are quite</p>	<p>Having any official policy for UBI put forth is huge.</p> <p>UBI allows freedom, trust and dignity vs means testing that is paternal and shaming. It also can help elevate joblessness from automation.</p> <p>UBI vs Working hours reform are similar in most of their stated goals, with working hours being more politically feasible. UBI is still rather untested in comparison.</p> <p>UBI not as egalitarian as is stated in literature.</p> <p>Combining both policies would be best, however UBI is more disruptive than working hour reform. UBI is not being rejected, just is not currently how things are setup in the capitalist economy.</p> <p>Working hours reform could help UBI in future. Labor violence for older working hours reform is noted in US history, showing hostility towards working class needs.</p> <p>Theme of “lazy” non-workers. Assumes those at the bottom, working class will become lazier instead of doing what the upper classes would do with the money. Work ethic myth implicit?</p> <p>Middle-class would be worst off because of social pressure to keep up material success</p>	<p>This study involves the theme of political appetite for UBI, vs another policy like working hour regulation. UBI is not dismissed as much as thought of as unrealistic with elite policymakers and those that fund them.</p> <p>Lazy worker theme shows up again, along with working is good for your narrative which comes from the work ethic myth. Defining the worthiness of a person through their work, as defined by capitalism.</p> <p>Leisure time vs resources are the point here.</p> <p>Themes of successful having to pay for the unsuccessful, the middle and upper classes having to paid for the unfair UBI, lays in the meritocracy myth, framing the system level solution as unfair to individuals who benefited from unfair policies in the first place.</p> <p>The theme that the untalented and stupid will be supported unfairly by those who are talented and intelligent. What is interesting is that the assumption that all the untalented and stupid are in the lower classes. Stating that is unfair to have to pay for that, however what is never added into the conversation is that many untalented and stupid people get a lot they shouldn’t if they are lucky enough to be born into privilege. How many very under qualified people in places of privilege get to do this, while those struggling under harsh conditions of poverty are blamed for being born into struggle and poverty.</p> <p>Lack of empathy for what poverty and survival modes</p>	<p>Many of the same themes and narratives around poverty and UBI are present, like meritocracy myths and value judgements on who is talented and smart, and who is not, and where those people are on our SES categories. The assumptions are narrow and lack awareness of a complex society that have harsh consequences for those born into poverty or working classes, vs the privileges given to those born into higher SES’s that allow opportunities regardless of their talent and intelligence.</p> <p>Data shows the struggles of the poor, but when the narratives start, those with the resources control the stories being told and about who.</p> <p>Many look for UBI alternatives because the lack of empathy of the policy makers and the lack of trust in government to do it right, or that it will be corrupted by those in charge.</p> <p>All the main UBI positive impacts are within this study too, however the political will to help inequalities seems harder and harder to sell.</p>
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	<p>normatively comparable.” Pg. 476</p> <p>“In addition, the advantages of basic income are perhaps not as great as proponents believe. Furthermore, untested and untried to any serious extent anywhere in the world, basic income faces very real issues of both economic and political feasibility.²² As an alternative to basic income, this Article proposes a simple extension of an already existing policy solution: the regulation of maximum working hours.” Pg. 476</p> <p>“Basic income is almost always put forward as an egalitarian policy, one that can directly, dramatically, and even efficiently redress poverty and economic inequality.²³ Yet, although basic income may indeed ameliorate income inequality—though, as I will note, there are limitations here, too—it may actually exacerbate social inequality. There is much more to equality than simply the distribution of income. And in these aspects, basic income may do more harm than good. In contrast, working-hours regulation will—perhaps surprisingly—do much more to reduce social inequalities than will basic income. This claim may constitute the strongest argument in favor of choosing the regulation of working time over basic income.” Pg. 477</p> <p>“. By demonstrating the advantages of working hours regulation, this Article challenges conventional wisdom and concludes that the legal system can indeed be a more compelling choice than the tax system.” Pg. 477</p> <p>“e legal system can indeed be a more compelling choice</p>	<p>illusions? Seems to be more concerned for the equity of middle classes and up vs. working and lower classes. Assuming overall most people would rather just work less for the same money than have a UBI, or that it would be more equal. Leisure time seems to be considered more important than financial resources.</p> <p>Stating that UBI would result in luck equality. More themes involving: Lazy, untalented, and stupid people getting benefits they do not deserve. Stating that those who are smarter and more talented will be forced to take care of those people. Using Van Parijjs’s perspective as a foundation. Theme of deservedness implicit. Also assumes all of those people will be from the lower classes.</p> <p>Makes no mention of the stupid and untalented that come from privileged and find their way through luck of birth into positions they are not qualified for. Taking positions from talented people just because they come from high SES. Themes of deservedness, and economic martyrdom for the talented and smart. Lack of empathy for what poverty and survival modes can do to a developing mind.</p> <p>Labor concerns and the market are considered the most important thing.</p>	<p>can do to a developing mind are showing themselves in these positions on UBI and of welfare programs.</p> <p>Labor concerns and the market are considered the most important thing, even though UBI data states it is not an issue.</p> <p>Themes of deservedness, and economic martyrdom for the talented and smart come up in UBI literature, and welfare programs in general.</p>	
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than the tax system. Another reason for comparing basic income and working-hours regulation is that such a contrast contributes to the discussion about policy choice under political and, specifically, democratic constraints. Much—especially academic—discussion about policy is overly philosophical, focusing on fundamental normative principles. But many non-normative constraints also influence what policies are possible—not just desirable. These include political institutions, political capital, path dependencies, and institutional complementarities, to name but a few. For example, as a large political literature suggests, how countries regulate financial markets depends a lot on how they regulate labor markets. Therefore, however much we may find a piece of financial regulation normatively attractive, implementing that regulation may depend—positively—on the nature of surrounding rules, institutions, and interests.”
Pg. 477-478

“Basic income and working-time regulation gives us a good example of this problem. On an abstract philosophical level, these policies are not necessarily substitutes. That is, there is no particular normative reason why a country could not have both basic income and stricter regulation of working time. Indeed, there are some authors who have argued precisely for both.¹ Nevertheless, real-world, existing constraints—limits in political capital, political feasibility, path dependency, etc.—may make such a choice necessary. In particular, basic income represents a quite novel,

“disruptive” and “post-industrial” approach to welfare reform. Working-time regulation—which in some fashion already exists in every developed country—is far more consistent with welfare-state policy as it currently exists.” Pg. 478

“Consequently, basic income may generate substantial tensions with the existing institutional environment of mature welfare states. To the extent that this is true—and makes each policy institutional if not normative substitutes—this Article offers some reasons for why working-time regulation can be preferred to basic income. Furthermore, this Article should not be read as a rejection of basic income as a policy proposal by itself.” Pg. 478

“Perhaps more pointedly, universality implies that “there is nothing humiliating about benefits given to all as a matter of citizenship.”⁴⁶ Thus, universality removes the social stigma from accepting transfers, as well as presumably increasing political support for it.” Pg. 481

“Several of the American labor movement’s bloodiest and most well-known strikes emerged from the short hours movement.” Pg. 482

“The Depression witnessed a dramatic increase in unemployment, and work-time regulation came to be seen as a solution. By shortening working hours, employers would be forced to hire more workers in order to satisfy demand driven production requirements. Thus, not only could work-hours regulation create more leisure time for workers, but it could also create more work opportunities for those

	<p>struggling to find a job.” Pg. 482</p> <p>“ In this section, this Article summarizes Van Parijs’s liberal theory of basic income, and then compares effects of basic income on individual liberty with effects of working-hours regulation.” Pg. 486</p> <p>“Like basic income and unlike ordinary income, wealth is unconditional and is not (directly) a return for labor or capital services. Basic income therefore promotes the maximin of wealth.⁹⁸ Furthermore, because an unconditional basic income reduces an individual’s dependency on paid employment, it “confers upon the weakest more bargaining power in their dealings with both potential employers and the state.”⁹⁹ This more substantial bargaining power gives individuals a stronger likelihood of securing for themselves greater powers and prerogatives attaching to their social positions.” Pg. 486</p> <p>“When moving to a basic income scheme, the welfare of those who have small material needs and prefer a lot of leisure are made substantially better off than those who prefer to work and have a high level of material needs. ¹⁰⁷ Under some standard interpretations, basic income therefore represents an—illiberal—bias in favor of the “lazy.”” Pg. 487</p> <p>“Not just subsistence-level workers, but large sections of middle-class workers would also be affected by working-time regulation that limited the number of work hours. This would be particularly true if regulatory reform sought to increase salary</p>			
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thresholds and tighten the exemptions currently applied to white-collar workers.¹²² If one then had to choose between policies based on a liberty-enhancing effect on the ability of individuals to pursue greater leisure, working-time regulation is preferred to basic income.” Pg. 487

“While giving a more accurate view of individual choice, relative-consumption behavior can unfortunately be inefficient from an economic point of view, leading to losses in social welfare.¹³³ Specifically, a desire to “keep up with the Joneses”¹³⁴ will cause people to spend more on consumption than they might otherwise. This is wasteful “arms race”¹³⁵ behavior because, since everyone does it, it does not change relative-consumption rankings. People would be better off if everyone reduced consumption.” Pg. 490

“Relative-consumption behavior also applies directly to the work versus leisure choice.¹³⁷ From a desire to keep up with the consumption standards of others, individuals will allocate more time to work than leisure than they otherwise would.¹³⁸ Although longer working hours generates more income and therefore more consumption, it lowers welfare because it is wasteful, “positional” consumption. This inefficiency creates a scope for public policy. Absent the relative-consumption effect, individuals would prefer to work fewer hours.” Pg. 490

“The conclusion is that while basic income would certainly expand the scope for leisure in society, this opportunity will only be available to some

of the lowest paid workers. Basic income will do nothing to increase availability of leisure time for broad sections of middle- and even upper-class workers. On the other hand, working-time regulation can do much more to make the choice of leisure time a more tangible option for many of these workers. Working-time regulation can therefore do better than basic income in expanding freedom—literally making free time more abundant for more people.” Pg. 491

“According to luck egalitarianism, even if these dependent caretakers live in destitution, they are not entitled to public assistance because they have voluntarily chosen these roles.” Pg. 493

“As Anderson concludes, “Van Parijs’s proposal effectively indulges the tastes of the lazy and irresponsible at the expense of others who need assistance.” 167 Thus, basic income does not evince an equal respect or concern for members of society.” Pg. 493

“A second objection that Anderson makes is that luck egalitarianism grounds the basis for citizens’ claims on the public in the observation that some individuals are inherently inferior to others in terms of their attributes, talents, and other characteristics. 168 “Thus, its principles express contemptuous pity for those the state stamps as sadly inferior and uphold envy as a basis for distributing goods from the lucky to the unfortunate.” 169 Anderson does not illustrate this criticism with basic income, but it is simple to draw that connection. Van Parijs’ paradigmatic beneficiary of basic income is the “lazy surfer.” 170 And basic

income would no doubt constitute a substantial enhancement in “real freedom” for such individuals, and would make possible a fulfilling and meaningful life that would not be possible in the absence of basic income. Another example is persons who desire little more than to create art, but that cannot support themselves as artists because their work remains unknown or unpopular. For these persons, basic income would also make possible lives of meaning previously available only to others.” Pg. 493

“To the stupid and untalented: Unfortunately, other people don’t value what little you have to offer in the system of production. Your talents are too meager to command much market value. Because of the misfortune that you were born so poorly endowed with talents, we productive ones will make it up to you: we’ll let you share in the bounty of what we have produced with our vastly superior and highly valued abilities.” Pg.494

“By providing nothing more than a cash transfer, basic income at most changes only background conditions of the labor market. Otherwise, labor markets are left untouched and basic income works solely through public institutions.” Pg. 501

“In this argument, basic income is superior to working-hours regulation precisely because it respects this division between private market exchange and public redistribution. That is, public policy should not invade the market because this site should be left to individuals to bargain and contract on their own. In the case of basic income and working-hours

	<p>regulation, this view implies the kind of evaluation that we encountered—and rejected—earlier. This evaluation is that basic income is more conducive to individual freedom than working-hours regulation.” Pg. 501-502</p>			
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1 <i>Reference# 4</i>	2 <i>Findings from Primary Sources</i>	3 <i>Within-Study Memos</i>	4 <i>Cross-Study Memos</i>	5 <i>Resource theory</i>
<p>Hamilton, L., & Mulvale, J. P. (2019). "Human Again": The (Unrealized) Promise of Basic Income in Ontario. <i>Journal of Poverty, 23</i>(7), 576–599.</p> <p>KEYWORDS poverty; universal basic income; welfare</p> <p>(Hamilton, L., & Mulvale, J. P. 2019 pg.)</p>	<p>"Respondents reported that basic income has improved their nutrition, health, housing stability, and social connections; and better facilitated long-term financial planning." Pg. 576</p> <p>"The history of "last resort" income support programs in the United States and Canada has followed a similar arc of limited, means tested, and stigmatizing assistance. Such programs were first offered to lone mothers in the early twentieth century, expanding significantly in the 1960s and 1970s, then contracting again during conservative movements in the 1990s and 2000s. Today many of these programs (often referred to pejoratively as "welfare") are designed to return recipients to the workforce. However, significant analyses have suggested that these programs actually exacerbate poverty through counterproductive and intrusive eligibility criteria (Balmer, Dineen, & Swift, 2010; Hamilton, 2016; Lightman, Mitchell, & Herd, 2010; Mulvale, 2008; Smith-Carrier, 2017)." Pg. 576</p> <p>"Little (1998, p. xiv) contends that these advocates "upheld a morality that was bourgeois" and insisted on benefits going only to mothers who were unable to rely on a male breadwinner, who were judged to be good mothers, and who dedicated themselves exclusively to their maternal role." Pg. 577</p> <p>"Struthers (1994, p. 267) conclude "that despite the lofty rhetoric surrounding its origins, mothers' allowances within Ontario failed to attain the non-stigmatizing status of a pension or reward to mothers in return for their service to the state.</p>	<p>UBI theme of overall better health and wellbeing.</p> <p>Welfare in US & Canada have been and still are paternalistic, and do not believe the state should help people unless in extreme cases, and with supervision. UBI tend to get derailed when conservatives take control. Welfare based in protestant work ethic myth, foundations in sexism.</p> <p>Conservatives push lazy and underserving theme, framing social assistance as a burden and to be highly surveilled. Even trying to have people police each other, and over blowing fraud. Themes of deservedness arise again. Cutting programs even when data says welfare programs help when not watered down and hyper intrusive. Help is always framed as a steppingstone to get back to work no matter what it is.</p> <p>Policy makers on both sides pushed work over everything narratives, implicitly suggesting those on assistance would rather not work at all. Lack of nuance to how labor markets actually work for the working classes.</p>	<p>Using a Canadian UBI experiment as an example of how policy makers are more concern with staying in power, the data for useful programs like UBI get buried because of politically powerful people and groups, with little concern for those struggling.</p> <p>Themes like laziness, deservedness, and merit all show up within this article, undercurrents from work ethic myths paint programs like UBI as unequal to the "successful" and would make people lazy. The data does not support that across the UBI literature.</p> <p>UBI has adds dignity to social welfare that seems to make those against it uncomfortable. It would seem like many people want those already suffering in poverty to always be uncomfortable, which goes against the data for how to get and keep people out of poverty. The data seems unmoving to those who hold this philosophical viewpoint about people, more acutely poor people.</p> <p>UBI is in danger of being cooped to take away all other social programs for the poor, I do not support this. However, those with certain types of beliefs and values view assistance form the</p>	<p>The pros of UBI are becoming more and more clear, however those with the most resources get the last say and have the resources to control narratives of all the other SES's. Showing how extremes in resources can be dangerous to individuals and institutions.</p> <p>Showing regardless of the themes that keep coming up, giving people resources for their basic needs, without being intrusive and paternalistic, helps many people build a solid foundation to thrive. If you are rigid and suspicious of those needing help, using means testing it and harsh limits on benefits it causes a poverty trap that is very difficult to escape.</p> <p>Narratives about work and SES are very much apart of this conversation, however the idea that people should not starve or be homeless shouldn't be a controversial statement and helping them with dignity should be the best practice for all social policies.</p>

	<p>Grossly inadequate monthly benefits, and ongoing and intrusive moral supervision of women’s lives, rendered the program only marginally better than local relief and far below standards of assistance or supervision provided to the families of injured men through workmen’s compensation.” Pg. 577</p> <p>“An important change to income support in Ontario came about in 1966 with the launch of the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) by the federal Liberal government of the day. This legislation initiated 50/50 cost sharing between the federal and provincial governments of means-tested income assistance programs. Ontario established a new Family Benefits program for single parents, seniors, and persons with disabilities, and made incremental improvements to this program in the subsequent years until the late 1980s (Little, 1998, pp. 194–95). However in the early 1990s, the federal government began to restrict cost sharing under CAP with Ontario and other provinces. Neo-conservative ideology took hold and welfare state retrenchment occurred during the last two decades of the twentieth century, aided and abetted by politicians and opinion leaders shaping public perceptions that social assistance recipients were lazy and undeserving (Gavigan & Chunn, 2007, pp. 758–59).” Pg. 578</p> <p>“In 1995 a hard-right Conservative provincial government under Premier Mike Harris was elected. Harris championed a so-called “Common Sense Revolution,” which included a full-frontal attack on social assistance in Ontario. Rates were immediately cut by 21.6%, eligibility was tightened, surveillance of recipients</p>	<p>Policy makers interfere with social policy experiments even when the data is coming out positive. Unmoved in their positions of power even against protests from the people. Data showed health and education outcomes improved significantly. And UBI was not stigmatizing to the community, which seems what policy makers want in their welfare programs. They want those who need help to feel bad, and UBI makes everyone feel connected because there is no place for the deservedness theme in that narrative.</p> <p>Liberals were also looking to future issues like automation of jobs and sees UBI as a large buffer against negative impacts of that. UBI also seems to be “before its time” in many ways,</p> <p>Neo-liberals worry conservatives would use UBI as an excuse to cut all other social programs. Showing a theme of contempt for an inclusive and compassionate state. Lack of data on comparing traditional welfare and UBI are lacking.</p> <p>Strict work requirements caused extra stress to single parents and causes mental health issues because of these highly stressful and</p>	<p>government is bad, that is the fuel that keeps that narrative moving even though data shows investing into people directly is the best practice so far.</p> <p>Feeling human, having dignity are rated very high in UBI pilots. Also condemning traditional welfare for creating traps in the system, punishing advancement by always looking to take benefits away before financial stably has taken effect.</p>	
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	<p>increased, and workfare was implemented (Little, 1998, p. 186). A “snitch line” was also launched to encourage the reporting of alleged welfare fraud (ibid, p. 187).” Pg. 578</p> <p>“This Liberal review of social assistance mapped out a “kinder, gentler” (and supposedly more efficient) approach to last resort income support, compared to that of the previous Conservative government. But the social assistance model was still very much premised on a rationale of “get a job first and foremost” applied to those receiving or applying for social assistance, and on the “less eligibility principle” that those receiving benefits should be worse off than those are working in the paid labor force. These assumptions about social assistance were strongly embraced by political parties on the right and left in Ontario from the early 1920s until the mid-2010s.” pg. 578-579</p> <p>“The pilot project was to be formally evaluated, comparing BI recipients with a similar group not receiving the basic income, to see if there were differences in a range of factors including food security, mental and physical health, housing, employment, and enrolment in education. The Liberals under Kathleen Wynne lost the provincial election of June 2018, and the Conservative Party led by Doug Ford assumed power. Shortly thereafter the new government canceled the Basic Income pilot, despite its commitment during the election campaign to let the project run its three-year course and to examine the results. This precipitous cancellation led to a very strong wave of protest, including from grassroots organisations (including the Basic Income Canada Network and the Ontario Basic Income Network), social policy</p>	<p>impossible expectations from traditional welfare programs. Punishment of those on assistance seems to be another theme, pushing a narrative from the top down that makes people feel worthless if not always working.</p> <p>Policy makers view on those on welfare are very different from those on welfare. Lack of qualitative data could be the issue. They all saw themselves as independent and hardworking and would work more if their basic needs were being met. Work ethic myth popping up in both cases.</p> <p>UBI gave more which allowed participants with more positive health effects, particularly psychological stress that comes with poverty and low-income homes.</p> <p>Feeling human, having dignity are rated very high in UBI pilots. Also condemning traditional welfare for creating traps in the system, punishing advancement by always looking to take benefits away before financial stably has taken effect.</p> <p>UBI makes the quality of life better for all participants, and they choose to better themselves and their financial foundation</p>		
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	<p>advocates, major media outlets (Globe and Mail, 2018; Monsebraaten, 2018; Toronto Star, 2018), and researchers from around the world (Cooke & De Wispelaere, 2018; Forget et al., 2016).” Pg. 578</p> <p>“The Basic Income Canada Network (2019) collected what data it could from over 400 BI recipients in a survey that it conducted after the cancellation of the pilot. A number of positive outcomes were documented and are described in more detail below.” Pg. 578</p> <p>“In 1974 the Liberal federal government and the New Democratic Party (NDP) provincial government of Manitoba agreed to undertake an extensive experiment with an income-tested version of BI called “Mincome” (Mulvale & Frankel, 2016, pp. 35–6). The experiment ran for four years until 1979, but was then ended as costs rose and political support waned, leaving a large amount of already collected data unanalyzed. Subsequently, Forget (2011) demonstrated that during the course of the Mincome project in the town of Dauphin (which was a “saturation site” where everyone was eligible for a payment) hospitalizations, accidents, injuries, and mental health problems declined, and the rate of high school completion increased. Forget (2011) also found that Mincome participation led to very little decline in labor market participation.” Pg. 580</p> <p>“Calnitsky (2016) has shown that Dauphin residents receiving Mincome payments did not see them as stigmatizing, in contrast to their negative perception of social assistance payments. Calnitsky (2016) concludes that “[t]he bright line dividing the deserving and undeserving poor turned fuzzy” (p. 64), and sees</p>	<p>when just treated the same as everyone else.</p>		
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	<p>this as removing an impediment to social solidarity (p. 65)." Pg. 580</p> <p>"The UISP proposal was strongly opposed by the labor movement, which saw it as leaving the poor worse off than existing income security measures (Haddow, 1994). For progressive social policy advocates in Canada, this proposed UISP came to symbolize the danger of the BI model in general." Pg. 580</p> <p>"After the UISP debate, BI again faded into obscurity as a topic in Canadian social policy. The Liberals lost the election of 2006 to the Conservatives under Prime Minister Stephen Harper. This government was dedicated to downsizing federal expenditures and federal responsibility for social programs (Porter, 2015): pg. 580</p> <p>". The Liberal Party membership has adopted resolutions in support of basic income at three successive national policy conventions (Liberal Party of Canada, 2014, 2016, 2018). In the wake of these resolutions, the Liberal government declared that it was "looking at ways to provide minimum income to all Canadians" (Press, 2018). Prime Minister Trudeau and Social Development Minister Jean-Yves Duclos have flagged that our current income security system is outdated, and not attuned to new patterns of employment "marked by automation, more short-term 'gig economy' jobs and a need for people to retrain several times in their working lives" (Press, 2018). Economically vulnerable groups mentioned were the working poor, seniors, and adults without children who do not receive the Canada Child Benefit. Duclos stated that "[a]t some point, there will be a universal guaranteed minimum income in Canada for all Canadians." But he also added</p>			
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	<p>that “[o]ne day we will get there ... but that day has not yet arrived” (ibid).” pg. 581</p> <p>“In the past, non-governmental social policy advocacy organizations in Canada have ignored or been skeptical about the BI model. However, prominent groups in this sector have recently begun to speak more favorably about BI, including the Canadian Centre on Policy Alternatives (Khanna, 2016; Macdonald, 2016), Campaign 2000 (2017, p. 13), and the Tamarack Institute (Seth, 2017, p. 7). The most prominent organization strongly advocating for basic income has been the Basic Income Canada Network (BICN).” Pg. 582</p> <p>“BICN has also addressed the concern of some on the political left (e.g. Raphael, Bryant, & Mendly-Zambo, 2018) who worry that BI could provide a justification for neo-liberal forces to cut or eliminate “in-kind” social programmes of the welfare state, such as universal health care, social housing, and child care.” Pg. 582</p> <p>“This research qualitatively describes the experiences of basic income recipients who were previously recipients of traditional welfare programs. Due to privacy and other ethical considerations, there is not a great deal of existent qualitative research with welfare or basic income recipients.” Pg. 582</p> <p>“Parents of young children, in particular, felt that balancing strict work requirements and single parenthood had negative repercussions on their ability to parent. One parent stated that, “there were times I came home from work and fallen asleep when she’s in a tubful of water” (Campbell et al., 2016, p. 4).” Pg. 582</p> <p>“Parents in several studies reported leaving young children unattended in order to meet</p>			
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	<p>work requirements. Overall, parents in these studies reported increases in stress, anxiety, and depression and decreases in self-efficacy as they attempted to navigate the seemingly impossible expectations of welfare to work programs and single parenthood (Campbell et al., 2016).” Pg. 582-583</p> <p>“In both Campbell et al’s (2016) systematic review of welfare to work programs and a similar qualitative study with disability assistance recipients in the United Kingdom (Shefer, Henderson, Frost-Gaskin, & Pacitti, 2016), participants noted significant frustration with bureaucratic hurdles and the frequency of financial sanctions for seemingly minor offenses which would cast recipients into further economic precarity. These disruptions and sanctions created significant physical and mental health repercussions for Britons with disabilities (Shefer et al., 2016). One recipient described it as “like them picking at a scab.”” Pg. 583</p> <p>“The existent basic income research to date has been largely quantitative. A review of the various basic income pilots in the United States and Canada (Marinescu, 2017) found that, in general, recipients reported improved nutrition, minimal changes to workforce participation, improved educational outcomes for children, decreases in hospitalization rates, improved mental health, decreased fertility, increased birth weights, and decreased criminal activity.” Pg. 583</p> <p>“There has been little, if any, qualitative or quantitative research that contrasts the effects of receiving traditional welfare and basic income.” Pg. 583</p>			
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“Most of the participants described themselves, in one way or another, as “somebody that wants to work off assistance.” One stated that they “don’t like depending on people, I won’t ask for help. I’m just that kind of person.” and another that “I really want to work full time, I really want to do all this. I won’t give up, I won’t because it’s just too natural for me to want to work.”” Pg. 588

“Each of the participants saw themselves as hard-working individuals who faced significant barriers (which will be discussed below) to achieving their personal and financial goals. Even given these barriers, one participant stated that, “I won’t give up working off assistance because I am someone with a lot of hope and a lot of dreams and a lot of prayer. I just don’t find it in me to want to be on assistance, I’d rather be working a good part time life or a good full-time life with benefits and holiday pay and all that good stuff.”” Pg. 588

“The most straightforward finding of this research is that the amount of assistance offered through the basic income pilot was higher than the traditional welfare (Ontario Works-OW) and disability (Ontario Disability Support Program-ODSP) programs.” Pg. 588

“Participants were clear that the basic income pilot provided higher levels of support than the traditional programs, one stating that basic income “more than doubled my disposable income after rent.” These monetary differences had significant and desirable effects on the participants’ housing stability, nutrition, reliance on other community programs, and on their ability to maintain connections with family and friends, afford small luxuries,

	<p>and cope with psychological stress.” Pg. 588</p> <p>“While it might seem a minor thing to those not living in poverty, the ability to afford the occasional small luxury on basic income was significant to these respondents.” Pg. 589</p> <p>“Most significantly, the low remuneration provided by traditional welfare programs caused significant psychological stress for recipients and a resultant myopic focus on basic survival. They stated that, “I don’t feel like I’m under a dark cloud and afraid to live [on basic income]. Every time I turn around [on traditional welfare], someone’s looking over my shoulder, going to the bank every month thinking ‘Oh God, am I going to have money in there to pay the rent, buy some milk?’, whatever I need.” Pg. 590</p> <p>“As one stated, “I became a human again under basic income.”” Pg. 590</p> <p>“Regarding basic income, another stated that “It’s in your possession and not constantly challenged to why you deserve this, how you’re spending it, and what you’re going to accomplish with it.”” Pg. 591</p> <p>“A significant finding across most of the interviews was that traditional welfare programs created work disincentives because assistance payments are reduced for every dollar earned. They stated that, “It’s very hard to work off it. Very, very hard to work off assistance,”” pg. 592</p> <p>“I don’t want to go back on social assistance again. I like having dignity.”” Pg. 593</p> <p>“Participants in this study described their experiences of receiving basic income after years on the Ontario Works and Ontario Disability Support Program as making them feel</p>			
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“human again.” They had always desired to be members of the workforce and gain financial independence, but work disincentives and bureaucratic hurdles in traditional welfare programs had trapped participants in a cycle of economic precarity and dependence.” Pg. 593

“However, coming from a place of economic privilege, it can be easy to forget that a simple increase of a few hundred dollars a month can have such life-changing effects for participants. Many described what Mullainathan and Shafir (2013) have coined as the condition of “scarcity” in which living in extreme poverty creates psychological stress and a myopic focus on everyday survival.” Pg. 594

“The experiences of these respondents revealed several parallels with previous research among welfare and basic income recipients. Similar to Campbell et al. (2016) and Shefer et al’s (2016) studies with welfare and disability recipients in high-income countries, recipients reported significant bureaucratic hurdles and seemingly illogical reductions or withholding of payments that simply exacerbated economic precarity. As in Marinescu’s (2017) review of other basic income pilots, these recipients reported significant improvements to physical and mental health and nutrition. Finally, these respondents echoed many of the same outcomes reported in the larger survey of 400 Ontario basic income recipients including improved mental health, nutrition, personal relationships, housing stability, and the ability to make gains in their own economic independence through educational attainment and small business development

(Basic Income Canada Network, 2019).” Pg. 594

“This conclusion points the way forward, given the long historical debate about guaranteed or basic income in Canada that was outlined above. There is a better way to ensure economic security for all, other than our traditional and ineffective approaches such as social assistance and disability benefits.” Pg. 595

1 <i>Reference# 5</i>	2 <i>Findings from Primary Sources</i>	3 <i>Within-Study Memos</i>	4 <i>Cross-Study Memos</i>	5 <i>Resource theory</i>
<p>Altman, J., & Klein, E. (2018). Lessons from a basic income programme for Indigenous Australians. <i>Oxford Development Studies</i>, 46(1), 132–146.</p> <p>Subjects: ABORIGINAL Australians; BASIC income; COMMUNITY development; EMPLOYMENT; MARKET capitalization; Administration of Urban Planning and Community and Rural Development; Other local, municipal, and regional public administration</p> <p>(Altman, J., & Klein, E. 2018 pg.)</p>	<p>“Indigenous¹ employment policy in Australia is in disarray. This can be explained in large part by a dramatic shift in social policy to embrace neo-liberal principles focused on the individual, alongside paternalistic and punitive welfare measures (Altman, 2010; Neale, 2013; Stanford & Taylor, 2013).” Pg. 132</p> <p>“Specific programmes targeting Indigenous Australians aim to instil responsibility in individuals by re-engineering their social norms and values, and to do so efficiently by marketising service delivery on a competitive basis (Altman, 2010; Klein, 2016b). Furthermore, because financial capability and acumen have been redefined as the markers of the responsible human being, governments, their agencies, and others have acquired legitimacy to intervene to correct perceived deviations from the ideal of self-interested and utility-maximizing cognition and behavior (McMahon, 2015). This ‘neo-paternalism’² increases the conditionality, surveillance and regulation of those receiving government support, with the purported aim of delivering individual freedom (Bielefeld, 2014; Cahill, 2014; Mead, 1997)” pg. 132</p> <p>“The NTER or ‘intervention’, as it is commonly known, involved the enforcement of a raft of policies targeting Indigenous individuals and communities across the Northern Territory. Measures included attempted bans on alcohol consumption and pornography, the quarantining of welfare money to restrict the availability of cash and purchases of certain items, imposing highly regulated tenancy arrangements which disallow alternative residential arrangements, compulsory acquisition of township leases from legally</p>	<p>Themes of punishment for any needing social assistance, mostly those in vulnerable populations, being pushed by Neo-liberals.</p> <p>White/Colonial supremacy and their values being forced on an already oppressed minority. Themes of deservedness and value judgements from elite policy makers. Total power over indigenous people, from whom the land was stolen from. Forced assimilation instead of nuanced solutions for different groups.</p> <p>Adding work requirements to UBI, pushing the work ethic myth. UBI was helpful and flexible with indigenous lifestyle choices. UBI benefits like healthier people overall were noticed.</p> <p>Elites deciding that indigenous ways of living are less than, and again wanted to force them into what the market, which they control and benefit from, into a western assimilation. Showing no empathy for the culture differences and preferred lifestyles of the Aboriginals. Money over everything narrative.</p>	<p>This article has similar themes as the rest of them in the sample, the cost and benefit analysis of UBI as social policy is battling between meritocracy and worthiness myths with concern for how and who is paying for it, vs what the data says about the living in poverty, its costs to the poor and everyone else and finding new dignified and upgraded foundational social safety nets.</p> <p>Looking at the perspective of UBI for indigenous peoples of Australia also shine a light on Western Colonial values as the only right way to view meaning in life and what a person needs to do to be helped by society. If you have been displaced from a life that is different from capitalistic narratives, you are to be assimilated or dismissed from assistance.</p> <p>Lack of empathy for others leaves many people out of the social contract, showing major themes against UBI and policies like it to be uncovered during the conversations. The ability to have free will or time and resources are a matter of luck of birth, and those with resource sufficiency, excess and extravagance seem to truly believe they deserve it while others</p>	<p>As in the other articles the narratives that are in support/opposition of the UBI and health data surrounding this conversation are apparent.</p> <p>The themes around those who are against it are also similar to the other articles, however this one is filled with clear value judgements against indigenous people’s way of life. If you cannot be a western cog of capitalism, you are not worth helping.</p> <p>Power dynamics linked to the meritocracy myth are very clear considering how harshly judged the indigenous people are, because they have very different values around life and work. Here shows money and power matter, not how good the solutions (UBI) are, just who has resources almost always harshly judges the poor and vulnerable populations, with little experience in it or have been far enough removed from it to have empathy for the data backed challenges facing them.</p>

	<p>recognised owners in order to facilitate governmental controls, and the appointing of government business managers with legal rights to monitor the meetings of community organisations and with absolute powers in townships (Altman, 2007).” Pg. 133</p> <p>“It was the harbinger of a neo-colonial project to hasten assimilation or mainstreaming, irrespective of the wishes of Indigenous subjects. Measures based on neo-liberal behavioural economic principles are a reminder of the enduring coloniality inherent in Australian settler society. This coloniality is an ongoing process for ordering relations based on perceived racial difference (Maldonado-Torres, 2007).” Pg. 133</p> <p>“Coloniality also involves the shaping of the structure and control of labour, resources and modes of production, and upholding Western hegemony (Quijano, 2000): it has a specific mode of being – one which highlights the inferiority of subjects not subscribing to the norms of the West (MaldonadoTorres, 2007, p. 243).” Pg. 133</p> <p>“The disparity in employment outcomes between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians highlighted by the Productivity Commission reflects an ongoing failure in the Australian government’s modernisation project of socioeconomic convergence. In recent times, successive governments have focused too much on ‘closing the gap’ as measured in official statistics.⁴ Consequently, success in Indigenous policy is only measured in terms of distinct statistical outcomes, such as whether disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous outcomes are declining.⁵ Such statistical picturing, which plays a central role in wider processes of power and knowledge production (Merry, 2011), tends to reflect normative ideas about ‘progress’</p>	<p>Policy makers stuck in the past, and rigid social concepts ignore the promising data from UBI. Elites having choices and flexibility seem unwilling to give this to anyone but themselves.</p>	<p>do not show how deep these callous narrative run.</p>	
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	<p>(Mosse, 2004, 2005), and overlooks the aspirations and agency of Indigenous people (Campbell, Pyett, McCarthy, Whiteside, & Tsey, 2007; Dudgeon et al., 2012; Klein, 2016a)." pg. 133</p> <p>"Whilst there is a considerable body of research about CDEP (see Morphy & Sanders, 2001, and more recently Jordan, 2016b), there has been little analysis of CDEP as a basic income scheme which provides an economic base and sufficient flexibility to support diverse Indigenous livelihoods (Altman, 2016a). This is possibly because CDEP was re-framed in recent times as an employment programme only, whereas it was originally a flexible programme which utilised a broad interpretation of 'work' to include mainstream employment creation and enterprise and community development, as well as basic income support." Pg. 133</p> <p>"At the same time, CDEP participants in remote regions were able to participate in more hunting and fishing, in more ceremonial activity and in more recreational or cultural group activity than both those in formal employment and the unemployed. Although CDEP was not a perfect institutional arrangement, participation was voluntary, it was productive, it had legitimacy, and far better community development outcomes were generated than from welfare. Community organizations were empowered to utilise the scheme for the provision of basic income." Pg. 137</p> <p>"This case study from Arnhem Land shows how CDEP was sufficiently flexible to operate productively as a form of Universal Basic Income. The Kuninjku were liberated by CDEP to pursue a range of productive activities in their own way beyond rigid forms of mainstream employment, while also enjoying the freedom to participate in their culturally specific and time-intensive</p>			
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	<p>ceremonial practices. Whilst CDEP was initially a programme with diverse objectives, over time it was reconfigured for outstation residents with their concurrence as BI. As illustrated in this case study, CDEP was not a welfare destination or what has been described as 'sit down money'. Instead, CDEP provided a way for the Kuninjku to engage productively in forms of community development which were aligned to their aspirations. CDEP as a basic income assisted people to productively engage in livelihood improvement." Pg. 139</p> <p>"State frugality, federal/state strategic fiscal behaviour and an inability to envision CDEP as a productive basic income were all important reasons for the demise of CDEP.¹⁴ So was a broad change in national policy which saw a shift from a Keynesian social democratic approach to the current mix of neo-liberalism and neo-paternalism. A dominant view emerged, reflected in political and policy narratives, that Indigenous people were undeserving and behaviourally deficient even when living in places with no labour markets." Pg. 139</p> <p>"These major shifts in ideology have had serious repercussions for Indigenous employment policy. As discourse shifted from emphasising community development to prioritising integration into market capitalism, the principle of Indigenous-led development declined, and there was at once an unwillingness to recognise the precarious nature of labour markets in remote Australia as well as unrealistic optimism about the prospects for capitalist development with assumed trickle-down benefits for local Aboriginal people." Pg. 139</p> <p>"Since the abolition of CDEP, Kuninjku people have faced enhanced economic insecurity and poverty because there is only conditional and paternalistic welfare available to cover their basic needs. Despite the</p>			
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	<p>government’s expectation that the removal of CDEP would force people to find ‘real’ jobs, remote regions like Maningrida have very limited formal labour markets and there has been no evidence of growth in formal employment or enterprise prospects.” Pg. 139</p> <p>“Furthermore, many Indigenous people living remotely have different norms, values and priorities, which causes irreconcilable tensions between Indigenous relational and neo-liberal ways of thinking and being.” Pg. 140</p> <p>“Moreover, while the government highlights that welfare is associated with passivity and dysfunction and uses the ubiquitous language of Aboriginal activist Pearson (2000) to promote the view that ‘real’ jobs will provide the development answers, a recent survey of remote jobs service providers funded by the government indicates that the greatest cause of joblessness is the absence of jobs (Fowkes & Sanders, 2015, p. 7). This major shift in ideology has had serious consequences for Indigenous people because it has moved the goal posts from aiming to achieve community development and self-management to focusing only on integration into the precarious labour markets at the periphery of late capitalism.” Pg. 140</p> <p>“y. One crucial feature of the GMIO and the Canadian ISP is that they are in a sense partial basic income programmes which people living in remote outstations or specific geographic regions can access. The idea of a partial basic income as a way gradually to introduce a Universal Basic Income may have more policy traction than the immediate wholesale introduction of Universal Basic Income.” Pg. 140</p> <p>“Moreover, given the failure to achieve the goal of closing the employment gap over the past decade and current unstable global circumstances, basic</p>			
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	<p>income and stakeholder grants are logical alternatives to the continued failure of the status quo provisions. A basic income and stakeholder grants could also be a more economically efficient way of administering policy, since the extraordinary administrative costs of targeted paternalism make the new CDP costly to run.¹⁵ Furthermore, a guaranteed basic income scheme, coupled with a form of associated stakeholder grant delivered as an economic right, could open up livelihood opportunities for Indigenous peoples living in deep poverty.” Pg. 140</p> <p>“This paper has analysed the basic income elements of the CDEP scheme in remote Australia as a way to address the disarray of consecutive governments’ Indigenous employment policies over the past decade. Through firstly reviewing the changes in employment policy from CDEP, as well as analysing the basic income elements of CDEP, we have articulated potential pathways for challenging current employment policy which is heavily influenced by neo-liberal ideas. As a productive option, basic income support could be provided to the 37,000 adults in regional and remote Australia who are currently trapped in restrictive and impoverishing work-for-the-dole schemes. These people should be empowered to have choice in solving their own labour surplus and livelihood challenges on a voluntary opt-in basis.” Pg. 142</p>			
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1 <i>Reference# 6</i>	2 <i>Findings from Primary Sources</i>	3 <i>Within-Study Memos</i>	4 <i>Cross-Study Memos</i>	5 <i>Resource theory</i>
<p>Eskelinen, T., & Perkiö, J. (2018). Micro-investment perspective and the potential of the universal basic income. <i>Development Policy Review, 36</i>, O696–O709.</p> <p>KEYWORDS Basic income, inequality, micro-investment, pilot programmes, social cash transfers</p>	<p>“In this article, we explore the prospects of Basic Income (BI) as a development policy tool. Our approach is to analyze the BI as a tool for promoting micro-investments and as a general development policy instrument, thus deliberately departing from the perception of cash transfers as targeted poverty reduction tools.” Pg. 696</p> <p>“Economic growth in developing countries has been remarkable, and after the long-lasting stagnation of the developing economies in the “lost decades of development” (Easterly, 2001), latest figures show genuine economic catch-up taking place—even though the role of actual development policy is under question.” Pg. 697</p> <p>“Namely, the geography of global poverty is undergoing a rapid shift. A few years ago, the world reached a turning point, whereby the majority of the extremely poor now live in lower-middle-income countries rather than low-income-countries (Alkire, Roche, & Sumner, 2013; Sumner, 2012a, 2012b). These countries are not acutely short of resources, but rather that they lack sufficient distributive systems. In such lower-middle-income countries with extremely high disparities in income, even small improvements in distributive systems can have a significant effect in poverty reduction.” Pg. 697</p> <p>“The argument for improving distributive systems is further supported by academic research. There has recently been also something of a change of perception when it comes to the relationship between social security and economic growth. Traditionally seen by economists</p>	<p>Underdeveloped countries are catching up even through immense challenges. Which policies are helping this are murky.</p> <p>Data shows those living in extreme poverty are middle income countries. This is because distribution systems are lacking. Research supports changing the framing of social support from an expense to an investment in people.</p> <p>Taking lessons from micro loans, showing even small number of investments into people can bring positive change and grow. Investing in people can overcome intergenerational poverty.</p> <p>Financial space allows a move out of survival mode into forward thinking long-term thriving modes of thinking.</p> <p>Basic human needs being taken care of allows people to grow, which than allows the country grow.</p> <p>UBI/SCT have proved to help alleviate extreme poverty. Which than leads people to invest in</p>	<p>UBI is a multifaceted umbrella policy concept, that has much to offer, and has shown with hard data the overall health benefits, small labor changes, and that poor people know how to act, when they are not trying to only survive. Survival mode is not healthy as a lifestyle for anyone. This overall point shows up throughout the UBI literature and the sample of articles.</p> <p>Narratives of the poor from those who are not poor, are one of the main obstacles to upgrading social policies and the overall social contract. The entire global economy is struggling with varying levels of wealth and income inequalities, or resource inequity.</p> <p>The data shows again that giving financial space allows people to transition out of short-term survival mindsets to long-term thriving mindsets, which better protects people from falling back into poverty.</p> <p>Themes about the outdated and humiliating nature of means testing also shows up as going against best practices if getting people out of poverty is the actual goal.</p> <p>Interesting point made is that many poverty solutions are backwards</p>	<p>The resource theory themes are within this article match others within this sample size, the health benefits linked to access to resources.</p> <p>Showing what poverty does to people, and that investing in people with dignity as the foundation of policy, is the best practices from the data.</p> <p>Themes and narratives are pushing the agendas too much, vs what the data says. So, it would seem that those controlling these narratives have little to no empathy for the poor, no matter what the data says.</p> <p>Investing directly into people usually is the most practical and humane way to go about it, within that given context.</p> <p>Regardless of context the effects of resource deficiency/poverty are well known, but the value narratives within a given context decide if those struggling are worth the expense.</p> <p>Theme of cost matters more than benefits if it has to do with vulnerable populations is also showing up in the sample.</p>

	<p>as merely an expenditure and a source of distorted incentives (Fiszbein & Schady, 2009), social security is emerging as a pathway to investment (Cichon & Scholz, 2009; Dercon, 2011).” Pg. 697</p> <p>“Yet, until recently the most common tool for promoting grassroots-level investments in developing countries has been an extension of banking: microfinance. Despite some undeniable successes, the results of microcredit have been mixed (Hermes & Lensink, 2011; Westover, 2008). One reason for the shortcomings of microcredit appears to be an insufficient perception of the dynamics of investment. Several studies indicate that investment requires certain psychological conditions in addition to available money (credit, liquidity, etc.). Highly precarious conditions (or perception of high risks) are likely to disincentivize making productive investments which entail risk-taking. For example, poor farmers may adopt safer but lower-yielding crop varieties.” Pg. 698</p> <p>“Other patterns of investment aversion relate to a failure to invest in human capital, which could overcome intergenerational poverty, such as education and sufficient nutrition for children (ADB, 2003; Fiszbein & Schady, 2009), and disinvestment—the need to sell productive assets, such as livestock, due to an acute lack of liquidity.” Pg. 697</p> <p>“Thus, the key to overcoming poverty is to overcome this temporal short-sightedness (Banerjee & Tuflo, 2011).” Pg. 698</p> <p>“The challenge then is to remove the social risks which disincentivize micro-investments, including investments in human capital. What social transfers do best is create an investment-fostering</p>	<p>themselves and their communities.</p> <p>Perfect point: “This, together with the backwards-looking nature of means testing (focusing on “yesterday’s rather than tomorrow’s poverty”), emphasizes the arbitrary nature of poverty lines.” Pg. 699 poverty measures are not great globally.</p> <p>Means testing does not help, it causes more problems than it solves. AND cause working disincentives.</p> <p>Evidence supports the benefits of cash transfer programs that are not conditional in nature.</p> <p>Universal programs tend to be future looking, accepting to all. Assistance without punishment or judgement. Allows more independence.</p> <p>UBI positive outcomes listed again.</p> <p>Policymakers pushing false narratives about the poor to exclude them from assistance. Must always be watching the poor.</p> <p>UBI is a multifaceted umbrella policy concept, that has much to offer, and</p>	<p>facing not future facing. Means testing vs. Universalism is an example used.</p>	
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	<p>perception of the future among the poor. Knowing their basic subsistence is secure removes major day-to-day concerns from poor people and enables them to adopt a longer-term vision. (DFID, 2005).” Pg. 698</p> <p>“By addressing both permanent stresses (such as bad working conditions) and hazards (job loss, ill health, natural disaster, social instability, crime) (Hulme et al., 2015), social transfers can provide poor households with some productive capacity and greater confidence to take on risk, knowing they will have a minimum income to fall back on.” Pg. 698</p> <p>“SCT programmes have proved successful in alleviating extreme poverty, improving the nutritional and health status of the recipients, and increasing school attendance rates (Lomeli, 2008; Todd, Winters, & Hertz, 2010; Gertler, Martinez, & Rubio-Codina, 2012). Further, studies have shown that in rural areas cash transfer programmes have contributed to income-generating activities that can provide a higher long-term living standard for the beneficiary households, leading to increased livestock ownership and investment in agricultural assets such as crops, land or technology, and sometimes also in non-agricultural productive assets and entrepreneurial activities (Gilligan, Hoddinott, & Taffesse, 2009; Todd et al., 2010; Veras Soares, Perez Ribas, & Issamu Hirata, 2010; Covarrubias, Davis, & Winters, 2012; Gertler et al., 2012).” Pg. 699</p> <p>““Targeting the poor” can at worst mean that this phenomenon occurs also in SCT programmes: the moderately poor rather than the destitute reap the benefits of the programmes, as the ones on the bottom of the income pyramid often lack the means to access or make use of these</p>	<p>has shown with hard data the overall health benefits, small labor changes, and that poor people know how to act, when they are not trying to only survive. Survival mode is not healthy as a lifestyle for anyone.</p>		
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	<p>programmes (Copestake at al., 2001; Morduch, 1998).” Pg. 699</p> <p>“Second, means testing unavoidably creates somewhat arbitrary categories. Sharply distinct categories of the eligible and ineligible are created, even though the life situations of people on both sides of the eligibility divide are typically very similar. A similar phenomenon has been seen in global poverty measurements: while globally hundreds of millions of people have ascended above the lowest poverty line, these people tend to be lumped together just above this threshold (World Bank, 2017b).¹ Further, incomes among the very poor tend to fluctuate and sometimes are only partially documented.” Pg. 699</p> <p>“This, together with the backwards-looking nature of means testing (focusing on “yesterday’s rather than tomorrow’s poverty”), emphasizes the arbitrary nature of poverty lines.” Pg. 699</p> <p>“Third, regardless of the actual criteria of targeting,³ there is a constant need to monitor recipients’ economic status, requiring bureaucratic monitoring systems for performing the means testing. The administration process required for carrying out the eligibility assessments is costly and potentially oppressive. Eligibility assessments often entail paternalistic control over the recipients and enhance the discretionary power of authorities.” Pg. 699-700</p> <p>“Fourth, means testing can create problematic incentives, because of the insensitivity towards the realities of flexible labour. Means tested schemes may result in situations in which there are no incentives to improve the level of income by employment or entrepreneurship, as this would</p>			
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	<p>trigger the loss of benefits. Also, means testing has direct effects on people’s incentives to join the workforce: often, an additional income enables people to seek employment, while disincentivizing grants rather cause people to leave the workforce (Samson, 2005). The risk of being excluded is also related to temporary change of conditions, or erroneous exclusion.” Pg. 700</p> <p>“Interestingly, there is indicative evidence that the positive results of targeted and/or conditional programmes can result from the cash transfer itself rather than the attached conditions. For instance, Martin Ravallion found that targeting was not a factor explaining the success or failure of the antipoverty programmes in China (Ravallion, 2009). Further, the UK Department for International Development (DFID) notes, that typically the goals sought with conditionalities would be attained even without it. For instance, cash transfers do not need to be made conditional on school attendance to have a positive impact on children’s education. (DFID, 2005). This is the context in which BI emerges as a serious policy option.” Pg. 700</p> <p>“BI is universal, i.e. it covers the entire population of a given country/area on the basis of either residency or citizenship. Thus, it adheres to and extends the principle of universalism, which has historically shaped welfare policies, particularly in the areas of education and health services and insurances, as well as the cash allowances for families and old-age population (Titmuss, 2014). The central aim of universalist policies has been to make services “available and accessible to the whole population in such ways as would not involve users in any</p>			
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	<p>humiliating loss of status, dignity or self-respect” (Titmuss, 2014).” Pg. 701</p> <p>“Yet the BI discourse has, to a large extent, been conceptually engaged to the post-industrial and “cognitive capitalism” framework.⁵ However, many of the arguments in favour of the BI in the post-industrial context would also be applicable, or even be more to the point, in the context of the developing world. A large informal sector and the blurring boundary between working and not working, as well as the need to combine labour income with social transfers and improve the bargaining power of the most precarious workers are even more topical in low and middle-income countries than they are in the developed welfare states.” Pg. 701</p> <p><i>“It needs to be noted, though, that the approach of the Namibian experiment has received criticism. While it has been called “one of the best documented and promoted socio-economic projects in Namibia” (Klocke-Daffa, 2012, p. 5), it has also been criticized for failing to live up to good academic standard, because of the small sample given the size of Otijvero, lack of comparison data in the form of a control group, the anecdotal status of some evidence, and general imprecision (Osterkamp, 2013; Kaufmann, 2010).” Pg. 702</i></p> <p>“For the purposes of this article, we analyzed the available data from the two pilot projects, along with data from some similar projects.” Pg. 703</p> <p>“Generally, key findings from the projects were strikingly similar and corresponded with main findings from existing cash transfer programmes, with somewhat more pronounced positive outcomes (Haarmann et al., 2009; Davala et al., 2015). With regard to investment, four</p>			
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	<p>main categories of outcomes could be identified: effects of the BI pilots on labour, behavioural impacts, psychological impacts and investment in human capital.” Pg. 703</p> <p>“These include economic incentives as well as practical barriers, such as physical access to labour markets. Indeed, evaluations of the BI pilots consistently document an increase in the amount of labour (Davala et al., 2015, p. 139), contrary to some prejudices, which maintain that the BI will result in negative behavioural changes or “laziness” (Jauch, 2015, pp. 343, 345). In Namibia, the BI resulted especially in an increase of own-account work on small farms, increasing the labour force participation rate from 44% to 55%. In India, the BI resulted in general increase in working days, especially in own-account labour, as well as diversification of household income (Davala et al., 2015).” Pg. 703</p> <p>“Second, the behavioural impacts were marked, particularly from the investment perspective. A recurring observation in the BI pilots was that part of the additional income was invested in incomegenerating activities (for Namibia, see Haarmann et al., 2009). Also, increased investment in livestock ownership and agricultural implements, as well as producer goods such as sewing machines, seeds or fertilizers, was observed (Davala et al., 2015). The evaluators in Namibia noted that personal incomes of the recipients increased substantially more than the actual grants paid out (from 118 to 152 Namibian dollars monthly). The main source of the income growth was self-employment (Haarmann et al., 2009).” Pg. 703</p>			
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	<p>“In India, households receiving cash grants were three times more likely to start a new business or production activity than control group households. The amount of livestock and investments in agricultural implements increased, contributing to better agricultural yield and improved nutrition, as well as savings and insurance. Many families used cash grants to buy small items for production, such as sewing machines or seeds and fertilizers to increase the productivity of land (Davala et al., 2015). According to the BI recipients interviewed, before the pilot programme it was precisely the lack of liquidity that had prevented the purchase of livestock (Davala et al., 2015). There was also clear evidence of pooling money for future productive assets (Davala et al., 2015)” pg. 703</p> <p>“Third, these behavioural changes appear to be related to psychological impacts of the scheme. As was noted when discussing microfinance, the availability of money combined with a sense of security is what eventually determines the occurrence of micro-investment. Indeed, observed results were often expressed with a psychological vocabulary, such as: “the BIG ignited hope” (Haarmann & Haarmann, 2009, p. 14; Jauch, 2015, p. 342). This appears to be seen by many of the advocates of the BI as merely a line for “selling” the BI concept, but might turn out to be a key impact of the BI.” Pg. 703</p> <p>“A clear increase in the school attendance of children was noted, despite the absence of conditioning. A further locally highly important set of investments was observed in inputs to health-enhancing infrastructure, such as constructing latrines and upgrading dwellings and water</p>			
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	<p>sources. All these contribute to people's full and healthy functioning capacity, which extends also to productive life." Pg. 704</p> <p>"The transfers generated productive investments to non-agricultural micro-entrepreneurial activities, along with a significant reduction of the stress hormone cortisol (Haushofer & Shapiro, 2013), implicating improved prospects for not only wellbeing, but also long-term planning." Pg. 704</p> <p>"Further on the macro-level, there is an observed strong positive correlation between social expenditure (per capita of the population) and labour productivity (gross domestic product per hour worked) (Cichon & Scholz, 2009). The promising aspects of the BI relate to the simultaneous occurrence of these several meanings of investment, with an emphasis on change of labour type." Pg. 705</p> <p>"Yet as the BI has been tested only within small-scale pilot programmes, some key challenges remain. Several problems of BI can only be addressed when the scheme is established countrywide. At least three further complexities or open questions exist: acceptance and diffusion of the policy idea, replacement and funding." Pg. 705</p> <p>"Second, there are reasons to believe that the political and ideological aspects at least in their current form derive more from donor preferences rather than from political struggle "on the ground." As Armando Barrientos has argued, preference for conditionality derives from US political culture, in which the idea of the poor needing supervision is taken for granted, to the extent that even well-meaning scholars tend to assume that poverty is largely upheld by the "persistently</p>			
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	<p>misguided beliefs” of the poor (Hulme, Hanlon, & Barrientos, 2014).” Pg. 705</p> <p>“. First, the BI is an umbrella concept which allows variation. We assume that particular models would be designed in local policy processes to suit the respective context. The key question is whether the general idea of “free money to everyone” is feasible as social policy and as a strategy of growth from-below. Second, the very point of emphasizing the suitability of the BI to highly unequal countries is that even relatively small payments from the government budget provide amounts of money which are considerable from the perspective of the poor, without causing excessive “mismatching” as the wealthier part of the population tends to be small.” Pg. 706</p> <p>“It needs to be remembered that the BI does not constitute a single ideal, but rather a family of multifaceted policies in terms of design, aims and expected social and political effects (De Wispelaere, 2015). Consequently, the potential impacts on income distribution, poverty or people’s labour market behaviour depend to a large extent on the design of a particular BI model and the financing approach. Yet the bottom line of the argument for the BI is the mounting evidence that the poor seem to make sensible decisions concerning their well-being, and with a longer-term perspective with this reliable material baseline guarantee. The BI pilots indicate strong results exactly in terms of the micro-investment effect.” Pg. 706</p> <p>“The synthesis of existing research presented in this article shows strong reasons to continue diffusing the BI concept with a view to eventually creating forms of social security devoid of the shortcomings</p>			
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	associated with means testing.” Pg. 706			
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1 <i>Reference# 7</i>	2 <i>Findings from Primary Sources</i>	3 <i>Within-Study Memos</i>	4 <i>Cross-Study Memos</i>	5 <i>Resource theory</i>
<p>MUNGER, M. (2015). One and One-Half Cheers for a Basic-Income Guarantee. <i>Independent Review</i>, 19(4), 503–513.</p> <p>Subjects: BASIC income; POVERTY reduction; MINIMUM wage; RICH people; SOCIAL policy; GOVERNMENT policy; Regulation, Licensing, and Inspection of Miscellaneous Commercial Sectors; UNITED States</p>	<p>“The elites who denounce poverty despise the poor. Their every highminded, right-thinking “poverty program” proves this detestation—from the bulldozing of vibrant tenement communities to the drug law policing policies that send poor kids to prison and rich kids to rehab to the humiliation of food stamps and free school lunches to the loathsome inner-city public schools where those free lunches are slopped onto cafeteria trays. The federal government has some 50 different “poverty programs.” Nearly half a trillion dollars is spent on them each year. That’s about \$11,000 per man, woman, and child under the poverty line, enough to lift each and every one of them out of poverty. (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2011 poverty guideline for a family of three: \$18,530.) We call them “poverty programs” for a reason. If ordinary people with down-to-earth common sense were spending that half trillion, we’d call them “modest prosperity programs.” (2012)” pg. 503-504</p> <p>“First, our society is already spending enough money to solve the problem of poverty and make all the poor “moderately prosperous,” even accepting a standard of “poverty” that would be upper middle class in most of the world. Second, separate from the issue of wasting the cash, some “antipoverty” programs are aggressive, life-arranging, paternalistic, Big Brothersque, police-state efforts at control rather than aid.” Pg. 504</p> <p>“All too often the “other side”—my side—loses this debate because we say that doing nothing is better than having a welfare state. Then we get told we must hate the poor. The irony is exquisite, as O’Rourke points out: the folks who advocate for programs to aid the poor because they want to do something are the ones who say they care about the poor, but their</p>	<p>Wealthy cultures hate for the poor comes out in all the narratives and policies they push. They hold on to this narrative even if data and evidence shows that policies made from such a narrative are inhumane and less effective than many other policies. They seem to still want control at all costs, even if giving aid and resources are the better policy.</p> <p>Those who claim to want to help the poor, tend to cause more harm, because they would rather do nothing than try to come up with an actual policy solution.</p> <p>Political feasibility is a theme along with cost. The paternal distrust in the poor cause the deservedness theme to stay alive. And sometimes people choice wrong, however most don’t. Poor people are not bad children the government is here to control, even thought that is what usually happens.</p> <p>Control and superiority themes. Elites are out of touch with everyday challenges and want to influence every aspect of their lives. It’s also not really the</p>	<p>As with other UBI studies, the themes are narratives of deservedness, cost, and political feasibility, and the main considers, along with labor shortages from lazy people who will just stop working when their basic needs are being met.</p> <p>Many want to help but because the battle for robust social safety nets is a hard and nuanced task, they opt for doing nothing. This is normal and highly unacceptable and shows the gap between the motivation to help those with little resources and power vs. those with resources excess and extravagance.</p> <p>Throughout the studies these themes are coming up, however, the data about the immense cost of poverty for everyone, seem not to inform best practices or foundational policy build to actually support people, not punish them into submission and have them work to death.</p> <p>Again, the out of touch wealth culture constructs everything to suit their needs with little to no accountability to the</p>	<p>Showing that the money is there but how it is distributed is up to those who have resource dominance and therefore have freedom to decide what gets funding, and how that funding must be given, and to who.</p> <p>If resources theory is correct, resource deficiency is an extreme that comes with high individual costs, both financial and health wise, as would resource extravagance which leads to isolation, superiority complexes and lack of empathy for anyone below them. Along with little accountability for the extravagance and overly harsh penalties for the poor. The extreme ends of resource theory shows an urgent need to balance the scales so most can thrive, without feeling shame and ostracization for where they were born.</p> <p>The social contract needs upgrading, and resource theory can possibly help be a new foundation for social safety net programs.</p>

	<p>programs actually hurt the poor.” Pg. 504</p> <p>“Feasibility: The BIG proposal can’t be blamed just because it wouldn’t be implemented. I recognize that it will be difficult to give up the whole dog’s breakfast of different programs that elites and political officials now use to claim credit and buy votes.” Pg. 504-505</p> <p>“The objection that people can’t be trusted to make their own choices is simply inconsistent with democracy. It may be true that if we give people choices, some will make bad ones. But increasing poor people’s capacity will mean that they have choices to make, and some of them—perhaps many—will recognize that for the first time they are being entrusted with responsibility.” Pg. 505</p> <p>“It’s an old problem: Should we give poor people an in-kind transfer (say, food) or an amount of money equal to the cost of that transfer? Given the fungibility of money and with subjective autonomy granted to citizens, the recipients of the cash have to be at least as well off as the recipients of the food because the first group can buy the food if that is what is best for them. But they can also buy something else if that is what is better for them. It may not be objectively better, and the life arrangers who want to impose their own values on the poor will squeal at this grant of dignity and autonomy to people they scorn. It is much more expensive to try to force people to buy what we want them to want than to let them make their own choices. Not surprisingly, food stamps and other in-kind vouchers are then often sold on the black market at a substantial discount, reducing the benefit actually received.” Pg.505</p> <p>“Transferring money gives people what they want, rather than what the Social Welfare Function “wants” them to want.” Pg. 505</p> <p>“As O’Rourke has pointed out, there can’t be any poor people in the United States. His proof is that if we take the total amount spent on poverty programs and divide it by the</p>	<p>cost, because the per person cost of current anti-poverty programs far exceeds the poverty line measures, so who is getting that money?</p> <p>Even if UBI is not the best program, it is worth upgrading and trying new ways to combat poverty, we spend huge amounts of money on band aid solutions, maybe it’s time for that upgrade to UBI.</p>	<p>societies they have enormous control over, pushing meritocracy myth narratives from the media to entertainment and marketing.</p>	
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number of people in poverty, the income per capita is above the poverty fine. QED. But the money is not reaching the poor." Pg. 507

"And the numbers back him up. Michael Tanner sums up the problem this way: "[T]his year the federal government will spend more than \$668 billion on at least 126 different programs to fight poverty. And that does not even begin to count welfare spending by state and local governments, which adds \$284 billion to that figure. In total, the United States spends nearly \$1 trillion every year to fight poverty. That amounts to \$20,610 for every poor person in America, or \$61,830 per poor family of three" (2012). If a family of three were actually receiving the money, that \$61,000 would put it well above average income. What gives?" pg. 507

"We could do worse. And we already have." Pg. 512

1 <i>Reference# 8</i>	2 <i>Findings from Primary Sources</i>	3 <i>Within-Study Memos</i>	4 <i>Cross-Study Memos</i>	5 <i>Resource theory</i>
<p>MULVALE, J. P. (2019). Social-Ecological Transformation and the Necessity of Universal Basic Income. <i>Social Alternatives</i>, 38(2), 39–46.</p> <p>(MULVALE, J. P. 2019 pg.)</p>	<p>“Ecological arguments for the implementation of Universal Basic Income (BI) receive less emphasis than other justifications, such as the need to eradicate poverty, protect workers from precarious employment, advance social and political equality, and augment human freedom. This article focuses on the ecological (or green) case for BI. It argues that BI is a necessary requirement to avert environmental disasters and build truly sustainable economies and just societies.” Pg. 39</p> <p>“Second, this article will examine the ecological case for BI in relation to emerging academic literature on steady-state economics and the need for degrowth, with a particular focus on over-consuming wealthy countries and on sectors of the economy that are environmentally destructive.” Pg. 39</p> <p>“A steady-state economy – whether at the local, regional, national, or global level – is ‘an economy of stable or mildly fluctuating size’ that ‘may not exceed ecological limits’ (CASSE, nd). To achieve the goal of a steady-state economy that is both sustainable and just at the global level, wealthy societies must engage in de-growth – defined as the ‘downscaling of production and consumption that increases human well-being and enhances ecological conditions and equity on the planet’ (R & D, nd). Such de-growth in over-producing and over-consuming economies would have to be accompanied by the transfer of substantial economic wealth and resources to countries that are poor, as well as to the poor within wealthy countries, so that people in all corners of the globe can be assured a modest but adequate standard of living.” Pg. 39</p> <p>“The importance of achieving a SET is obvious. We are facing impending crises due to rapid and profound</p>	<p>Using ecological arguments for UBI as a way towards redoing the entire global economy because of the urgent climate crisis. Stating that a steady-state economy (SET?). A much larger policy goal for global transformation.</p> <p>Looking at the human species that is in climate peril, the need for complete change is needed, UBI is a large part of that narrative. Moving away from full-employment and constant consumption for wealthy nations at the expense of the environment. UBI could also be used to bring the global community together as stewards of the earth. Themes are not addressing the highly combative nature of humans and the almost impossible feat of global cooperation. Its practical for climate change, impractical for human nature as it currently stands.</p> <p>UBI as overall policy change, towards a more equal global society. Allow us to do away with all the toxic and addictive habits of hyper consumption.</p> <p>Human happiness and well-being according to research are about</p>	<p>This takes UBI within the context of the climate crisis and the urgent need for global economic transformation from always having to grow the economy to degrowth driven. Showing the urgency of the climate crisis and the need to rethink social problems and how humans live on this planet.</p> <p>UBI can help the planet move toward everyone having basic needs met, while taking the extreme luxury to task for its reckless consumption.</p> <p>Themes of UBI promoting better overall health outcomes, and then moving away of the toxic and addictive habits that come from hyper consumption. Human happiness and wellbeing according to the data has much less to do with capitalistic hyper consumption than it does with having what is needed and internal purpose, whatever that is.</p> <p>GDP should not be the measure of how well the people of that country is doing. It should look be a more holistic measure.</p> <p>The call for global level changes away from capitalism to save the planet make sense and have data</p>	<p>UBI even in the context of a climate crisis shows that giving people resources for their basic needs to be met is still at top if the list.</p> <p>Looking for dignified policies for the masses of people should be the goal, regardless of a global climate crisis.</p> <p>It also links taking care of the planet to human lives, and that our needs and the planet needs, should be on the same level of importance.</p> <p>Showing the connection between resource extravagance and its negative impacts, it also shows the grossly unequal levels of power to impact the planet.</p> <p>Extreme ends of resource theory are to be watched for their destructive properties to people and systems.</p>

	<p>changes in our natural ecosystems at the local, bio-regional, and global levels. Our current era in natural history is often referred to as the Anthropocene in which ‘human-kind has caused mass extinctions of plant and animal species, polluted the oceans and altered the atmosphere, among other lasting impacts’ (Smithsonian nd). Our misuse and degradation of our natural environment have resulted in global warming resulting from greenhouse gas emissions, loss of biodiversity due to species extinction and habitat loss, resource depletion, accumulation of waste products, and health effects related to environmental toxins (Klein 2014; Gore 2017).” Pg. 40</p> <p>“If the global economy is to achieve a SET, over-producing and over-consuming wealthy societies must end their addiction to open-ended and indiscriminate economic growth. As mentioned above, SET will entail degrowth – the shrinkage or elimination of environmentally harmful aspects of economic production and consumption. It will also entail a radical redistribution of income and wealth from nations, groups, and individuals with more than they need, to those with insufficient means for an adequate standard of living. Such redistribution would necessitate the provision of a sufficient monetary income, as well as a comprehensive range of high quality public goods, so that everyone would be assured a modest but sufficient material standard of living.” Pg. 40</p> <p>“A decade ago, ecological arguments for and against basic income were outlined by Tony Fitzpatrick (1999). He cited three points in favour of BI. First of all, BI could be a means towards dampening down economic growth (Fitzpatrick 1999: 184), because it is a universal entitlement that is not premised on taxpaying workers who depend for their jobs on a growth-oriented and ‘full employment’ economy. Second, BI embodies an ethic of common ownership of the Earth’s resources and global citizenship which requires and enables everyone to be ‘a steward or a trustee whose duty is to</p>	<p>having enough and there are limits to how much more stuff can get you. Data shows a much broader picture than constant GDP growth, and non-stop consumption.</p> <p>More than enough evidence supports this huge economic transition, but it will take the majority of people pushing the human race towards a new way to exist, if that’s possible.</p>	<p>to back it up, however it would require a huge and powerful shift of the majority of population.</p>	
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	<p>hand on the Earth to the next generation of common owners' (Fitzpatrick 1999: 187-88). As a third argument for BI, Fitzpatrick points to its role in reducing or eliminating poverty and unemployment traps, thereby making part-time and low-paid work more feasible and attractive, and moving us toward the goal of 'redistributing available jobs by taking the emphasis away from the necessity of working full-time for several decades' (1999: 188)" pg. 40</p> <p>"Similar to Andersson (2009) cited above, Marston (2016: 174) sees the rationale for, and means of, financing BI as being different for wealthy as opposed to poorer parts of the world. In rich countries, 'a basic income could be a key platform in addressing unsustainable economic growth, environmental pollution, and the problem of over-consumption and population'. For poor nations, BI 'may increase local economic growth and be a part of the solution to poverty problems'. Marston (2016: 165) also sees BI as tied to an expanded definition of 'societal wellbeing' that is 'focused on the distribution of wealth, but also on the distribution of time and opportunities for the expression of human agency that are not instrumentally tied to labor market status or potential for profit'." Pg. 41</p> <p>"It is important to situate the question of BI as a guarantor of income security for all in relation to a broader set of macroeconomic questions. These refer to ending our addiction to economic growth and creating ecologically sustainable societies that are prosperous and democratic. In highly developed and ecologically destructive societies, BI would ensure that the non-wealthy majority have enough money for a decent life in an economy that is not growing, and in which jobs are being lost in ecologically harmful industries such as fossil fuel extraction and refining, the manufacture of armaments, and the production of luxury goods and services." Pg. 41-42</p> <p>"It is readily apparent, notwithstanding ecological imperatives, that the shift to lower</p>			
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	<p>employment rates is already underway as a result of technologies, including robotics and artificial intelligence (Brynjolfsson and McAfee 2014; Kaplan 2015). The relations of production under global industrial capitalism have always been characterised by alienation (Marx 1978) – by jobs that are unfulfilling, unpleasant, and often hazardous to one’s physical and mental health. The eclipse of human ‘wage slavery’ through having technology carry out such work can be seen as a desirable goal – provided that all of us have a reliable, adequate, and unconditional income in the form of a BI.” Pg. 42</p> <p>“Such reforms, according to Blauwhof (2012: 261), could be inspired and guided by a revolutionary vision to deconstruct the ‘dynamics of capitalist reproduction’ and ‘the drive to accumulation’. Bringing about such a transformation would involve a strategic alliance between the environmental movement and the labour movement. The former constituency fully grasps the ecological threats facing us. The latter constituency is composed of workers, who according to Blauwhof (2012: 261) are ‘those who as the creators of the products and profits of corporations, are in a unique position to gain control over the qualitative decisions about what, how and for what purpose goods and services are produced’.” Pg. 42</p> <p>“Koch (2013) sketches a broad picture of how to achieve societal welfare in a post-growth context, in which we must achieve a ‘politically monitored socio-economic and environmental development strategy within the ecological limits identified by natural scientists’ (Koch 2013: 10). He draws upon research on human happiness to make the point ‘that once countries have sufficient wealth to meet the basic needs of their citizens and reach a certain per capita income’, then ‘reported levels of (un)happiness show little correlation with GDP growth’ (p. 10). Koch (2013: 11) also notes that ‘extra happiness provided by extra income is greatest for the poorest and declines steadily as people get richer’. Happiness is not</p>			
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	<p>determined by growth in the GDP but by the seven factors of 'family relationships, financial situation, work, community and friends, health, personal freedom and personal values' (Koch 2013: 11)." Pg. 43</p> <p>"This 'never-ending cycle' of stimulating and meeting consumer demand for luxury goods and superfluous services 'contributes next to nothing to human welfare and contradicts the principal reproductive needs of the earth as an ecological system'. But the cycle continues and props up the capitalist imperatives of production, profit and accumulation." Pg. 43</p> <p>"In fact, the capabilities approach can bring about a 'transition from a consumerist society to a welfare society' (Koch 2013: 12) that would prioritise 'inward aspects of human wellbeing' instead of 'outward manifestations of status and success' (De Geus 2009: 121 cited in Koch 2013: 13)." Pg. 43</p> <p>"Success in jointly meeting the two grand challenges of social justice and environmental sustainability is not impossible. These challenges are more likely to be met if all of us – whether we are activists, academic experts, political and community leaders, or engaged citizens – have a secure economic floor underneath us and our families in the form of a Universal Basic Income." Pg. 46</p>			
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1 <i>Reference# 9</i>	2 <i>Findings from Primary Sources</i>	3 <i>Within-Study Memos</i>	4 <i>Cross-Study Memos</i>	5 <i>Resource theory</i>
<p>GOUREVITCH, A., & STANCZYK, L. (2018). The Basic Income Illusion. <i>Catalyst: A Journal of Theory & Strategy</i>, 1(4), 151–177.</p> <p>Subjects: BASIC income; ECONOMIC security; INCOME; POVERTY; EMPLOYEES; WORK environment; UNITED States</p> <p>(GOUREVITCH, A., & STANCZYK, L. 2018 pg.).</p>	<p>“The illusion is that the legislative introduction of a generous universal basic income program can replace traditional forms of labor organizing, or else that its legislative introduction should be prioritized as an essential steppingstone to more effective labor politics. This attitude is held by all those who spend time studying, piloting, or simply entertaining generous basic income proposals in their writings, while showing much less interest in the timeworn tactical question of how to organize a durable majority of the working classes.” Pg. 151</p> <p>“Often, this attitude is accompanied by a second, all-too-common thought: namely, that aside from being the dying remnants of a bygone era, labor unions are at bottom politically too divisive to fuel progress in our modern liberal age.” Pg. 151</p> <p>“. In this regard, basic income proposals are increasingly presented as possessing a major strategic advantage over labor’s traditional wish-list items, such as the rewriting of long-eviscerated labor laws or reversing the <i>fait accompli</i> that is the global mobility of capital.” Pg. 152</p> <p>“The proposal is said to be genuinely emancipatory because it does not merely “ameliorate” relations of domination and exploitation but, much more fundamentally, affords individuals the power to “exit” from such objectionable relations altogether.¹ At the same time, a generous basic income is said to be more realistic than all comparably ambitious left-wing ideas because, aside from requiring one or two new pieces of tax-and-transfer legislation, its introduction is compatible with leaving in place most of the rest of the structure of contemporary capitalism.” Pg. 152</p> <p>“In particular, there is no need for large-scale nationalization of industries, public ownership, and central planning, or any similarly disruptive interventions in the capitalist market economy.” Pg. 152</p>	<p>Stating that without strong organized labor maybe needed for any substantial policy changes, and the disregard for it is why UBI would never happen.</p> <p>Calls UBI a form of communism and says UBI advocates are not truly grasping how hard the elites and business class would fight against this, and because they own the current system it would mean they would have to be willing expropriate themselves of immense wealth and power. Labor does not have that power.</p> <p>Article states that UBI is backwards in most case, it will not be able to give us freedom to choose our lives, we have to have the power to choose before we can implement such a policy that would actually be enough.</p> <p>Has to have enough power to hold elites and their paid off political leadership to account. If that is not already established, then UBI will go nowhere.</p> <p>UBI in a just society is correct, but in the meantime, it must be used to gain control as a guiding policy for once the system of capitalism is transformed into an institutional socialism.</p>	<p>This article discusses the issues with the UBI advocates, and that without a strong powerful organized labor movement to force the issue. This connects with other articles about political feasibility. Those with power will never just give it up because the elites are not part of the “we” in the conversation of equity.</p> <p>Dangers of the elites cooping a UBI to take away all other social benefits is a trap that the left need to watch. It also goes on to say in a just world UBI is reasonable, and other than funding issues, sees the value of the policy.</p> <p>Controlling narratives and having political power are the first steps towards reasonable compassionate policy, which is not wrong, however getting to that level of power for the people might take longer than we have.</p>	<p>This applies to resource theory within the battle between extremes of resource excess and extravagances and resource deficiency.</p> <p>The almost absolute power over societies stories and narratives that elites have over how others live their lives.</p> <p>I can see how this is a paradox problem for resource theory, which comes first the resources to be able to mobilize or mobilize under the crushing effects of poverty to get resources. I would have to say it’s more a both/and at the present.</p>

	<p>“Accordingly, in the pithy words of its earliest and most important contemporary expositors, the basic income proposal promises to be a truly liberating yet fully “capitalist road to communism.”” Pg. 152</p> <p>“Here, then, is the fundamental problem. Those who advocate for an emancipatory basic income policy while showing considerably less interest in the persistent dilemmas of class politics have forgotten, or failed to see, that what they are pushing for is already a form of communism. There is consequently no prospect of the hoped-for policy coming to pass until there is a working-class constituency that is organized and powerful enough to be able to extract it, in spite of the predictable resistance of superbly organized capital. The employers of labor are, after all, not about to expropriate themselves out of untold future profits out of the goodness of their hearts, much less because proponents of a generous basic income have fairness and human decency on their side.” Pg. 153</p> <p>“In our view, the tendency persistently to overlook these facts owes to a certain familiar but problematic approach to normative inquiry. The problematic orientation is on display whenever theorists on the Lef — rightly concerned by the many social ills we face — ask in response what sorts of policies “we” should put in place. This question makes practical sense only if author and audience together already have the social power to carry out the necessary steps. Alternatively, it assumes that every powerful actor in society is motivated to do whatever it is that we, all of us together, should. Either way, the animating presupposition of much lef-wing theorizing is normally false, and certainly false when the question is whether “we” should implement a genuinely liberating basic income.” Pg. 153</p> <p>“ould implement a genuinely liberating basic income. It is not the case that, by legislating a generous basic income, “we” could empower the most exploited workers among us better to resist their capitalist bosses. On the contrary, we shall argue in this essay that the familiar story about the emancipatory potential of</p>	<p>Discussing changing the entire budget and economy for a level of genuine worker freedoms has never actually existed. That freedom is what is different in left vs right UBI motivations, left is for emancipatory policies and the right just want an more efficiency for the draconian labor market and its inept welfare system.</p> <p>In our current system UBI may not work because funding would dry out.</p> <p>Speculating that there is no unifying reason the elites would take to go in this direction. Understandable, but planetary destruction could be a large motivator. I am also seeing themes of fairness labelled as communism, and leveling the playing field as an unreasonable goal? Not sure on that.</p> <p>Hinting that taxing wealth and capital may be a large step in search of funding. Stating there would not be as serious consequences to the economy as the wealthy would say, they would just but all their resources into stopping this, which goes with the hypothesis of the article.</p> <p>The will of the elites and business class cannot be underestimated, especially in the US. Unless some global level crisis was too urgent to</p>	
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	<p>a generous basic income has got things almost exactly backwards. A basic income high enough to be genuinely liberating for the low-wage worker would require enormous expropriation of businesses and wealthy people.” Pg. 153-154</p> <p>“A basic income high enough to be genuinely liberating for the low-wage worker would require enormous expropriation of businesses and wealthy people.” Pg. 154</p> <p>“Consequently, there is no chance of its passage until there is a working class with the social and organizational power already adequate to extract it. The means to the requisite political organization, moreover, must come through labor organizing and left-wing political leadership, and not through elite-driven “entitlement reform,” precisely because only an organized working class will be able to hold elites to account and control the fate of their social policy proposals in our plutocratic times.” Pg. 154</p> <p>“. In short, if the idea of a liberating basic income is to have a place in an attractive political vision, we should think through not how it will renovate capitalism, but its emancipatory purpose in an already functioning institutional socialism.” Pg. 154</p> <p>“For present purposes, we are prepared to grant that in a just society, some level of income support would be made available to everyone irrespective of whether she cared to do any kind of job.” Pg. 155</p> <p>“Our target in this paper is not an argument about what a fully just society would be like, but rather a certain thesis about how to get from here to there. According to that thesis, a generous basic income is not to be awaited as the happy outcome of familiar labor struggles. It is instead to be prioritized in left-wing politics going forward, as perhaps the key emancipatory strategy.” Pg. 155</p> <p>“The current share of all local, state, and federal government spending in the United States as a proportion of GDP is roughly 38 percent. Therefore, to implement the bare subsistence version of the basic income proposal would mean taking the United States</p>	<p>deflect, I believe that is a valid point, and having the organized power to enact UBI and other policies will be very difficult. Even the climate crisis has not slowed the business elites down, they seem to want to leave into space.</p> <p>Themes of needing to control everything and one through power and fear. Using the threat of the sack or firing people to keep them in line. UBI would take a lot of that power away, which they would fight to stop at all costs.</p> <p>If working class can take political power with as little corporation as possible this could be done, but again that is power the current working class in the US do not have at all.</p> <p>Normal people/voters only get what they want if it's also what capital wants.</p> <p>Working class have close to zero effect on policy and lack the education and knowledge to take collective action. This is the wealth cultures plans and shows a need to study what that level of power does to someone's mental health. I add this because the wealthy elite are hostile to anything that could give the working class a moment to think, because keeping them in survival mode solidifies their power.</p>		
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	<p>economy from a position where government expenditure represents less than two-fifths of GDP to nearly two-thirds. This would be a ratio higher than present-day Finland (57 percent), higher than France (56 percent), and indeed higher than any capitalist industrialized society has ever had. It would put the government share of GDP well above even the US “wartime socialism” levels of 1944-1945. It’s not clear what such an economy would look like in peacetime.” 158-159</p> <p>“First, with a basic income, one could eliminate some existing welfare transfers. However, existing welfare spending in the United States, excluding spending on health, represents a comparatively small fraction of GDP, on the order of 10 percent. Moreover, of this amount, true social-welfare expenditures— such as unemployment insurance, income assistance, and subsidized housing— amount to less than 4 percent of GDP combined. The other 6 percent represents mostly contributory old age pensions.” Pg. 159</p> <p>“At the same time, the figures just cited should make it clear that much of the already lean public sector in the United States must not be eliminated. On the contrary, infrastructure, social services, schools, and clinics desperately need greatly increased funding, not to mention research into clean energy and climate change.” Pg. 160</p> <p>“More to the point, one cannot give with one hand while taking back an equal amount with the other if the purpose of introducing a basic income is fundamentally to alter the status quo and give workers a genuine exit option that they never really had before. This aspiration, after all, is what distinguishes left-wing or emancipatory from right-wing or conservative arguments for basic income. The latter are focused not at all on freeing low-paid workers from draconian labor market discipline, but merely on making today’s clumsy welfare state spending more efficient.” Pg. 159</p> <p>“Accordingly, if to help pay for a basic income of \$1,300 per month, one were to eliminate whatever spending keeps down the net monthly cost of</p>	<p>Stating the case for corruption and brutality in the US when it comes to working class rights. We live in an oligarchy of elected officials that are almost always paid for. US is at one of its lowest moments, with regard to working class labor rights.</p> <p>No matter how good a policy is, it will not take hold in this current system run ruthlessly by elites.</p> <p>A possible third party could be a solution with no elite funding or entitlements, could then hold elites to account and take actual control for the first time ever? UBI can be a benchmark policy for this new upgraded US institutional socialism. Or make an entirely new system altogether. The will of the people needs power, and it currently has none, so UBI would not be allowed.</p>		
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	<p>the most affordable subsidized housing (for example), then, for the same reason, the introduction of the basic income would not produce a genuine exit option for the minimum-wage worker; from her point of view, it would merely make existing government transfers more direct and less paternalistic.” Pg. 160</p> <p>“In short, to fund a genuinely liberating basic income of \$15,000 per annum— assuming that were enough for this purpose²²— the United States Treasury would need to raise entirely new tax revenues amounting to likely a quarter of total annual output, and almost certainly no less than 20 percent; the vast bulk of this revenue could not come from cost savings generated by massively cutting existing federal, state, and local government spending.” Pg. 162</p> <p>“This brings us to our second caveat. Our oversimplified observations assume that there would be zero negative effects on GDP from the requisite massive increase in taxes. If there were a substantial drop in GDP — because of, say, extensive capital flight or investment strike— then financing a \$15,000 per person annual basic income would cost proportionately more than a quarter of total output. Anyone who claims it would cost much less is claiming, in effect, that enabling millions of people not to work would substantially grow our existing capitalist economy. There are no strong reasons, theoretical or empirical, to support this speculative conclusion.” Pg. 162-163</p> <p>“A bare subsistence income in the United States would require the government to cut people checks summing, annually, to roughly a quarter of GDP. The annual GDP of the United States is roughly \$18.75 trillion. If the long-run real return to capital is assumed to be 4-5 percent per annum (a standard long-run estimate), this means that one would need around \$100 trillion to capitalize the sovereign wealth fund. However, \$100 trillion is approximately the sum of all real and financial assets held in the United States today.” Pg. 163</p> <p>"Therefore, if we forsake ongoing income taxation and go the sovereign wealth fund route, nationalizing all</p>			
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	<p>housing and financial wealth in the United States would not be enough to finance a basic income of even merely \$1,300 per month per head.” Pg. 163</p> <p>“These observations are, we believe, already enough to reveal the main strategic miscalculation at the core of the familiar realistic-cum-emancipatory approach to basic income criticized in this essay. According to this approach, progressives should concentrate their efforts not so much on organizing, unifying, and radicalizing ordinary workers, but on finding broad political consensus on a legislative policy issue.” Pg. 163-164</p> <p>“The implicit assumption is that advocates of a truly generous basic income will eventually be able to find common ground with the business class and its political representatives because, allegedly, the legislative introduction of a livable basic income is in everyone’s long-run interest: to do better for everyone, we could leave the entire capitalist apparatus more or less in place, and simply provide every worker with a regular cash payment that is enough to live on.” Pg. 164</p> <p>“In a word, this assumption strikes us as deeply implausible. Why would the business class agree to such an enormous shift in their share of total national income? How are progressive leaders and thinkers to find common ground with them on this issue? After all, a subsistence-level basic income is straightforwardly a form of communism, extended to cover roughly a quarter of total annual output: were the government unconditionally obliged to send everyone a check for \$1,300 a month, then, to the tune of roughly a quarter of GDP, everyone would be entitled to the exact same purchasing power no matter what anyone did.” Pg. 164</p> <p>“Now, it is true that the net cost of the policy to the wealthiest 20 percent would be considerably less than the gross dollar value of the hundreds of millions of checks sent out by the government each month.²⁵ This is because, even though the wealthiest 20 percent would inevitably have to pay for the entirety of the basic income payments sent to</p>			
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	<p>lower-income beneficiaries, everyone belonging to the wealthiest 20 percent would equally be entitled to the monthly basic income payment. In this way, 20 percent of the gross monthly cost of a universal basic income program would be returned to the wealthiest 20 percent each month, thereby reducing the net cost of the program, to them, by an equivalent amount.” Pg. 165</p> <p>“For, even in the context of the highly unequal United States, the combined annual salaries of the best-paid 20 percent of employees add up to only roughly 29 percent of GDP. Thus, a basic income program with a net cost, to them, of 10-13 percent of GDP would require the best-paid 20 percent of employees to give up somewhere between an additional one-third to nearly one-half of their existing pretax salary incomes. Realistically, then, a subsistence-level basic income could not be funded through new tax increases on their salary incomes alone. Instead, massive new tax increases on both the salary incomes and the capital gains of the wealthiest 20 percent would be needed to fund anything remotely resembling a livable universal basic income program.” Pg. 166</p> <p>“Indeed, we are happy to assume that very large increases in corporate and capital taxation would occasion no significant capital flight, perhaps because effective capital and investment controls could be implemented in the very same legislation putting in place a livable basic income.²⁷ Even under these assumptions, there remains the question of why the business class would ever agree to expropriate itself.” Pg. 166</p> <p>“What reason is there to think that, once its many virtues are made clear, the business class will be prepared to get on board with this idea?” pg. 167</p> <p>“In fact, a rather different response is predictable. If the basic income proposal ever really gets going — by which we mean, outside of proposals for geographically circumscribed and therefore comparatively inexpensive pilot projects — the world’s biggest employers and their owners can be expected to use every means of resistance at their disposal. There are</p>			
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	<p>numerous reasons to expect a less than supportive response.” Pg. 167</p> <p>“For one, the wealthy as a group already oppose even modest forms of downward redistribution.²⁸ For example, fewer than half of wealthy Americans (43 percent) endorse the view that government should see to it that no one is without food, clothing, or shelter, even when the support in question is fully means-tested and work-conditional. Moreover, according to a supermajority (60 percent) of the wealthy, it is not the case that the minimum wage should be raised to ensure that no family with a full-time worker falls below the (already stingy) official US poverty line.” Pg. 167</p> <p>“Not being stupid, big businesses and their wealthy owners will easily anticipate the very same emancipatory aspects of basic income that its proponents count in its favor. But in light of their strong personal and financial interests, we can expect them to draw exactly the opposite political conclusion.” Pg. 168</p> <p>“There is abundant evidence that big businesses today continue to think exactly this way, not only about the appropriateness of public investment and costly programs for subsidizing mass consumption, but also about the appropriate structure of corporate governance and the critical importance of maintaining the threat of the sack. If this is their view, however, then they have all the more reason to respond with massive opposition and resistance to any credible effort to implement a livable basic income.” Pg. 169</p> <p>“We are now in a position to state the preliminary upshot of our discussion. Because a livable basic income would be a truly massive redistributive program, ultimately to be paid for out of existing and potential business profits, it will come only when there is a working class organized and powerful enough to be able to extract it, in spite of the inevitable fierce opposition of the owners of capital. Consequently, efforts to secure broad consensus on the virtues of legislating a livable basic income cannot plausibly be prioritized over what is needed to</p>			
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	<p>organize the working class as a political force and reinvigorate the labor movement. The alternative strategy at bottom reduces to the hope that the business class will eventually agree to expropriate themselves out of the goodness of their hearts.” Pg. 170</p> <p>“...the support of only a substantial majority of voters is necessary to pass the requisite tax-and transfer legislation, not the unanimous support of large businesses and wealthy people.” Pg. 171</p> <p>“We believe this objection is wrong, and tellingly so. Indeed, the ease with which it rolls of the tongue shows just how little knowledge of the Lef’s true strategic and political predicament is built into the conventional political wisdom. For one thing, it is simply false that political institutions in the United States are mostly responsive to the policy preferences of the average voter. To be sure, majorities of ordinary people do get what they profess to want a considerable proportion of the time. However, ordinary people normally get what they want only when their stated policy preferences coincide with the wishes of organized business groups and wealthy people: there is little indication that a majority of citizens is actually in charge.” Pg. 171</p> <p>“On the contrary, once the policy preferences of wealthy people and organized business groups are controlled for, “the preferences of the average American appear to have only a minuscule, near-zero, statistically non-significant impact upon public policy.”³² Moreover, this lack of responsiveness is not simply because, on most substantive issues, ordinary people have little political knowledge and practically no well-formed policy preferences to begin with.³³ <i>Rather, the deeper problem is that there are profound social and legal obstacles to both the political education of the working class and its properly informed collective action.</i>” Pg. 171-172</p> <p>“Consider first the main avenue of collective action in a democracy. The truth is that the United States has no hint of a nationally viable working-class party. While members of the Democratic Party will inevitably protest, it should be clear from</p>			
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decades of neoliberal experience that this particular organization simply does not pass the test. A real working-class party has a) a political program, b) which is approved by a broad and representative cross section of its membership in advance, and c) is organized enough to hold its elected representatives to account when they fail actively to pursue the party program. The Democratic Party has none of these things. It has long been a fundraising outfit for liberal political entrepreneurs, some of whom may be well-meaning, but most of whom are more or less easily captured rent-seekers: like their Republican colleagues, most congressional Democrats end up working for large corporations and lobbying firms soon after they leave office.” Pg. 172

“In short, we live not in a democracy but in a constitutional electoral oligarchy in which the two incumbent parties effectively control access to the ballot. We on the Left will have to come to grips with this reality, in full view of the US Constitution’s famous status quo bias. Yet this is ultimately still only half of the political and strategic problem. For the principal means of building the social basis of a working-class party as defined above — that is to say, a party whose politically conscious and informed membership selects its leadership, rather than the other way around — has also been radically curtailed, by large businesses working together with the state. What we have in mind is the extraordinary repression of labor unions and their right to strike.” Pg. 173

“However, because the United States has one of the most spectacularly violent and most repressive labor histories of any of its wealthy peers in the industrialized world,³⁶ the labor movement — and therefore also the consciousness of most workers that their economic and political interests are rather different from those of business— is presently weaker than it has been in probably a hundred and fifty years.” Pg. 174

“It is not simply that billionaires have grasped the legislature and bought up many important parts of the news media. More fundamentally, ordinary workers’ consciousness of their shared class interests and of their future potential as a unified political force is weaker than it has been in a very long time.” Pg. 174

	<p>“...what policies should “we” put in place? Yet, as the phrasing indicates, this question implicitly assumes that together author and audience already have the social power to carry out whatever are the necessary steps. Alternatively, it assumes that every powerful actor in society is motivated to do whatever it is that we, all of us together, should. Either way, the presupposition is often false.” Pg. 175</p> <p>“However meticulous the case for a policy that has this consequence, it should be clear that the business class will not willingly agree to expropriate itself.” Pg. 176</p> <p>“Indeed, more than any other contemporary democracy, the United States famously represses the only two realistic vehicles of countervailing working-class economic and social power on a national level: a third national political party dedicated to advancing the interests of the large majority of working people, and a labor movement that is organized enough to select and discipline its party leaders rather than vice versa” pg. 176</p> <p>“The means to the requisite working-class political organization, we have argued, will have to come through new and creative ways of labor organizing, and not through elite-driven entitlement reforms. The fundamental reason is that only a sufficiently organized working class will be able to hold elites to account and to control the fate of their social policy proposals in our plutocratic times.” Pg. 177</p> <p>“If the idea of a liberating basic income is to have a place in an attractive political vision, then, we should think through, not how it will renovate capitalism, but its emancipatory purpose in an already functioning institutional socialism.” Pg. 177</p>			
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Reference# 10	Findings from Primary Sources	Within-Study Memos	Cross-Study Memos	Resource theory
<p>Linnanvirta, S., Kroll, C., & Blomberg, H. (2019). The perceived legitimacy of a basic income among Finnish food aid recipients. <i>International Journal of Social Welfare</i>, 28(3), 271–281.</p> <p>Keywords: social policy, poverty, welfare reform, economic hardship, quantitative research, qualitative research, Finland</p>	<p>“The present study was conducted during the height of this debate with the aim to study the views on BI among various people in economically vulnerable situations (the actual experiment later came to be limited to a representative sample of long-term unemployed only1).” Pg.272</p> <p>“While prior research on food aid recipients in Finland (Ohisalo, 2017; Ohisalo, Laihiala, & Saari, 2015) has shown that receivers display a wide variety of life situations, the main groups consist of the unemployed and of receivers of basic/minimum old-age, sickness or disability pensions. Many also simultaneously receive social assistance, an indication of the unsatisfactory level of other types of benefits. Considerable groups in breadlines have also either been refused social assistance or for some reason have not applied for it.” Pg. 272</p> <p>“However, although being one of the main factors assumed to affect views on welfare state programmes in general, a wide body of research has shown that other types of factors besides often ambiguous self-interest affects peoples’ views on welfare state programmes, for example, various forms of normative factors, such as values and perceptions (Jaeger, 2006; van Oorschot, 2006; van Oorschot, Roosma, Meuleman, & Reeskens, 2017; Svallfors, 2007, 2013).” Pg. 272</p> <p>“From a legitimacy perspective, previous research has not indicated that the introduction of a BI in a Nordic type of comprehensive welfare system setting would be an unproblematic undertaking. For instance, Bay and Pedersen (2006, p. 420) did not assume a sufficient degree of generally perceived popular self-interest in a BI. Thus, popular support would instead demand ‘a high degree of trust, identification and sympathy with fellow citizens and/or a strong commitment to egalitarian values’. De Wispelaere (2015, p. 21)</p>	<p>UBI experiment in Finland. Discussing the outcomes with those on breadlines and other welfare programs to compare a UBI.</p> <p>Themes of work ethic and deservedness are baked into how the program is viewed?</p> <p>Nordic context is not as hostile to the poor, at least openly so like the British and Americans. Themes of deservedness aren’t as intense.</p> <p>Finnish seemed more concerned with helping all people not just themselves. Looking to get rid of the causes of breadlines to begin with. Not a popular US position.</p> <p>UBI or BI has a high level of support if only for the most in need.</p> <p>Deservedness narratives are strong, either for the hate of the poor, or the opposite, that the well-off should not get the UBI/BI.</p> <p>The poor rarely are given a voice and like the population is diverse in though on UBI, and those in the breadline were on</p>	<p>As other UBI experiments the outcomes for health, education, mental health are apparent. Comparing UBI to other welfare programs, and most participants felt UBI as a policy was a superior policy to the current ones, only the universal vs non-universal aspects of the policy.</p> <p>Showing that Nordic culture is not as hostile towards the poor as the US, themes of deservedness are apparent but not as intense.</p> <p>The national narrative of Finland is more trusting and not as divided as the US. The participants all mentioned the lack of stigma the UBI has. Themes of dignity for the poor was strong.</p> <p>It showed the Finnish poor’s opinions about social safety nets are as diverse as the population as a whole.</p> <p>Framing of questions did change and alter the response about who should get the benefits of UBI.</p>	<p>Using data from this experiment fits into resource theory, UBI benefits are noted, and that health outcomes, education, and mental health improves.</p> <p>Narratives around UBI and deservedness are similar to the literature at large, however the Nordic cultures seem less hostile towards to poor, so it takes a turn to helping those who need it, and mixed views on the universal aspect of it.</p>

	<p>considered the ‘willingness to contribute’ that is retained in the popular support for universalist social policies in the Nordic countries to be a factor that would probably reduce support for a BI. This expectation of everyone contributing to the welfare system has commonly been tied to fulfilling the moral duty of working, derived from the Protestant work ethic (Julkunen, 2009; Kettunen, 2001). In a similar vein, Johansson (2001), discussing the limits of social citizenship in the Nordic countries, argued that the strictly means- and needstested types of last-resort public financial support are to be regarded as a kind of paradoxical consequence of the Nordic-type welfare system which rests on the assumption that everyone takes part in its financing through working.” Pg. 272</p> <p>“Such diverging policies towards non-contributing groups can thereby be seen to reflect core normative beliefs, or ‘deeply rooted categories of worth’ of a society (Steensland, 2006, p. 1320), which might then also affect peoples’ way of thinking and thus how they view policy reforms, even in ways that might not be in their own self-interest.” Pg. 272</p> <p>“More recent popular surveys – triggered by the planned Finnish government experiment – have confirmed a continued strong support in Finland for the general idea of a universal BI, although the amount of support decreased with different framings of the question, for example, regarding income amounts and labour tax levels. (Haavisto & Heikkinen, 2017; Kangas & Pulkka, 2016). Knowledge of possible but distinctly Finnish normative considerations behind said support remains limited.” Pg. 273</p> <p>“Even among ‘the poor’, references were made to hegemonic British ideas about the undeserving poor and ‘scroungerphobia’. Although similar views also exist in the Nordic countries to some extent, such arguments have not been as dominant or outspoken in a Nordic context (Kroll, 2007; Svallfors, 1996),</p>	<p>par with the Finnish population as a whole.</p>		
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	<p>and public attitudes towards ‘the poor’ have not generally been characterised by equally strong moral prejudice (Blomberg, Kroll, & Kallio, 2018; Kallio & Kouvo, 2015).” Pg. 273</p> <p>“As Bay and Pedersen (2006, p. 420) stated, a BI demands a ‘high degree of trust, identification and sympathy with fellow citizens’. We also included five independent socio-economic variables (age, citizenship, education, labour market position and gender) as controls.” Pg. 274</p> <p>“The variable measuring economic predicaments also had a significant effect, in that respondents who were more dependent on food aid were more supportive of a BI. Furthermore, the variable measuring normative views was significant, although not very strongly; people with a stronger identification with other members of society were more supportive of a BI. In contrast, none of the socio-economic variables had an effect on attitudes. For example, the variable measuring labour market position had no significant impact on support for a BI.” Pg. 275</p> <p>“Although many informants referred to BI as improving their own situation, it was far more common to refer to a BI as benefiting others or ‘all people’ in general. As a 54-year-old retired man replied when asked why he thought a BI would be sensible: ‘Why, everyone has to have the basic living means so that there wouldn’t be such an awful lot of these [bread] lines’ (No. 48)” pg.275</p> <p>“Further, several interviewees stated that a BI makes people passive. In their opinion, many people would not want to work if they did not have to, and a BI would make it possible for them (or give them an incentive) to just stay at home and do nothing. Young people in particular were blamed for not wanting to do anything for a living. As a 44-year-old unemployed man put it quite bluntly: ‘That [basic income] can be a load of sh*t too, see, it doesn’t buck anyone up to do anything anymore’ (No. 04)” pg. 276</p>			
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<p>“Among other informants, the question regarding BI instead triggered despondent reflections on social security policy in general, perceived as being deeply unfair.” Pg. 276</p> <p>“Despite having a rather negative view on the employment effects of a BI, often linked to a long experience of job-seeking, and also being well aware of current employment possibilities and labour market development in general, many supported a BI in principle. A few interviewees (N = 4) found the question of employment effects was one that had no easy answer.” Pg. 277</p> <p>“Generally, support for some kind of BI is high, but not everyone supporting it embraces the idea of an unconditional BI.” Pg. 277</p> <p>“Some of the interviewees believed that a BI would improve their situation, while others did not. Irrespective of the views on their personal situation, many supported a BI for other reasons. Having a BI was seen, for example, as guaranteeing more genuine and long-lasting economic security through less stigmatising processes (cf. De Wispelaere, 2015). In line with results from previous studies (see above), it was also perceived that the benefit would reduce bureaucracy and/or ‘economic stress’.” Pg. 278</p> <p>“Generally, the qualitative data brought perceptions, normative beliefs and images of deservingness to the fore, especially among those who did not support a BI. Some of them opposed the benefit with reference to it being granted also to other (objectively) vulnerable groups that are nevertheless perceived as undeserving. The interviewees thus made similar points of social comparisons, distancing themselves from the ‘not deserving’ (e.g.,</p>			
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	<p>unemployed young adults, immigrants and 'cheaters' in headlines) among the poor and vulnerable and not wanting to support a universal benefit that would be shared by 'them' (cf. Shildrick & MacDonald, 2013; also van Oorschot et al., 2017). On the other hand, a universal BI was opposed by others by using a 'distant point of social comparison' – people who are better off financially should not be receiving a BI, only people who have less." Pg. 278</p> <p>"As argued by Ruth Lister (2004, p. 2, cited in Shildrick & MacDonald, 2013, p. 286), "the poor" are frequently talked about and theorised about but are rarely themselves in a position to have their thoughts published'. Our results clearly show that food aid recipients are not one 'voice'." Pg. 278</p> <p>"Nevertheless, our results seem to indicate that a BI is not cheered by the food aid recipients in this study more often than by the population at large – at least in a situation where the precise conditions of receiving it are not defined." Pg. 278</p>			
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1 <i>Reference# 11</i>	2 <i>Findings from Primary Sources</i>	3 <i>Within-Study Memos</i>	4 <i>Cross-Study Memos</i>	5 <i>Resource theory</i>
<p>Hamilton, L., & Martin-West, S. (2019). Universal basic income, poverty, and social justice: A moral and economic imperative for social workers. <i>Social Work, 64</i>(4), 321–328.</p> <p>KEYWORDS: advocacy; policy; poverty; social policy</p> <p>(Hamilton, L., & Martin-West, S. 2019 pg.)</p>	<p>“The motivation and lenses by which we are approaching basic income experimentation are similarly varied. Some interest in basic income is due to the potential obsolescence of the human laborer as we move toward automation (Ford,2016;Glazer, 2017). Others view UBI as a potential solution to economic inequality (Stern,2016), racial inequality (The Movement for Black Lives,2016), and gender disparities (Zelleke, 2008).” Pg. 322</p> <p>“Common criticisms of UBI often include suppositions related to work disincentives, and concerns about potential economic collapse. The existing research offers little evidence for either criticism. In terms of individual-level impacts, Marinescu (2017) compiled a review of findings related to behavior change while receiving unconditional cash transfers. In the evaluation of the 1970s Seattle/Denver Income Maintenance Experiment (referred to as SIME/DIME), casino dividends, and the APF, as well as NIT demonstrations in both the United States and Canada, there was no appreciable impact on labor supply.” Pg. 322</p> <p>“The individual-level impacts of UBI extend beyond labor participation. A NIT experiment in the United States and an unconditional cash transfer program in Mexico suggest that recipients make better nutrition choices than comparison groups (Cunha, De Giorgi, & Jayachandran, 2017; Marinescu,2017).The NIT experiment in Canada reported a nearly 9 percent decrease in hospitalizations, and decreases in substance abuse were reported in adulthood for children who received casino dividends (Marinescu, 2017). Finally, there are notable impacts on educational attainment among students whose families received NIT disbursements, particularly within very low-income households and those with younger children (Marinescu, 2017).” Pg. 322</p>	<p>UBI benefits and experiment results are similar across the literature. Criticisms about labor and economic collapse have little evidence to support them.</p> <p>Meta-analysis are harder because of a gap in literature.</p> <p>Showing that Conservatives and Neo-liberals have been incorrect in their policies towards the poor and social policies overall. Their punitive approach to governing poverty has not worked, and the data backs that up.</p> <p>Lack of diverse voices like social workers are needed in these social safety net programs discussions and designs.</p> <p>The effects of conservative punitive values, needing to control the poor because of more deservedness narratives caused millions to have benefits stripped away. Along with misleading measures and benefit limits that get used to force their values against evidence-based programs.</p> <p>Many policymakers feel human dignity</p>	<p>Data from this article shows how narratives are important, and who is in the discussion. Social workers need to be in the conversation around social safety nets because of their firsthand experiences with the poor.</p> <p>Adding to the literature that those who believe anti-poverty programs should be highly means tested and punitive, the data says the opposite, however narratives and values seem to motivate policymakers more than the immense data that shows policies like UBI are better at helping support and lift people out of poverty.</p> <p>Another theme that UBI articles have is the drop-in criminal activity that is shown from cash transfer programs like UBI.</p>	<p>Additions to resource theory is the benefit of policies like UBI have on crime within communities, which fits because getting out of survival mode allows people to start to think of the future instead of immediate survival.</p> <p>Themes of values and narratives over data driven best practices are within this article like others. Views of the poor are hostile and blaming, even though the research is very clear about how hard it is to live in poverty.</p> <p>Those with resource excess and extravagance seem afraid of treating poor people with dignity and respect.</p> <p>UBI benefits for health and well-being are discussed.</p>

	<p>“We see a similar lack of evidence for calamitous macroeconomic impacts. Using a Keynesian macroeconomic model created by the Levy Economics Institute of Bard College, economists tested the broader impacts of a monthly \$1,000 and \$500 UBI model funded either through taxation or increasing the federal deficit. In the simulation of financing UBI through the federal deficit, the model predicts economic growth where the economy would grow by approximately 13 percent before returning to a baseline level of estimated growth after eight years. Financing UBI through household level taxation nets no macroeconomic impact (Nikiforos, Steinbaum, & Zezza, 2017).” Pg. 322</p> <p>“Given the historical and growing discourse on UBI as a potential solution to unemployment/underemployment, poverty, and a flawed social safety net, we were interested to determine whether social work scholars had contributed to the discussion. The work described here represents a preliminary examination of the social work literature and in no way attempts to provide a systematic analysis. Our findings suggest that the body of work has not yet developed to a point in which systematic literature reviews or meta-analyses would be meaningful. Still, we have attempted to fully describe our methodology (such as it is) to maximize transparency.” Pg.323</p> <p>“This article was written at an important junction in social policy history in which the growing conservative movement sought to dismantle welfare expansion created by the 1960s War on Poverty. Conservatives argued that generous benefits discouraged work and Garfinkel agreed, but not because of a moral failing on the part of low-income families. He stated that reducing benefits as income increases (dollar for dollar) is equivalent to a 100 percent income tax rate that upper-income households would never tolerate. While conservatives seek to remove this disincentive by restricting welfare access, Garfinkel argued that a non-means-tested UBI would better insulate families from poverty while expanding the economic incentives currently afforded only to middle- and upper-income households.” Pg. 323</p>	<p>should not come with social safety nets, but the data says it should.</p> <p>Poverty is considered a character flaw by most in elites’ positions, or at least that is the narrative used to control and inspect every aspect of their lives. Benefits for middle and upper classes are not treated this way at all.</p> <p>Current UBI schemes could leave many who are among the most marginalized even worse off if UBI is used to take all other benefits away.</p>		
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	<p>“Social workers in Australia (Mays & Marston, 2016) and South Africa (Sewpaul, 2005) arrived at similar conclusions. Mays and Marston (2016) argued that the rise of neoliberalism “has created a punitive approach to governing poverty” (p. 3).” Pg. 323</p> <p>“Most important, Mays and Marston (2016) envisioned that UBI would create emancipatory effects for welfare recipients who currently experience “negative consequences [to] well-being and sense of self, self-identity and personhood” (p. 12) under paternalistic social policies.” Pg. 324</p> <p>“Finally, Murray (2016) saw UBI as an ideal means to achieve the libertarian goal of complete elimination of the welfare state. Each of these theoretical foundations treats the policy effects to vulnerable families as a secondary consideration. Caputo (2008) argued that any UBI scheme must place poverty remediation as a primary goal.” Pg. 324</p> <p>“They argued that poverty reduction is a moral imperative with practical benefits, namely the resultant decrease in poverty-related health care expenditures, crime, and opportunity costs in the form of workforce and tax base contributions. Furthermore, UBI is more environmentally sustainable than current economic models in which income and opportunity are dependent on ever-increasing production and consumption.” Pg. 324</p> <p>“Although these social work voices represent an important perspective within UBI scholarship, we were surprised to find so little. Instead, social workers continue to serve clients in the context of crumbling social safety net programs.” Pg. 324</p> <p>“As a quintessential example, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) (P.L. 104-193) eliminated the AFDC program because conservative voters and lawmakers were increasingly concerned about “dependence” among families in poverty. PRWORA set the newly created Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program</p>			
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	<p>budget at \$16.5 billion permanently (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2015). Adjusted for inflation, this budget has lost a third of its value in the past 22 years (Schott, 2016). TANF also implemented five-year lifetime limits for recipients. Only 23 percent of poor families now receive assistance, compared with 68 percent in 1996 (Schott, 2016).” Pg. 324</p> <p>“Although PRWORA intended to move poor families to employment and independence, more families leave the program due to reaching TANF time limits than gaining employment (Zedlewski, 2016).This can be attributed to a lack of evidencebased work preparation programs (Schott, 2016) and a poorly designed incentive structure across the social safety net (Hamilton, 2016).” Pg. 324</p> <p>“For example, several researchers have uncovered a so-called “cliff 324 Social Work Volume 64, Number 4 October 2019 Downloaded from https://academic.oup.com/sw/article-abstract/64/4/321/5576193 by 81695661, OUP on 12 November 2019 effect” (Ahn, 2014;Minton & Durham, 2013; Roll & East, 2014) in which families experience such a significant reduction in benefits (including TANF, housing assistance, Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program or SNAP, and child care assistance) when receiving even a modest increase in income that they are left in worse financial condition. The result is that parents may turn down long-term promotion opportunities to provide for their children in the short term (Roll & East, 2014).” Pg. 324-325</p> <p>“Furthermore, many of these programs include such paternalistic eligibility criteria and onerous application processes that they inflict an incalculable “dehumanizing” tax on low-income families. For example,TANF receipt is associated with lower marriage rates among female-headed households, presumably because marriage becomes an economic calculation under current eligibility standards (Cherlin & Fomby, 2004) despite the PRWORA’s explicit intent to “encourage the formation and maintenance of two-parent families”(42 USC § 601). The policy also sought to “prevent and reduce the incidence of out-of-wedlock</p>			
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	<p>pregnancies” (42 USC § 601) by denying assistance to families who have additional children while receiving assistance. Not only is this a dangerous intrusion into the reproductive rights of poor and minority women, but “family caps” are ultimately a waste of resources, having no effect on birth rates (Wallace, 2009)” pg. 325</p> <p>“Work requirements, which are standard in TANF, SNAP, some housing assistance programs, and have recently been considered for Medicaid eligibility (Hahn et al., 2017), most frequently push families to low-wage, low-benefits employment that is insufficient to facilitate their economic stability (Lim, Coulton, & Lalich, 2009).” Pg. 325</p> <p>“Most troubling, 15 states have implemented drug testing requirements for welfare eligibility without evidence that recipients abuse drugs at higher rates than the general population; federal courts have determined that the policy violates “constitutional protections against unreasonable searches” (Dallas News, 2013; National Conference of State Legislatures, 2017).” Pg. 326</p> <p>“In essence, by virtue of being born into poverty in the United States one is subject to government encroachment into one’s family formation, financial decision making, and even bodily autonomy. Meanwhile middle- and upper-income families, who benefit from a range of public expenditures including the mortgage interest deduction, tax-sheltered retirement accounts, and comparatively low capital gains taxes, face no such intrusion.” Pg. 326</p> <p>“However, we disagree with libertarian proposals to replace the entirety of U.S. social policy with a UBI. High quality health care, education, retirement, and disability supports cannot be provided by a \$12,000 -per-person grant.” Pg. 326</p> <p>“The optimal financing scheme for a UBI is therefore far from established and presents additional opportunities for analysis and advocacy among social workers.” Pg. 326</p> <p>“Unfortunately, the proposal would only benefit households with earned</p>			
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	<p>income and, therefore, completely overlooks families unable to work. Without the input of social workers to guide these types of policy proposals, UBI research, and financing of a UBI scheme, we fear that the lives of marginalized families will be ultimately overlooked." Pg. 326</p>			
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1 <i>Reference# 12</i>	2 <i>Findings from Primary Sources</i>	3 <i>Within-Study Memos</i>	4 <i>Cross-Study Memos</i>	5 <i>Resource theory</i>
<p>De Wispelaere, J., & Stirton, L. (2017). When Basic Income Meets Professor Pangloss: Ignoring Public Administration and Its Perils. <i>Political Quarterly</i>, 88(2), 298–305.</p> <p>Keywords: basic income, bureaucracy, implementation, Panglossian optimism</p> <p>(De Wispelaere, J., & Stirton, L. 2017 pg.)</p>	<p>“But optimism, however fitting, should not detract basic income advocates from asking the hard questions that come with moving an idea along the policy process.” Pg. 298</p> <p>“The Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (RSA) published its own basic income model in a 2015 pamphlet entitled Creative Citizen, Creative State: The Principled and Pragmatic Case for a Universal Basic Income, which was well received in British media and policy circles.” Pg. 299</p> <p>“ . And even the trade unions—often ardent opponents of basic income—are coming around to the idea: following earlier support from Unite, the latest TUC Congress in Brighton adopted a motion in favour of basic income.” Pg. 299</p> <p>“ . Invariably, those who propose a universal and unconditional basic income to complement existing welfare programmes, or to replace those that fail to deliver on desired social goals, appear untroubled by what Bernard Schaffer has called ‘the administrative factor’. On this view, a simple, individually and unconditionally allocated basic income grant can without difficulty bypass the sluggish, biased, overly costly and highly intrusive bureaucratic machinery of the modern welfare state.³ The Panglossian perspective reveals itself in the implicit (and on occasion explicitly stated) claim that, in the best of all worlds, a basic income scheme requires little administration, and only the bare bones of a bureaucracy.” Pg. 299</p> <p>“To the political scientist or policy analyst, the argument that administration matters for basic income design and implementation may seem like a truism, but it faces surprising resistance among those advocating for basic income. There may be several explanations for this general reluctance to embrace administrative analysis. Our purpose here is to survey what we believe to</p>	<p>Article wants to focus on the hard-detailed questions about UBI, and they should not be glossed over.</p> <p>UBI advocates just assume the overhead admin costs will be better under a UBI policy, however they bypass policy analysts/political scientist’s argument that admin challenges should be researched and not just assume it will all work out.</p> <p>UBI advocates should not just discuss reduction of admin, but a reforming and streamlining of it with UBI.</p> <p>Warning that focusing only on intrusive measures and bloated admin alone would be a mistake without pointing towards the political climate that is exceedingly hostile towards social safety net programs that allow the working class more freedom and security. So having all the details ready makes the argument harder to rebut.</p> <p>Assuming technology will be there to help without actual plan is a mistake.</p> <p>Remembering many vulnerable members of society do not tend to have access to the</p>	<p>This article brings the administration of UBI to the forefront, needing to have solid plans of UBI roll out and how it works matter.</p> <p>UBI could run into very harsh problems if we take an overly naive and positive position on admin needed for a UBI. Assuming technology will handle it is a mistake. And could allow cooping a UBI as a means to cut all other social safety nets.</p> <p>Showing that those in power, even well meaning, need to have diverse experience in the room. Many who need the most help do not have access basic technology and banking.</p>	<p>This article points to overly philosophically positive view of UBI and miss the practical need to know how it would work, admin is, and rollout cannot be left to an abstract technological fantasy.</p> <p>This talks about the how of UBI is just as important as the why. Making sure that those who want UBI as a poverty solution need to make sure the target populations are not missed because of missing the how details.</p> <p>UBI themes around narrative and values and present.</p>

	<p>be the main reasons at play, and to explain why none of these warrants the pervasive neglect of administration in basic income research and advocacy.” Pg. 300</p> <p>“Basic income advocates customarily adopt a perspective in which administration necessarily takes the form of a ‘controlling bureaucracy’, where welfare clients are compelled to submit to invasive and degrading people-processing procedures in order to receive the support to which they are entitled.⁵ It is unfortunately a hallmark of most targeted or selective policies that bureaucratic interactions—including face-to-face interactions with street-level bureaucrats —reduce the role of claimants to a passive and subservient one, in which they face distrust and suspicion at every turn and their agency, dignity and self-esteem is hampered by the very system that is meant to assist them.” Pg. 299-300</p> <p>“The effects of a controlling bureaucracy include not only the well-known negative effects on target efficiency, but also a persistent distrust of government and a decline in political participation.⁷ A considerable literature reveals bureaucratic disentanglement to be a predictable side-effect of a system that prioritises people-processing in line with a dominant eligibility-compliance culture, and in many cases even a deliberate strategy for the state to exercise control.⁸ For basic income advocates, the obvious solution is to combat bureaucratic discretion and paternalism by drastically reducing the scope of administrative intervention. This perspective views basic income as an essential tool to ‘unclog the bureaucratic pipes’. Pg. 300</p> <p>“We are sympathetic towards advocates’ distrust of a controlling bureaucracy. However, we need deny neither the fact of administrative overreach—the pervasive extent of bureaucratic interference in welfare clients’ lives—nor its disastrous effects individually or in the aggregate to observe several problems with this one-dimensional perspective on public administration.” Pg. 300</p>	<p>tech, and the electronic banking access that would be needed. So, this needs to be discussed from the progressive lens, for conservatives use this more for just getting rid and cutting support for the program.</p> <p>Making sure a solid implementation and admin system overhaul is ready and waiting is the best practice for UBI.</p>		
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	<p>“In most countries there is a marked difference between the manners of administration of entitlement programmes, such as pensions or social security, and programmes that embrace bureaucratic discretion, such as social assistance. It follows that reforming administrative processes, rather than simply reducing administration as such, is a plausible—albeit a politically controversial and operationally difficult—alternative.” Pg. 300</p> <p>“This, in turn, points at a second weakness: laying the blame for controlling clients by intrusive measures solely on administrative systems and bureaucrats, and ignoring the extent to which the latter operate within a political climate that is exceedingly hostile to providing income security for those without strong ties to the labour market.” Pg. 300</p> <p>“To think that the problem of controlling bureaucracy merely requires getting rid of bureaucracy is to misdiagnose the real issue, namely a pro activation and anti-welfare political climate— recently exacerbated by the era of austerity politics—that shapes and constrains administrative procedures and practices.” Pg. 300</p> <p>On the contrary, hard choices are an intrinsic feature of substantial policy reforms such as basic income, for the simple reason that implementation costs and implementation errors are unavoidable, with the consequence that the resulting burdens are unequally allocated across different ‘target populations’ and available solutions compete politically (in the sense that each comes with a different distribution of benefits and burdens compared to the status quo ante).” Pg. 301</p> <p>“Ditching the transmission-belt model implies that public administration scholars should be given a prominent place alongside philosophers and social scientists in the basic income debate.” Pg. 301</p> <p>“The difficulties some people face with regard to digital access is poignantly illustrated in Ken Loach’s latest film, I, Daniel Blake. Modern information technology may have increased the list of tools we have at</p>			
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	<p>our disposal to address implementation problems, and the temptation to think this means we have little to worry about on that score is understandable.” Pg. 301</p> <p>“Against this view, we can first point out that the comparative efficiency of basic income over that of selective programmes is assumed rather than argued for, and we should be careful about deriving strong conclusions that can be reliably drawn across all basic income models.” Pg.302</p> <p>“Given what is, by any measure, a flawed implementation, the fact that the scheme had certain ‘on paper’ administrative advantages over the programmes it replaces is of little help to the most vulnerable.” Pg. 302</p> <p>“9 Specifically, we can distinguish between the progressive approach to basic income implementation, with commitments to ensuring the protection of the disadvantaged and vulnerable, and the conservative approach, largely focused on the simplification and cost reduction of existing social protection.” Pg. 302</p> <p>“While philosophical discussion of basic income has often aimed at using a policy proposal to illuminate the foundational principles of a just society, we take it for granted that for most contemporary advocates of basic income, the goal is neither simply to sharpen philosophical understanding nor to achieve a political commitment to any policy that can claim to call itself a basic income, regardless of its real-world effect on people’s lives.” Pg. 303</p> <p>“. Indeed, for those who advocate basic income as a solution to real problems of poverty, social exclusion or of compulsion in labour markets (or indeed in unpaid domestic labour), failure to take account of the vagaries of administrative reality comes with real risks.” Pg. 303</p> <p>“The sort of policy changes that may be required to bolster a basic income that suffers from some of the aforementioned implementation problems are not of the incremental, tinkering variety. In many cases they would involve system-wide changes that require considerable investment in capacity. Rather than having to canvass the political will to adapt the</p>			
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	<p>basic income policy en route, as it were, it would be much more congenial to take the time to carefully think through basic income implementation beforehand. But this means shedding the Panglossian policy perspective sooner rather than later” pg. 303-304</p>			
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1 <i>Reference# 13</i>	2 <i>Findings from Primary Sources</i>	3 <i>Within-Study Memos</i>	4 <i>Cross-Study Memos</i>	5 <i>Resource theory</i>
<p>Gupta, R., Jacob, J., & Bansal, G. (2021). The Role of UBI in Mitigating the Effects of Psychosocial Stressors: A Review and Proposal. <i>Psychological Reports</i>, 1.</p> <p>Keywords Universal basic income, psychological well-being, poverty, inequality, psychosocial stressors</p> <p>(Gupta, R., Jacob, J., & Bansal, G. 2021 pg.)</p>	<p>“The current paper seeks to examine the role of Universal Basic Income (UBI) in an epidemiological context as a preventive mechanism in alleviating the effects of psychosocial stressors and social disadvantages across different settings. We believe the UBI is in urgent need of implementation considering the global state of affairs due to COVID-19, with thousands being unemployed suddenly and a major threat of economic recession looming ahead. Globally, people are at risk of being homeless and unable to fend for themselves. Together, all of this could pose major mental health-risks in addition to the existing physical health risk.” Pg. 2</p> <p>“Though the consequences of stress have been studied time and again, they remain a crucial determinant of the quality of life and hence must be studied in emerging socio-economic contexts. There are many sources of stress, one of which is the lack of adequate finances. Our lives are spent in achieving upward social mobility, which, for the most part, is driven by financial capacity. Finances comprise an important aspect of our lives and might have a pronounced effect on our lifestyle and the course of our personal lives. There are stark differences in outcomes in practically every sphere of life (health, education, employment, etc.) between those who have sufficient access to monetary resources and those who do not. For the present review, we made use of research databases such as PubMed. We looked at income-based experiments done across the globe and in multiple contexts. Some of the keywords we used included: basic income, universal basic income, basic income experiments, and basic income poverty.” PG. 2-3</p> <p>“Why does financial security matter? Our socio-economic status is, to a large extent, determined by</p>	<p>This article focusing on how poverty and its symptoms are a health crisis, getting ever clearer during the Covid-19 pandemic.</p> <p>SES sets resource foundations of health outcomes in the US, and mental health is high on that list of those poor health outcomes for those in resource deficiency. This is both an individual and systems level social problem and should be looked at from that lens.</p> <p>Being in a constant state of survival takes a huge toll on those in poverty, which than effects all areas of their lives, including many children who are having to deal with highly stressed parents, living in highly stressed communities.</p> <p>The data shows what is needed for humans to thrive, and policy should be looking at that data for the foundation of policy making of social society nets.</p> <p>Evidence shows the long term affects unemployment, and that most people in the US get a lot from working, however in</p>	<p>Focusing on the psychology stress of poverty, and UBI as a social policy to help mitigating these destructive impacts.</p> <p>This article like others discuss that having access to resources have massive effects on the health and well-being of people.</p> <p>Showing that UBI has all the elements of a social policy that can elevate the health stressors that come with poverty. Data supports these outcomes however it is not considered best practices.</p> <p>This article also talks directly to what conditions humans thrive in and suffer within. It shows that having resources matters for overall health.</p> <p>This article also shows that most people want to work, and it can affect their health when unemployed. It shows that narratives around the value of work and who should always be working.</p> <p>UBI also helps parenting outcomes with raising their children. It also helps the stress that comes with being a parent.</p>	<p>This article focuses on the psychological stress of being in resource deficiency. It shows how important resource access its to mental health, and how mental health outcomes are healthy for those within higher SES.</p> <p>Discusses the impact that resource deficiency has on parenting and how the next generations of children will be affected by how we support or not support their parents.</p> <p>Shows that those with resources also have an easier time finding and keeping employment, and UBI data shows most people would still work while receiving UBI.</p> <p>Allowing people and communities to move out of survival mode is better for overall health for people and raises positive outcomes in multiple areas of individual and society.</p>

	<p>our finances, which determines our access to resources (healthcare, housing, education, etc.). In developing countries, high mortality, as well as morbidity, are linked to poverty, illiteracy, as well as lower socioeconomic status (Aftab et al., 2012). Individuals from poor income backgrounds with lower levels of education are faced with serious economic difficulties, and in turn, face greater mental health risks as compared to individuals who are not from lower- and middle-income countries. The interaction between poverty and mental disorders is said to be a vicious cycle. Mental disorders add to further disabling individuals from sustaining themselves, whether it is in the form of work or in their daily life functions.” Pg. 3</p> <p>“Repeatedly cycling through the phases of alarm, resistance and exhaustion take a toll on one’s health. Beginning from the early years of life, there are cascading relationships between one’s environment and genetic predispositions that, to a large extent, determine the differences found among individuals with respect to susceptibility to stress as well as disease in some cases.” Pg. 3</p> <p>“One of the most crucial factors that affect the allostatic index of an individual’s health is access to adequate monetary resources to secure commodities essential for daily life (e.g., food, housing, etc.). Though allostasis is a protective response to threatened homeostasis, if the threats are consistent, in the long-term, the allostatic load becomes harmful and negatively affects a person (McEwen, 2000).” Pg. 3</p> <p>“Unemployment might be due to several factors and is more economically harmful to less developed than in developed countries (Paul & Moser, 2009). As per Jahoda’s (1981) latent deprivation model, unemployment causes distress in individuals because it leads to a lack of five latent functions that are the outcomes of employment. These</p>	<p>the current system many are the working poor, and the rigid means testing disincentives taking chances on certain work because the US welfare system is in the business of taking away aid as soon as it can and has no long-term goals for building financial independence if it means trusting welfare recipients.</p> <p>The narratives around work, which are gendered can affect men’s mental in stark ways. Men because of several conservative and religious narratives around what role men should be serve in society.</p> <p>More data about the stressors of poverty and showing the differences in outcomes for individuals and their ability to have a good life because of the SES. Those with resources can be more resilient in the face of unemployment and even choose to look to educate or get training to make them more employable, those without resources are forced to either stay on benefits or take exploitive positions.</p> <p>Parents mental health is also comprised which impacts their ability</p>	<p>Discusses drops in crimes and aggression within public and private.</p> <p>Financial security/space is very important to positive life outcomes for the individual and communities.</p> <p>Looking at poverty as a health crisis should be the new narrative around the poor.</p>	
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	<p>are, namely, time structure, social contact, collective purpose, status, and activity, all of which serve crucial psychological needs (Jahoda 1981,1982; Paul & Moser, 2009). Unemployment and poverty, along with the outcomes of financial instability, might lead to chronic physiological stress, which might be reflected by the allostatic load." Pg. 4</p> <p>"Further research, in the form of longitudinal studies, also found that well-being reduces when people transition from employment to unemployment, while it increases as the person shifts back into employment. (McKee-Ryan et al., 2005). In some cases, it may also be that poor psychological and physical health led to a loss of employment. But again, the extent to which unemployment will affect physical and psychological health depend on several factors." Pg. 4</p> <p>"The level of psychological or physical effect on the unemployed person will depend on coping resources, cognitive appraisal, coping strategies, human capital, and demographics. Coping resources include personal, social, financial resources and time structure. In comparison, cognitive appraisal includes stress appraisal, internal attribution, and expectations for reemployment. Coping strategies would include effort for job search, problem or emotion-focused coping (McKee-Ryan et al., 2005). It has been found that unemployed workers had significantly lower mental health, life, marital, and family satisfaction and subjective physical health compared to people who were employed." Pg. 4</p> <p>"They also suggested a focus on the positive aspects of unemployment be researched, such as proactive coping, career development, and growth. A need for transactional research based on cognitive appraisal, strategies used to cope and their interaction with one another, and well-being when unemployed was suggested. More empirical studies also need to be</p>	<p>to parent in healthy manner. They also struggle give their children opportunities to lift them out of poverty.</p> <p>Helps the gender differences within poverty, woman have extra stressor that most men do not have to deal with. Poverty can force women into sex work or stay in abusive relationships.</p> <p>The longer-term outcome of poverty is that it is associated with aggression towards society and other anti-social behavior. Showing that poverty is also a root cause of many crimes of poverty and untreated mental health issues.</p> <p>GDP and other measures are incomplete at best outdated/expired at worst. Well-being and overall happiness should be used too, the human element are rarely ever used or taken seriously in US social policy.</p> <p>UBI could be the upgraded social safety net to help with many of these many moving facets of the poverty issues within the US.</p> <p>Policies like a UBI should be looked at as the new foundations of our communities.</p>		
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	<p>conducted on this topic (McKee-Ryan et al., 2005)." Pg. 5</p> <p>"Linn et al. (1985) found that when compared to men who were employed, unemployed men displayed somatic symptoms, depression, and a greater extent of anxiety. It was also found that unemployed males made more frequent visits to their physicians, had a higher intake of medicines, and had more frequent sick days." Pg. 5</p> <p>"Several variables moderate the effects of unemployment from a psychological perspective, such as gender. The male identity is dependent to a certain extent on the ability to play the provider's role, which is enabled by being employed; to this end, unemployability may be rather threatening to a man." Pg. 5</p> <p>"One's socioeconomic status and occupational status might also exacerbate the effect of unemployment. Higher occupational status is associated with greater social and monetary resources and better-coping abilities compared to those with a lower occupational status. Unemployment is also said to be greater in those who are middle-aged compared to other age groups." Pg. 5</p> <p>"Poverty might be a gradual outcome of unemployment or be due to wage rates being too less to provide more than a bare minimum, among other factors. Material deprivation is a sign of poverty, scarcity of food, inadequate housing, lack of rent money, lack of finances for healthcare influence overall health, including social and cognitive development. Regardless of its cause, the outcomes are almost always associated with poor mental health or an increased risk of poor psychological health." Pg. 5</p> <p>"Socioeconomic status (SES) consists of one's social position, power, prestige, and economic well-being. Both unemployment</p>	<p>Investing in the hardworking US people.</p> <p>UBI is not the silver bullet to poverty, however the data shows that resources are a huge determination of health outcomes. So, allowing people to have a foundation of some financial security is a health issue, not just a values judgement.</p>		
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	<p>and poverty influence SES. Socioeconomic status can be defined along the lines of financial capital or economic resources; human capital can be defined in terms of knowledge and skillset. It also includes social capital, pertaining to the status of an individual in society, as well as their social network. In general, we can say that these three factors interact with each other. For instance, the financial resources available at one's disposal would determine the quality and extent of educational opportunities, employment opportunities, etc., which would, in turn, affect their social standing as well (Coleman 1990; Conger & Donnellan, 2007). People from lower SES are reported to experience a greater number of stressors in life (Lefmann, 2014). Belonging to a lower SES increases exposure to change and instability, increasing levels of distress (Wadsworth, 2012)." Pg. 6-7</p> <p>"According to this model, economic pressures may be in the form of material needs such as the need for proper food and clothing that are left unmet, making ends meet, cutting back on expenses, such as medical insurances, etc. The experiences that result from these unmet needs contribute to the psychological strain on individuals amid economic hardships (Conger & Conger, 2002; Conger & Elder, 1994)." Pg. 7</p> <p>"At the same time, disadvantaged families are more concerned with fulfilling their immediate needs. Being financially well-off allows for material investments for the family that fosters all-round development in children." Pg. 7</p> <p>"When financial pressures increase, parental mental health is at risk. Parents may experience emotional distress in the form of depression, anxiety, alienation, and behavioral concerns in the form of substance use and behaviour that is antisocial. These problems go on to affect marital relationships and create conflict." Pg. 7</p>			
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	<p>“Due to the toll that poverty takes on individuals, parenting behavior might be affected as the burden of trying to make ends might lead to a reduced ability to support their child emotionally as well as provide substantial care, all of which could lead to mental health risks in the child (Mistry et al., 2002; Skinner et al., 1992).” Pg. 8</p> <p>“The stress associated with poverty leads to heightened levels of psychological distress, depression, and feelings of hostility in parents who are poor. This distress may then have a spillover effect, and influence marital as well as other relationships in the family. Parent’s psychological distress may then have an impact on parenting ability or style; in other words, parents could resort to more punitive, harsh, and detached parenting techniques that might be characterized by less nurturing, and responsiveness (Duncan et al., 2017). Overall, with negatively nurturing parental patterns, the child’s cognitive, emotional, and physical well-being may be jeopardised (Conger & Donnellan, 2007).” Pg. 8</p> <p>“As per his theory of household production, it is suggested that children from poor households lag behind those from advantaged families partly because their parents do not have the purchasing power to give them access to greater amounts of resources. They also have less time to spend with their children due to reasons, such as single parenthood, unspecified work hours, and work schedules that have low flexibility.” Pg. 8</p> <p>“Overall, they found that the risk of acquiring common mental disorders was much higher in those who had been at the receiving end of gender disadvantages and economic difficulties. Lower socioeconomic status in women also puts them at an increased risk of both physical and sexual abuse along with depression.” Pg. 9</p> <p>“In countries such as low-income countries such as Nepal, poverty</p>			
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	<p>and unemployment are significant issues. Researchers found that female sex-workers in Nepal have limitations in terms of economic opportunities and reported that the most common reason for joining the sex-trade was due to poor economic conditions.” Pg. 9</p> <p>“When a pregnant woman undergoes severe stress, the formation of neural connections is affected, leading to a reduction of synaptic plasticity as well as activity of neurotransmitters that, in turn, affect both behavioral and cognitive functioning in the child (Weinstock, 2008). When faced with severe stress in the course of gestation, the hippocampal volume reduces, and neurogenesis is affected (Coe et al., 2003).” Pg. 9</p> <p>“Aftab et al. (2012) suggested that financial contribution would be empowering for women as it would prevent them from moving into poverty as well as help them gain a certain degree of financial independence. Being financially dependent might induce a certain sense of vulnerability in women as it is linked to helplessness, fear as well as insecurity. In such contexts, a universal basic income might serve as a source of income to bolster financial independence in women while at the same time lead to their betterment.” Pg. 10</p> <p>“Research indicates that poverty in early childhood might have long-term impacts on health, as neural developmental is generally rapid during this period. Poverty in childhood has been associated with poor health as well as social outcomes, greater instances of disease, lower school achievement as well as behavioural and emotional concerns (Moore et al., 2002).” Pg. 10</p> <p>“Children from low-income households are also observed to have higher levels of stress hormones compared to those from higher-income households. Furthermore, these high levels of experienced physiological stress are associated with a decrease in</p>			
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	<p>immunological and cognitive functioning, all of which have long-lasting implications for developing inflammatory diseases later in life (Duncan et al., 2017).” Pg. 10</p> <p>“in life (Duncan et al., 2017). A specific type of antisocial behaviour that is life-course-persistent is characterized by learned responses to chronic adversities during childhood, which includes economic deprivation. Children who grow up in poorer households develop a pattern of behavior that is characterized by aggression towards their environment, which stabilizes over time and is difficult to unlearn (Moffitt, 1993).” Pg. 10-11</p> <p>“Childhood trauma and other stressful life events have been linked to the development of mental health conditions, including psychosis (Mayo et al.,2017). As traumatic life events and family stress can have such a longstanding impact on mental health (Bøe et al.,2018), buffering children from the stressors that arise out of the lack of resources becomes extremely important, which may be achieved to a certain extent by providing basic financial support.” Pg. 12</p> <p>“It was found that adults who belonged to low-income families had a higher allostatic load (a measure of chronic physiological stress), meaning that their propensity to develop chronic illnesses would be much more in comparison to other individuals. Consequently, these individuals also had greater levels of externalizing symptoms, such as aggression and behaviours that demonstrated powerlessness. In developing countries, evidence shows that when economic decisions have to be made under conditions of scarcity, behavioral self-control is reduced in adults, thereby reducing their capacity to regulate their behavioral repertoire and achieve their long-term goals (Mullainathan & Shafir, 2013). Poverty during childhood was also found to predict short-term spatial memory in</p>			
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	<p>adulthood (G. W. Evans, 2016)." Pg. 11</p> <p>"There has been growing discontent overusing Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as a robust measure of the well-being of a country (Stiglitz, 2010). Rising inequality and persistent poverty remain some of the significant impediments to the subjective well-being and happiness of a nation, irrespective of the economic wealth it produces (World Happiness Report, 2017). Currently, we are in the midst of a global pandemic, which is believed to be ushering us into a global economic recession." Pg. 12</p> <p>"In such situations, the concept of Universal Basic Income (UBI) has been increasingly seen as a 'part' of the solution and often cited as an idea whose time has finally come. A basic income is thus not merely a strategy for dealing with poverty; it is the elimination of income-poverty. The UBI is also seen as a step towards inequality reduction, as various studies have demonstrated a significant contribution of income transfer programs in decreasing the level of income inequality (Silva, 2008; Varshavsky, 2008). The concern that free money would encourage people to be lazy and spend money on alcohol or drugs has both been found to be inaccurate (D. K. Evans & Popova, 2014; Haushofer & Shapiro, 2016; Salehi-Isfahani & Mostafavi-D, 2017)" pg. 13</p> <p>"One could say a basic income is a right that protects other rights (Barbara, 2017). It can be thought of as a democratic right that is essential to individual freedom (Pateman, 2004). Mays and Marston (2016) thought of UBI as an instrument of emancipation for those under welfare who might be experiencing a blow to their well-being and sense of self, their self-identity, and their personhood under existing policies." Pg. 13-14</p> <p>" In the UK, the government has provided a scheme that seeks to provide immediate relief for those who have been furloughed. In the</p>			
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	<p>US also, federal government health was promised to households as well as businesses. All of these schemes have been specifically implemented due to the pandemic. They are not, however, UBI schemes, although they have features of the same (Prabhakar, 2020).” Pg. 14</p> <p>“However, Caputo (2007) found that employment may not necessarily guarantee stability. He found that almost a quarter of households spent a minimum of a year in the “working poor” criteria. Females and minority households were found to be in this category to a greater extent. As per Caputo’s recommendation, a UBI might be part of the solution to this problem. UBI might also be a preventive solution when faced with uncertain economic conditions. Canada is said to be facing economic uncertainty as a number of sectors are dependent on its fossil fuel industry, which is deteriorating. In Canada, the UBI acts as a means of protecting citizens from unpredictable employment conditions and the possible aftermath of automation (Mulvale, 2008; Mulvale & Frankel, 2016).” Pg. 14</p> <p>“An increase in labor and work was also noticed, there were greater levels of self-employment as well. Furthermore, there was a decrease in bonded labor. It was also found that among those who had received a basic income, there was reduced debt, and the likelihood of going into debt was also reduced, one of the reasons being that they didn’t need to borrow in the short-term (Standing, 2013).” Pg. 15</p> <p>“UBI, if accompanied by a reduction in working hours, could “allow people more time to make better connections with their family, friends, and society” (Psychologists for Social Change, 2017). This can be a positive step since healthy social relationships are beneficial not just for personal psychological well-being but also for community values like trust and solidarity</p>			
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	<p>(Psychologists for Social Change, 2017).” Pg. 16</p> <p>“Another experiment of note was the New Hope program that ran between 1995 to 1998 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. It was designed to support full-time workers, and enhance their financial status by reducing poverty and providing benefits to them. The outcomes of the experiment were positive, with increased work, lesser rates of poverty, better school performance for children, with fewer behavioral problems (Duncan et al., 2009).” Pg. 16</p> <p>“A universal basic income, while not the absolute solution to economic hardships, can act as a preventive tool nonetheless, alleviating the existing burden of mental and physical health burdens that stem from the inability to care for oneself primarily due to the lack of financial means to do so.” Pg. 16</p> <p>“As put forward in this paper, income determines access and has a pronounced impact on our lives. Physical and mental health reciprocally interact with each other and ultimately impact one’s quality of life. The determinants of both are multifactorial, and one of the factors that affect them is the availability of financial resources. Throughout the course of our lives, the lifestyle choices we make, revolve around the monetary resources available to us, sometimes we might be disempowered to make certain financial decisions for our betterment due to the lack of adequate finances to spare.” Pg. 16</p> <p>“We do acknowledge that there are several factors that affect a person’s life and well-being, apart from income and finance. While finances alone may not necessarily guarantee a healthy life, it cannot be denied that economic forces play a huge role in inequalities of opportunities and outcomes, which may lead to adverse psychological outcomes. It is in this context that we propose the universal basic income as a preventive tool that</p>			
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	could minimize the adverse effects of stressors on the individual and society in the long-run." Pg. 17			
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1 <i>Reference# 14</i>	2 <i>Findings from Primary Sources</i>	3 <i>Within-Study Memos</i>	4 <i>Cross-Study Memos</i>	5 <i>Resource theory</i>

<p>Marais, H. (2020). The crisis of waged work and the option of a universal basic income grant for South Africa. <i>Globalizations</i>, 17(2), 352–379.</p> <p>Subjects: BASIC income; SOCIAL integration; GRANTS (Money); CIVIL society; SOCIAL & economic rights; FOOD prices; SOUTH Africa (Marais, H. 2020 pg.)</p>	<p>“Waged work continues to be presented as the guarantor of a secure livelihood, wellbeing, social inclusion and the realization of social rights. Yet paid work that provides a livable income on reasonably secure terms is rare in ‘developing’ economies and is becoming increasingly scarce in ‘developed’ economies. This is distressingly evident in a country such as South Africa (SA), which already is stricken with extraordinarily high levels of unemployment and inequality.” Pg. 352</p> <p>“This crisis is rooted both in the specific political economy of SA and in structural trends shaping the capitalist system globally.” Pg. 352</p> <p>“The scope and intensity of this crisis is likely to increase as the short-term, dividend-boosting pressures of financialized capitalism persist, as digitalized and other job-replacing technologies are deployed more widely, and as pressure mounts to phase out economic activities associated with intensive greenhouse gas emissions. In such an outlook, the pursuit of more jobs – and more decent jobs – is important and necessary, but it cannot substitute for a more encompassing drive to realize social citizenship and assure basic entitlements.” Pg. 352</p> <p>“Chronic high un- and under-employment; new jobs that are mostly irregular and at the low-pay end of the scale and that lack benefits and security; stagnating or declining real incomes for the majority of workers; social protection systems that are either flimsy or humiliatingly policed and rationed; widening income inequality. Those descriptions used to apply almost exclusively to countries on the margins of the global economy. Today they are increasingly generic (Breman, 2013).” Pg. 353</p> <p>“In ‘developed’ countries, declining official unemployment rates hide large shares of discouraged workers, and a rising incidence of</p>	<p>Using South Africa as an example of an intensely unequal country, that has a huge issue with getting jobs and even harder to have decent paying jobs. SA has a similar issue to the US, capitalism has gone unchecked globally and has taken a horrible toll on the majority of people, but most intensely to the vulnerable population.</p> <p>Automation is theme with the UBI literature and mixed with the low paying jobs there is a need for protections for the majority of the worlds citizens who are being exploited by out-of-control capitalism.</p> <p>Profits over people is worse than ever and UBI could help move into a new economic social contract.</p> <p>SA is an extreme look into the capitalism crisis that is forcing an economic dystopian that need to be addressed before it is too late.</p> <p>Wealthy elites are pushing this trend forward with reckless abandon, but it’s the world’s poor that will bear the brunt of these increasingly common health comprising symptoms, all while struggling to get any work or assistance</p>	<p>This study shows how UBI, and micro-investments have helped people get out of poverty.</p> <p>Discusses the horrible impact of poverty and inequality on SA, and how it is an intense version of what is happening all over the world.</p> <p>Discussing automation and lack of consistent well-paying jobs as a reason UBI is a needed policy in many countries throughout the world.</p> <p>Discusses the issue of underemployment which UBI can also help with, and the future with automation coming this is a less discussed issue in wealthier countries.</p> <p>Discusses poverty measurements need to be updated and accurate, using data driven best practices and not value judgments about the poor’s deservedness.</p> <p>Narratives from the elites are yet again set as the foundation of the conversations with little input from those affected by those narratives outcomes on policy.</p> <p>Themes of reciprocity to community is a theme that is weaved into the</p>	<p>Using an extreme examples of poverty and its horrible impacts in SA, and what direct access to resources can do the help with those impacts.</p> <p>Themes of harsh narratives for the poor and unemployed are very apparent, showing how the elite narratives are forced all the way down into the poor communities, despite the data around what is the most beneficial for human thriving.</p> <p>Narratives impact how poverty is measured, showing how hard it is to thrive when those in resource extravagance can even control the poverty narratives instead of those within poverty.</p>
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	<p>involuntary part-time employment in growing populations (ILO, 2018).” Pg. 353</p> <p>“In ‘developed’ countries, decently paid, secure work is increasingly atypical, with the jobs created since 2008/2009 disproportionately of the low-skills, low-pay, and low- or no-security variety. But it is in ‘developing’ countries that the association of work and precariousness remains strongest: only about 4% of people in ‘vulnerable employment’ reside in the ‘developed’ countries, according to the ILO (2018). As the disruptive impact of climate change intensifies, economic volatility persists and labour market restructuring continues (and possibly intensifies as AI and other automating technologies are incorporated), wage employment is predicted to be an insufficient basis for dignified life for a growing proportion of people across the world.” Pg. 354</p> <p>“The predicament of workers is reflected in the declining share of income that reaches them. Globally, the percentage of gross domestic product paid out in wages (the ‘global labour share’) has been falling for at least three decades (Figure 2 shows the trend in four major economies). One may expect that the labour share in ‘developing’ countries will have risen as their economies became more integrated internationally in recent decades. Yet labour’s relative income in those countries declined despite rises in overall productivity (Trapp, 2015).” Pg. 354</p> <p>“Shifting production to zones with attractively low labour costs allied with adequate transport and other infrastructure has been another key strategy used by capital to reduce aggregate labour costs and increase profitability. By the 2010s, however, the opportunities for cutting labour costs by reallocating production to new geographical zones were diminishing.⁷ Africa may beckon with low wages, but volatile currencies, poor infrastructure and unreliable</p>	<p>from elite policymakers.</p> <p>Not having a job is half the problem, but underemployment is the other half, which a UBI can have major positive impacts.</p> <p>Making sure to look at the difference between those are for a UBI, conservatives, libertarians, and neoliberals want to use it as a reason to take all other welfare programs away and then subsidize corporations for underpaying their employees. The liberal and progressive moment want it as a base safety net, so people have actual agency of who they work for and what conditions they have to endure.</p> <p>Work ethic/deservedness myth still a thorn in the side of UBI and the human dignity rights of works around the world. The data states that people leaving the labor force has a small effect on the labor market, and most people want to work to help invest in themselves.</p> <p>Poverty lines, measures, and means testing are arbitrary and humiliating to those in poverty and it takes a toll on many people. It also keeps people on shaky</p>	<p>conversation, which is another work ethic/work for worth myths.</p> <p>Many feel employment is the ultimate social safety net regardless of what the data states on UBI and what is needed for thriving and healthy human beings</p>	
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	<p>transport and communications systems dim its attractions.” Pg. 355</p> <p>“There is growing alarm about an impending mass erasure of jobs as new robot and artificial intelligence technologies are developed and deployed more extensively. A 2013 study by Oxford University’s Martin School, for example, caused consternation when it estimated that close to half of existing jobs in the USA were at ‘high risk’ of being replaced by artificial intelligence and robots within the next few decades (Frey & Osborne, 2013).⁸ Skeptics remind that similar forecasts in the 1990s failed to materialize. Robert Solow’s famous 1987 aphorism that ‘you can see the computer age everywhere but in the productivity statistics’ may still be appropriate despite the growing use of robots and artificial intelligence in ‘developed’ economies.” Pg. 355-356</p> <p>“In a period and in settings marked by a surplus of suitable labour and depressed wages – and policy environments that promise to sustain those conditions – widespread and major capital expenditures on new workplace technologies become less attractive. These are the conditions that currently pertain across much of the world. Conversely, if workers successfully organize and campaign for higher wages and improved working conditions and terms of employment, labour input costs will increase – and so will the attraction of labour-substituting technologies.” Pg. 356</p> <p>“That grand compromise broke down in the 1970s. Intensified competition at the global level led to excess industrial capacity and overproduction, which depressed profitability. Surplus capital was increasingly routed away from investment in the ‘real economy’ in pursuit of strategies promising higher returns (Brenner, 2006). Whereas finance capital used to function largely in service of industrial growth, by promoting industrial development through the</p>	<p>financial ground, which makes it extremely difficult to get and stay out of poverty.</p> <p>The need for a new upgraded view of work, what qualifies as meaningful work. The moral judgements and rigid narratives that many elites have baked into the social conversation needs to be taken out and revised.</p> <p>The need for community reciprocity is a main vexing ingredient that needs to be addressed in the UBI discussion. This need to be of use or you do not deserve to have a dignified existence in life is understandable, but highly outdated in a world where global capitalism has been unchecked and spreading to all countries.</p> <p>A UBI in SA, and many other places can emancipate and transform the working-class existence into one of actual dignity, not gritty self-harm pretending to be a healthy work ethic.</p>		
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	<p>merger of industrial and financial capital (Hilferding, 1981), it was now being geared to extract maximum returns in a minimum of time, even by dismantling industrial capacity. This increased the pressure on enterprises to maximize short-term profits, with wages and working conditions typically in the firing line. Worker organizations came under sustained attack and production chains were extended into low-wage, union-free locations as globalization gained pace. 'Excessive' wages and 'inflexible' labour standards were targeted, work regimes were restructured and workers were driven increasingly into retreat." Pg. 357</p> <p>"Easy credit became the stopgap of choice – allowing people to borrow against income they do not have (and may never have) or assets they do not fully own. Equity and housing bubbles keep these improvisations aloft for a while, but they tumble back to earth without fail." Pg. 357</p> <p>"Even if the vast majority of goods and services continue to be produced and provided by workers – as seems probable for the foreseeable future – the structural momentum of capitalism currently inclines towards depressed real wages for a majority of workers toiling in unstable and insecure work regimes. Sheer necessity will see workers evolve new forms of organizing to challenge those terms. But the prevailing conditions and dilemmas of capitalism do not favour generalized 'winwin' compromises of the kinds associated with the 'golden age'" pg. 358</p> <p>"South Africa presents a grim, almost dystopian, expression of these trends." Pg. 358</p> <p>"Poverty and inequality trends reflect very high unemployment rates and rising earnings inequality (Leibbrandt, Finn, & Woolard, 2012). Small sections of society capture much of the reward of SA's halting economic growth, while</p>			
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	<p>punishing costs are imposed on the poor.” Pg. 358</p> <p>“Fully 56% the population lived at or below the upper-bound poverty line (UBPL) in 2015 (Figure 5). This meant that 30.4 million South Africans were living in poverty in 2015. Of them, almost 14 million were classified as ‘extremely poor’, that is, they could not regularly buy essential food items.” Pg. 358</p> <p>“Wealth inequality is even more extreme. Tax and household survey data from 2011 show that the richest 10% of the population owned 90–95% of all assets, while the poorest 50% owned no measurable assets (Orthofer, 2016).” Pg. 360</p> <p>“Not having paid employment is an obvious and major cause of poverty. But having a job is not a sure bulwark against poverty. Unemployment is estimated to be the main cause of about half of poverty in SA; low earnings are a major cause for the other half.” Pg. 360</p> <p>“The final feature is vital. The UBIG would be a monthly payment that exists alongside other forms of institutionalized social protection (exactly which forms would depend on the setting and context).¹⁴ The grant is ‘universal’ not because it replaces other entitlements, but because it is available to everyone. By removing means testing and conditionalities, a UBIG would be less costly to administer. By releasing people from the coercive discipline of welfare capitalism, it would be less stigmatizing and less invasive (Srnicek & Williams, 2016).” Pg. 363</p> <p>“Crucially, a UBIG that provides a livable income would liberate people from a race-to-the-bottom labour market where desperation strips them of bargaining power and choice. It could constrain employers’ ability to subject low-wage, low-skill workers to super-exploitation. This could elevate wages at the low end of the wage spectrum. Instead of having to</p>			
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	<p>accept dangerous, low-paying and insecure forms of employment, people would be able to put their labour and time to other uses – including performing socially useful or personally fulfilling work, studying or acquiring new skills, contributing to fairer divisions of labour in household and family life, and more.” Pg. 363</p> <p>“This is very different from the kind of basic income advocated in libertarian and neoliberal quarters. They see a limited basic income replacing most other forms of social protection, thereby turning social entitlements into private markets and boosting the compulsive power of the labour market. Instead of claiming entitlements (such as free primary health care and school education, transport and housing subsidies, food programmes or free water and sanitation services), the neoliberal vision of a UBIG would see individuals using their basic income (and any other income they have) to purchase those services as commodities from private providers. This would constitute a triumph of neoliberal ideology, tethering wellbeing to ‘individual responsibility’ and positioning the market as the arbiter of even the most elementary means of life. This dystopian version of a basic income would involve a payment that is too small to make ends meet, thereby forcing people to accept whatever work and wages are on offer while simultaneously subsidizing employers. The coercive power of the market and employers would be greatly enhanced.” Pg. 363</p> <p>“Even if a UBIG is conceived on more expansive and potentially emancipatory terms than the libertarian version, there is a considerable risk of ‘capture’ if the intervention is approached as a discrete, technocratic policy tool. Realizing a UBIG’s ameliorating and transformative potentials requires that it form part of a broader suite of social transformation programmes that are led by an active state and propelled (and defended) by a mobilized civil</p>			
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	<p>society. In such a configuration, a UBIG could help reduce poverty and inequality, strengthen social inclusion and provide vital protection against escalating disruptions associated with economic instability and climate change.” Pg. 363-364</p> <p>“The biggest criticism was less the affordability of the scheme, than concerns that it would sabotage the agricultural economies of southern states by introducing a ‘disincentive’ to work. That objection would become routine in later debates. At face value pragmatic, that concern is rooted in a deeper moralizing disquiet, as we discuss below.” Pg. 365</p> <p>“A UBIG has been introduced in a few places. Canada’s so-called ‘Mincome Programme’ entered the annals of social policy folklore in the mid-1970s with a scheme that ran from 1974 to 1979. It entailed paying a monthly supplemental income to about 1000 poor families in Dauphin, a small town in Manitoba province. The results? Poverty virtually disappeared, high school completion rates rose, hospitalization rates fell and mental health improved. Productivity increased and the work rate fell only among new mothers (who were able to spend more time with their children) and teenagers (who were able to give up part-time jobs and focus on schoolwork) (Forget, 2011).” Pg. 365</p> <p>“Fiscal arguments alone therefore are not a satisfactory explanation for the defeat of the UBIG campaign in South Africa. The reasons extended deeper, into the domains of ideology, discipline and control. It was, as former trade and industry minister Alec Erwin is said to have remarked, ‘not the money but the idea’ that offended (Hart, 2006, p. 26).” Pg. 366</p> <p>“Some critics object that a UBIG would act as a disincentive to work and declare displeasure at dispensing money to people without the assurance that they will contribute to society by working.</p>			
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	<p>Yet the prevailing conditions and the most likely outlook highlight a double fiction: the idea that employment is available to those who seek it and that waged work ensures wellbeing. Many millions of people are unable to achieve secure, viable livelihoods through waged work. They also have less and less access to traditional sources of subsistence and income outside the labour market, such as family farming, artisanal production and bartering systems. They are trapped between a crisis of waged work and the steady erasure of traditional livelihoods, a predicament that generates hardship and insecurity on a massive scale and that carries great risk of chronic social and political instability. The increasing popularity of cash grants and other forms of social protection, especially in ‘developing’ countries, should be viewed in that context.” Pg. 366-367</p> <p>“There continues to be debate about the comparative merits of conditional and unconditional grants and the usefulness of means testing and targeting. In most social protection schemes, the targeted beneficiaries are predominantly children and the elderly. The grants therefore reinforce a patriarchal and work-centric social order. They subsidize the social reproduction of labour and domestic care (considered ‘women’s work’) while requiring men to work for a wage.” Pg. 367</p> <p>“The selectivity of targeted programmes also limits their impact on inequality, with research suggesting that redistribution tends to be weak in welfare systems that rely on targeted assistance to the poor. Evidence from Scandinavian countries indicates that large-scale, universal provision of decommodified services tends to be more successful in reducing inequality and poverty (Huber & Stephens, 2012; Korpi & Palme, 1998).” Pg. 367</p> <p>“As for means testing, it requires thresholds (usually determined by</p>			
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	<p>income) that are often fictive and unjust. Limiting assistance to individuals earning less than, say, US\$2 a day while denying it to others earning, say, US\$2.20 a day is capricious, no matter the 'clarity' of that 'poverty line'. Means testing is arbitrary, involves humiliating processes of 'proving one's poverty' and leaves people with fluctuating incomes, such as seasonal or self-employed workers, floundering when especially hard times strike." Pg. 367</p> <p>"Many people find a UBIG's lack of targeting and conditionality to be disturbing. It distorts a familiar social-moral topography and unbalances the ways in which social obligations and entitlements are organized. The payment becomes more than a discreet form of assistance. It destabilizes deeply held ideas about the role of work as a basis for social citizenship and about the claims we legitimately have on one another and on the state. And it challenges key assumptions and criteria that are used to assign worth and value to people." Pg. 368</p> <p>"This feeds a deeply and widely felt affront, even when the reaction seems 'irrational' – for example in societies where there is no waged work for large proportions of working age people. The problem with the sentiment lies not so much with the principle of reciprocity, but with the way in which that principle is anchored in a very narrow, distorting and patriarchal understanding of work." Pg. 368</p> <p>"Work, in other words, fills our lives; yet a great deal of it is typically not regarded as 'work'." Pg. 368</p> <p>"These morally freighted pantomimes of work-seeking are deemed to 'earn' a claim to entitlement, even when the social or economic utility of the job seeker's exertions are minimal." Pg. 368</p> <p>"This ideological primacy of waged work destabilizes and limits</p>			
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	<p>demands for social and economic justice. Demands for a fairer distribution of the means for life then become channelled and filtered through demands for ‘job creation’ or ‘decent jobs’ or a ‘minimum wage’. These are important struggles, but they do not encompass or encode all social demands.” Pg. 369</p> <p>“Meanwhile, ‘job creation’ operates as a radiant metaphor for a romanticized and elusive past where having a job not only fulfils our needs but delivers our desires, as Franco Barchiesi (2012) has noted. This notion historically was realized only partially, temporarily and in specific parts of the world – for a few decades in the mid-twentieth century and almost exclusively in North America and Europe. Yet its gravitational pull is strong enough to trap a great deal of progressive and leftist thought in what Barchiesi calls a ‘melancholia’ for a past which is in large part imagined. It locks the imagination inside the boundaries of contemporary capitalism, funnelling it towards ‘solutions’ that ignore the underlying dynamics that shape the availability and nature of waged work.” Pg. 369</p> <p>“We return, in other words, to the vexing matter of reciprocity – except that it now has a different character, freed from the fiction that it can only be expressed through the mechanism of waged work. A UBIG and the reduction of obligatory waged work has to also open opportunities for activities that allow one ‘to feel useful to society in a general sense ... thus to exist as a fully social individual’ (Gorz, 1985, p. 54). It has to promote and facilitate reciprocal arrangements that allow for full participation in society.” Pg. 372</p> <p>“Many of the mainstream arguments favouring a UBIG seem to fuse social welfare principles with neoliberal reasoning, as James Ferguson (2007, 2015) has noted. The grant could nominally improve people’s welfare, reduce poverty, function as a productive boost and</p>			
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	<p>serve as means to lubricate individuals' deeper integration into the market system.²⁵ Any bid for a transformative UBIG has to contend with these conflicting meanings and agendas that are being attached to the intervention." Pg. 372</p> <p>"A UBIG has a powerfully emancipating and transformative potential, as well. It potentially links the immediate, short-term need to secure the basic means for a dignifying life with the liberating potential of escaping the compulsion to sell one's labour at the going rate. By partially delinking income and basic needs provision from waged work, a UBIG would open new opportunities for social inclusion, for socially productive activities and for repairing the circuits of social reciprocity in ways that bypass the embattled and demeaning domains of waged work. It is an opportunity to transport ourselves beyond a fate where, as Gorz (1999, p. 56) put it in one of his last books, we are forever (... prepared to make any and every concession, to suffer humiliation or subjugation, to face competition and betrayal to get or keep a job, since 'those who lose their jobs lose everything'). Pg. 373</p>			
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