BIEN - BASIC INCOME EUROPEAN NETWORK

BIEN was founded in 1986 and aims to serve as a link between individuals and groups committed to or interested in basic income, and to foster informed discussion on this topic throughout Europe.

Link to BIEN Online: http://www.basicincome.org
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BIEN's NewsFlash contains up-to-date information on recent events and publications related to BIEN or basic income more generally. The NewsFlash is mailed electronically every two months to over 1000 subscribers throughout Europe and beyond, and simultaneously made available for consultation at www.basicincome.org.

Requests for free subscription or items for inclusion or review in future NewsFlashes are to be sent to BIEN's secretary: Philippe Van Parijs, UCL, Chaire Hoover, 3 Place Montesquieu, 1348 Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium, E-mail: bien@basicincome.org.

NewsFlash 19, January 2003

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1. EDITORIAL

With the last two issues devoted to the conference and the new web site, respectively, information about events and publications has been accumulating. Please find below our attempt to catch up.

Please also remember to send any relevant announcement and review to bien@basicincome.org and a copy of anything you publish on basic income to BIEN's secretariat (Chaire Hoover, 3 Place Montesquieu, 1348 Louvain-la-Neuve).

This NewsFlash has been prepared with the help of Jurgen De Wispelaere, Yannick Vanderborght and Karl Widerquist.

The Executive Committee

2. EVENTS

Dublin, 14 October 2002: CORI Briefing on the Green Paper
Following the Irish Government's publication of a "Green Paper" on Basic Income in September 2002, the Justice Commission of the Conference of Religious of Ireland (CORI) held a briefing to discuss the Green Paper with the participation of Deaglain O'Brian (Prime Minister's Office), Charles M.A. Clark (St. John's University), Sean Healy (CORI) and Guy Standing (ILO and co-chairman of BIEN). The general view was that the long awaited Green Paper was balanced and would lead to further discussion of the issue in the Irish Parliament. For further information, contact Sean Healy at shealy@iol.ie or visit http://www.cori.ie/justice/index.htm for the full text of the Government's Green Paper and a statement from the CORI Justice Commission on the Green Paper.

Vitoria-Gasteiz (ES), 13-14 December 2002: Second Annual Symposium of the Red Renta B°sica
Vitoria (or Gasteiz) is the capital city of the Basque Country (or Euskadi), and the latter is the region of Spain in which minimal income policies are most generous. Hence a suitable place (after Barcelona last year) for the second annual conference of Spain's Basic Income Network. The focus, this year, was the contrast between basic income and existing conditional benefits. Representatives of Basque institutions offered an interesting overview of how the Basque model of insertion policies functions, with the goal of fighting poverty while guaranteeing a job of quality to all citizens. Speakers included foreign scholars such as Mikko Kautto (Helsinki), Chantal Euz°;by (Grenoble) and Karel Van Den Bosch (Antwerp) and several prominent members of the Red Renta B°sica, such as Daniel Ravent°;s (Universidad de Barcelona), Jos° © Antonio Noguera
(Universidad Autonoma de Barcelona), Rafael Pinilla (Ministry of Public Administrations, Madrid) and Luis Sanzo (Justice, Labor and Social Service Department of the Basque Government). Speakers repeatedly expressed the conviction that full employment is unachievable through macroeconomic and labor market policies, that the conditional character of existing benefits does not only make them very expensive to administer but are also a source of social stigmatization for those who receive them, and hence that a universal Basic Income is well worth considering as the most appropriate way of implementing a 'right to life'. The third annual symposium is due to take place in Galicia in 2003. For further information, contact Daniel Raventos at ravento@eco.ub.es.

Gibraltar (UK?), 18 January 2003: Dinner talk on basic income
On the 18th of January, the social and cultural association "Mar del Sur" organised a dinner talk about basic income in the lounge of the "Hotel Mediterraneo". After the lecture by Daniel Raventos on "Liberty, equality and Basic Income", the discussion continued until later in the night. Previously, the lecturer had met some Gibraltar representatives for a detailed introduction to the Basic Income proposal, which has now reached Europe's most southern tip. For further information, contact Daniel Raventos at ravento@eco.ub.es.

New York (US), 21-23 February: Second Congress of the U.S. Basic Income Guarantee Network
The U.S. Basic Income Guarantee Network will hold its 2003 meeting in conjunction with the Eastern Economics Association meeting at the Crowne Plaza Manhattan Hotel, 1605 Broadway, New York. Activists and scholars of any discipline are invited to attend. For more information about registration, visit http://www.iona.edu/eea/. For more information about the conference, contact Karl Widerquist at Karl@widerquist.com.

Leicester (UK), 17 April: Roundtable on Stuart White's The Civic Minimum
In his long-awaited book The Civic Minimum: On the Rights and Obligations of Economic Citizenship (OUP, forthcoming 2003), Oxford political philosopher Stuart White reconsiders the principles of economic citizenship appropriate to a democratic society. According to White, justice as "fair reciprocity" calls for a generous "civic minimum", in which work-related welfare benefits are complemented by other policies designed to prevent poverty and vulnerability, to secure opportunity for self-realization in work, and to eliminate class-based inequalities in educational opportunity and inherited wealth. The book will be the subject of a special roundtable at the upcoming 53rd Annual Conference of the UK Political Studies Association, with the participation of political philosophers Stuart White (Oxford), Colin Farrelly (Manchester) and Jurgen De Wispelaere (LSE), sociologist Tony Fitzpatrick (Nottingham), policy analysts Sean Healy (CORI) and Martin McIvor (Catalyst). Contributions will appear in a special Catalyst Paper devoted to this topic (see www.catalystforum.org). For further information about the conference,
visit the PSA website (http://www.psa.ac.uk/2003/Default.htm) or contact Jurgen De Wispelaere at j.de-wispelaere@lse.ac.uk.

Barcelona (ES), 23-25 September 2004: 10th Congress of the Basic Income European Network
Preparation for BIEN's Congress, to be held in September 2004 in conjunction with Barcelona's Universal Forum of the Cultures is progressing. The General Assembly of the Red Renta Basica, which met in Vitoria on 14 December 2002, appointed David Casassas local conference organiser and, in that capacity, member of BIEN's Executive Committee until the time of the conference. The perspective in which BIEN's 10th Congress is being organised is described by Daniel Raventos in an interview to be broadcast by the International Channel of Television Española on 8 February 2003 at 12:30 (GMT) in Oceania, Asia and Europe, and on 12 February at 22:30 (GMT) in America and Africa. For further information about the congress, contact David Casassas at casassas@eco.ub.es or visit http://www.redrentabasica.org.

3. GLIMPSES OF NATIONAL DEBATES

Alaska: Least unequal in the U.S.A. thanks to its Dividend?
The Associated Press reported on 25 September 25th, that Alaska has the smallest gap between rich and poor of any state, and cited the Alaska Permanent Fund as an important reason for why the gap between rich and poor has not increased in the last decade in Alaska as it has in the rest of the United States. The Permanent Fund, which is the only existing genuine basic income in the world today, is the payout from the state's oil wealth savings account. It is a yearly dividend to every man, woman, and child in the state, at a level that went up to nearly $2000 per year in 2000 but has now fallen somewhat owing to the collapse of the stock market. Over $6,000 per year for a family of four is far from enough to live on, but more than enough to make a big difference for many families. In his presentation at BIEN's latest congress, Scott Goldsmith used data of the Economic Policy Institute to show that, in the last ten years, the poorest fifth of the population improved its per capita disposable income by 28% in Alaska, compared to 12% in the US, while the richest fifth got richer by 7% in Alaska compared to 26% in the US as a whole. To explain this stunning contrast, there is little doubt that more is at work than just Alaska's dividend scheme, but there is even less doubt that the latter had a major impact. [Article by Maureen Clark (Associated Press) in the Anchorage Daily News of 25 September 2002: http://www.adn.com/front/story/1838158p-1952891c.html.]

UK: A Universal Basic Pension proposed
In October 2002, the British National Association of Pension Funds (NAPF) proposed replacing Britain's complex earnings-based and means-tested state pension system with a simplified "citizens' pension" that would be
essentially a basic income for every British resident over the age of 70, at a flat level of £100 per week or 22% of average earnings (about EUR 600 per month) and indexed to the level of earnings rather than the price level. The report estimated that that level of citizens' pension could be financed entirely by scrapping the current system at no additional cost to taxpayers. For more information, visit http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/2305323.stm. [Article by Rupert Jones in The Guardian, Tuesday 8 October 2002.]

New York: Green Candidate makes Basic Income a campaign issue
Stanley Aronowitz, professor of sociology at the City University of New York and Green Party nominee for Governor of New York State, made BIG an issue in the campaign for the November 2002 election: "We need basic guaranteed income for all--not only for the indigent--in order to raise the standard of living for all. While this proposal is a global program, the United States is one of the handful of advanced industrial countries that can afford to institute it now. Basic income should be at level commensurate with the current material culture, about $20,000 a year (equivalent to $10 an hour on a forty hour basis). There should be no work requirement to receive this benefit." For further information, visit http://www.stanleyaronowitz.org/.

Brazil: Basic Income proposal adopted by the Senate
On 17 December 2002, the Commission for Economic Affairs of the Brazilian Senate unanimously approved the proposal to introduce gradually a tax-exempted unconditional basic citizen's income in Brazil, starting in 2005 with those most in need. The federal government would be responsible for fixing its level according to the level of economic development and the budget possibilities. The proposal still needs to be examined by the Chamber of Deputies in the course of 2003. For further information, contact Senator Eduardo Matarazzo Suplicy at esuplicy@senado.gov.br.

4. RECENT PUBLICATIONS

CATALAN

Commissioned by Catalonia's left-wing Fundacio Bofill (www.fbofill.org), this thorough book by economist Jose Iglesias surveys the theoretical discussion on basic income and then focuses on what the author regards as the most promising version of basic income for Catalonia: an unconditional payment pitched at half the region's per capita gross disposable income, or a good EUR 500 per month, 10% of which would take the form of collective goods. Much of the funding would take the form of the abolition of some existing provisions, while the net cost, the author argues, is easily affordable. And the beneficial consequences, both economic and social, are well worth the price.
Jose Iglesias's La Renda Basica a Catalunya (2002) advocates an ambitious or "strong" version of basic income, which he contrasts with the currently discussed "weak" models. According to Noguera, professor at Barcelona's Universidad Autonoma and active member of Spain's Red Renta Basica, Iglesias' proposal is politically unrealistic, as it assumes that the State can control for this purpose the distribution of the whole national product, and also assumes too easily that all existing social insurance schemes could be replaced by a basic income.

This article "on basic income, the left and work" by BIEN member and Barcelona professor Jose Noguera returns to the basic income debate to which Treball, the magazine of Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds (Catalonia's green-left party), has already devoted several dossiers.

A brief presentation of the basic income proposal by a member of the Catalan Parliament in the most important magazine published by the feminist movement of Catalonia.

ENGLISH

The persistence of poverty in advanced welfare states casts doubt on the fundamental operating procedures of income distribution and redistribution. What are the reasons for this apparent failure of the welfare state in alleviating poverty? Why are some countries more effective than others in this respect and what can explain these variations in effectiveness? Focusing on the basic safety net of the welfare state, this book offers a systematic analysis of the effectiveness of minimum income schemes in three highly developed welfare states and derives conclusions for political reforms.

Ireland is one of the few countries in which the idea of a universal basic income has been consistently discussed in recent years, in both academic and political circles. This is largely due to the action of the well-organised Justice Commission of the Conference of Religious of Ireland (CORI). Since the mid-90s, Charles M. A. Clark, a professor of Economics at St-
John's University (New York), is closely associated with CORI's initiatives. His new book on the subject appeared a few weeks after publication of the government's green paper on basic income, itself to a significant extent the outcome of years of lobbying by CORI. Clark's book focuses on a well-documented basic income scenario for Ireland, taking as its point of departure CORI's earlier proposals and the normative principles it developed in earlier publications. The 'Celtic Tiger', Clark argues, should take the opportunity of an extraordinary economic upsurge to improve the prospects of social justice: a basic income would "promote the competitiveness of the Irish economy while at the same time reducing income inequality, eliminating poverty and promoting social inclusion and participation". The level of the comprehensive basic income scheme he proposed would be about EUR 450 for every person aged 18 to 64, EUR 180 for those younger, EUR 550 for those older. As a small but important complement to the basic income scheme, Clark's proposal includes a "social solidarity fund", designed to compensate low-income households that might be negatively affected by the reform. Through various adaptations of the tax-and-benefit system, the scenario could be implemented with a flat tax of 47.14%. The final chapters delineates various positive effects to be expected from such a reform and discusses possible alternatives.


A pretty extensive review of the collective volume that was largely based on BIEN's 1998 Amsterdam Congress. At the end of his painstaking reading, the author, a professor at the University of Oklahoma and author of a book on the Dutch welfare state, remains unconvinced: "As the debate over the future of Europe's welfare state progresses, the issue of basic income is likely to remain a peripheral topic with a dedicated, if ineffective, following". Thumbs are down on basic income in Oklahoma.


A rigorous normative discussion of basic income by Dutch economist (and co-organiser of BIEN's 1998 Amsterdam congress) Loek Groot.

NEILL, Jon R., "The political viability of a negative income tax", Social Choice and Welfare 18, 2001, pp. 747-757 (author: Department of Economics, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI 49008, USA, e-mail: jon.neill@wmich.edu).

According to Jon Neill, it is worth noting that a negative income tax (NIT) has never been mentioned as a possible solution to the current crisis of the American welfare state. In the late sixties, it was endorsed by prominent economists as an alternative way of tackling poverty, and it was at the core of Nixon's Family Assistance Plan. However, nowadays it seems that the public, the economists, and the politicians have lost faith
in the potential of the NIT. The main explanation lies in the alleged work disincentive nature of the proposal: "our analysis, Neill writes, shows that under majority rule, the work disincentive from negative income taxation could be an impediment to its adoption". Hence, a majority of the electorate will prefer public provision of a good or an in-kind transfer (such as food stamps) to a cash transfer. Accordingly, in his concluding remarks Neill states that, despite its merits, the NIT "may not be a viable approach to fighting poverty and inequality".


Does a Basic Income have any chance in the context of Spain's welfare state? After reviewing the relationship between Basic Income and different welfare regimes, and the main features of Spanish social policy, the author addresses three issues: the specific problems of funding a Basic Income in Spain; the problem of the transition from contributory benefits to a Basic Income scheme; and the distributive effects of the reform. Because the bulk of Spain's social benefits are contributory, solving the second problem is crucial for the future of the proposal.


What effect would a basic income scheme have on the equilibrium rate of unemployment in an economy in which wages are the outcome of bargaining between employers and Trade Unions? To answer this question, Bruno Van der Linden, director of Louvain University's Economic Research Centre (IRES), develops a dynamic general equilibrium model of a unionized economy where the State's budget has to be balanced in each period. Compared to a benchmark situation with unemployment insurance, it is shown that appropriately designed basic income schemes lower the steady-state unemployment rate. Moreover the dynamic adjustment induced by such reforms can be Pareto-improving, i.e. make some better off without making anyone else worse off.

FINNISH


In her doctoral dissertation, Anita Mattila provides a thorough critical examination of nine basic income proposals made in Finland by either
individual scholars or political organisations. In the final part, she develops and explores two more models aimed to meet better the two underlying objectives: minimum subsistence for all and easy access to employment for those with a low earning power.

**FRENCH**

DE LA CROIX, David & VANDEUREN, Jean-Pierre. "Le programme économique de Vivant: entre utopie et réalisme.", *Regards économiques* (Louvain-la-Neuve: IRES) 5, octobre 2002, pp. 1-9 (authors: delacroix@ires.ucl.ac.be; vandeuren@math.ucl.ac.be). [Download from http://regards.ires.ucl.ac.be].

In 1999, Belgium's political party "Vivant" reaped 2% of the national vote with a platform whose core consisted in an individual basic income of EUR 500 funded by a massive increase in VAT and accompanied by the abolition of social security contributions and a reduction in the personal income tax. Economist David de la Croix and mathematician Jean-Pierre Vandeuren introduce a financially consistent version of this proposal in a computable general equilibrium model with overlapping generations. Their main conclusions are that the proposal is not only economically affordable but growth-inducing, and that it would come at the expense of the cohorts born prior to 1980. In their short comment ("Au travail!", pp. 10-11), political scientist Yannick Vanderborght and philosopher Philippe Van Parijs suggest that what the exercise really models is the replacement of a contribution-based earnings-related retirement scheme by a VAT-funded basic pension; and that the fact that the model operates with one representative household per generation prevents it from capturing the main redistributive shift a proposal such as Vivant's would induce, namely from one-adult to two-or-more-adults households.


Are we in the process of moving from industrial capitalism to a new stage that could be called cognitive capitalism? And, if so, what are the appropriate institutional responses? The third part of this volume by a set of (mainly) French critical economists is entirely devoted to basic income as a key element of a radical reform of the distribution of income. With contributions by Carlo Vercellone (University of Paris I), Yann Moullier-Boutang (Institut d'Études politiques), Marc Heim (University of Paris I) and Rene Passet (honorary chairman of the advisory board of ATTAC-France).

**GALICIAN**


A discussion on basic income between a Galician basic income activist
and the chairman of the Spanish basic income network published in the magazine of the left-nationalist Bloque Nacional Galego (BNG), the second force in Galicia's regional Parliament.


GERMAN


What do we need the European Union for? Basically to regain the capacity to act which nation states are losing as a result of globalisation. Capacity to do what? Among other things, the capacity to compensate the losers from globalisation: the short-term losers through retraining and transfers of limited duration; the long-term losers "for example through a negative income tax or other forms of basic income uncoupled from one's employment situation". Such redistributive programmes are not easy to implement because those who need to be compensated no longer belong to an industrial working class with a powerful veto power, and one will therefore increasingly have to rely on considerations of social justice.


A systematic exploration of various alternatives to social assistance: Friedman's negative income tax, the US earned income tax credit, BIEN's unconditional basic income, Ulrich Beck's paid citizen's work (Buergerarbeit) and France's minimum insertion income (RMI).

SPANISH

DE FRANCISCO, Andres & RAVENTOS, Daniel, "Republicanismo y renta basica", Veualternativa 192, 1 July 2002.

Republicanism, characterised by freedom as non-domination, demands institutional devices which enable individuals to successfully pursue their life plans. By establishing a universal and unconditional right to existence, basic income fits perfectly within this perspective, according to the authors of this article in the electronic magazine of Esquerra Unida i Alternativa (Catalonia's left coalition).

MARTINEZ, Francisco Jose ed., La Renta Basica, special issue of Revista
A substantive set of essays coordinated by Francisco Martinez, professor of philosophy at UNED (Madrid), under the general title "basic income". After an introduction by Martinez (on globalization and redistribution), it includes papers by Agustin Moran (CAES, Madrid) mostly on the development of EU-level social and employment policy; by Manolo Saez Bayona (Baladre) mostly on the development of grassroots movements struggling against poverty and unemployment; by Jose Iglesias (Barcelona) on the implementation of his "strong" basic income model; and by Ruben Lo Vuolo on the relevance of a citizen's income for the struggle against poverty in Latin America; and later in the issue an interview with Philippe Van Parijs (Louvain) on "basic income and globalisation". With the exception of the pieces by Lo Vuolo and, to some extent, Martinez, these are less scholarly essays than intellectual support for struggles in progress, with the virtues of vividness and commitment but also with the defect of some rashness or conceptual confusion (not easy to make sense, for example, of the assertion that a basic income "has been implemented, in the form of a negative income tax, by Clinton and Tony Blair" (p.19). Given the size and sophistication of the philosophical discussion generated by the basic income proposal, it is rather surprising that so little of it can be found in this special issue of a journal of political philosophy. Useful food for thought nonetheless for those who want to provide their day-to-day struggle with an horizon that makes sense.


An interview with the chairman of Spain's basic income network on the occasion of BIEN's Geneva congress, published in Catalonia's main newspaper.


A critical survey of alternative foundations of basic income as a background for a discussion of whether there is a human right to a basic income.

A major new source to the basic income discussion in Spanish, published through the collaboration of the Buenos-Aires-based "Research Centre on Public Policy" (CIEPP) and the Barcelona-based Red renta basica. Prefaced by Finland’s green leader and former social policy minister Osmo Soininvaara, it includes some of the contributions included in Basic Income on the Agenda (van der Veen & Groot (eds.), Amsterdam University Press, 2000), authored by Jan-Otto Andersson, Paul de Beer, Chantal Euzéby, Sean Healy, Stefan Lessenich, Joachim Mitschke, Fritz Scharpf, Frank Vandenbroucke, Yannick Vanderborght and Philippe Van Parijs. It also includes new contributions of particular relevance to Spain and Latin America, by Daniel Raventos, Alberto Barbeito, Ruben Lo Vuolo and Eduardo Suplicy.


A booklet published on the occasion of Philippe Van Parijs’s visit to Medellin for the 25th anniversary of the Escuela Nacional Sindical, a nation-wide educational institution for Trade Union officers and activists. The first two essays are devoted to the relationship between national and global justice and to linguistic justice, respectively. But the third one ("Renta basica: una idea simple y poderosa para el siglo XXI"), a revised version of the background paper for BIEN’s Berlin congress, is meant as a brief and systematic introduction to basic income.

5. MORE ABOUT BIEN

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BIENOnline - Statistics

From this NewsFlash onwards we will report some key statistics about the usage of BIENOnline.

Total Hits - With a total number of 8044 hits in 2002, BIEN's website usage has increased four-fold in four years time (first statistics available from 1999). During the last two months BIENOnline had an average of 577 hits a month, which reflects a constant mild increase of usage throughout 2002 (leaving aside the period immediately before and after the BIEN Conference).

Origins of users - The bulk of BIENOnline users originate from Europe (59%), with Belgium, Spain, the UK, France and Germany topping the list. Next we have a significant drop with 15% of users residing in the US and 4% in Latin-America. The remaining 20% are quite evenly spread around the world.

BIENOnline Search Engine - A total of 101 searches were carried out on the BIENOnline Search Engine (top 5 search terms include: "basic income", "experiment", "claus offe", "books", "back door").

BIENArchive Search Engine - A total of 22 searches were carried out on the BIENArchive Search Engine (top 5 search terms include: "academic theses", "anne alstott", "hungary", "austria", "christensen"). We expect hits on this search engine to pick up considerably when the BIENArchive section is fully developed.

BIEN'S Life Members

Link to http://www.etes.ucl.ac.be/BIEN/BIEN/Join.htm to find out how to become a Life Member of BIEN

James Meade (+), Gunnar Adler-Karlsson (SE), Maria Ozanira da Silva (BR), Ronald Dore (UK), Alexander de Roo (NL), Edouard Dommen (CH), Philippe Van Parijs (BE), P.J. Verberne (NL), Tony Walter (UK), Philippe Grosjean (BE), Malcolm Torry (UK), NN (Geneva, CH), Andrew Williams (UK), Roland Duchatelet (BE), Manfred Fuellsack (AT), Anne-Marie Prielles (BE), Philippe Desguin (BE), Joel Handler (US), Sally Lerner (CA), David Macarov (IL), Paul Metz (NL), Claus Offe (DE), Guy Standing (CH), Hillel Steiner (UK), Werner Govaerts (BE), Robley George (US), Yoland Bresson (FR), Richard Hauser (DE), Eduardo Matarazzo Suplicy (BR), Jan-Otto Andersson (FI), Ingrid Robeyns (UK), John Baker (IE), Rolf Kuettel (CH), Michael Murray (US), Carlos Farinha Rodrigues (PT), Yann Moulier Boutang (FR), Joachim Mitschke (DE), Rik van Berkel (NL), Francois Blais (CA), Katrin Toens (DE), NN (New York, US), G'Ãñrard Degrez (BE), Michael Opielka (DE), Lena Lavinas (BR), Julien Dubouchet (CH), Jeanne Hrdina (CH), Joseph Huber (DE), Markku Ikkala (FI), Luis Moreno (ES), Rafael Pinilla (ES), Graham Taylor (UK), W.
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Basic Income European Network 2002 - BIENOnline:
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