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"Implementing a Basic Income"

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***With Work or Without Work?  
The Dilemmas Surrounding Basic Income  
from the Perspective of Full Citizenship***

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## ***With Work or Without Work***

The dilemmas surrounding basic income from the perspective of full citizenship

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### ***The goalss of this lecture***

- to present my own interpretation of the concept of the full citizenship
- to sum up the international debate on the universal basic income
- to show the contradictory effects of the activation policies through the Hungarian social policy practice

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### ***Question to be answered***

In what circumstances and how efficiently could the basic income guarantee the full membership for anyone?

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## ***The relevance of the topic***

- The end of work society in the sense of the full employment
- Those who are excluded from the socially recognized work lost the foundation of their full citizenship
- Nowadays there are many alternative paradigms beside the „wage-based” society. The most popular is the concept of an **unconditional basic income**



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## ***The structure of my presentation***

### **1. Theoretical framework**

- Clarification of full citizenship

### **2. From the inclusion to the „work-based society” in Hungary**

### **3. Conclusions - Suggestions**

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## ***The concept of full citizenship***

### **1. Marshall's concept of citizenship's rights**



**The principle of the universality of human rights**



**Human dignity should be considered to be the basis for the full citizenship**

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## ***The concept of full citizenship II.***

### **2. Human dignity**

- respectful life (self-esteem and social respect)
- equal value of all human beings → equal treatment
- autonomy – which is unimaginable without social, economic and political resources and possibilities

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## ***The concept of full citizenship III.***

### **3. Cultural citizenship – recognition policies**

- Struggle against the symbolic and cultural injustices includes the issue of basic rights, the equitable distribution of social goods (Hobson 2003)
- Exclusionary measures are continuously prepared and legitimized by the victimizing rhetoric (Ferge 2000)
- In the stratified capitalist societies one of the obstacles in the realisation of the principle of „all men are equal value“ is the lack of basic respect to the poor (Chan 2004)

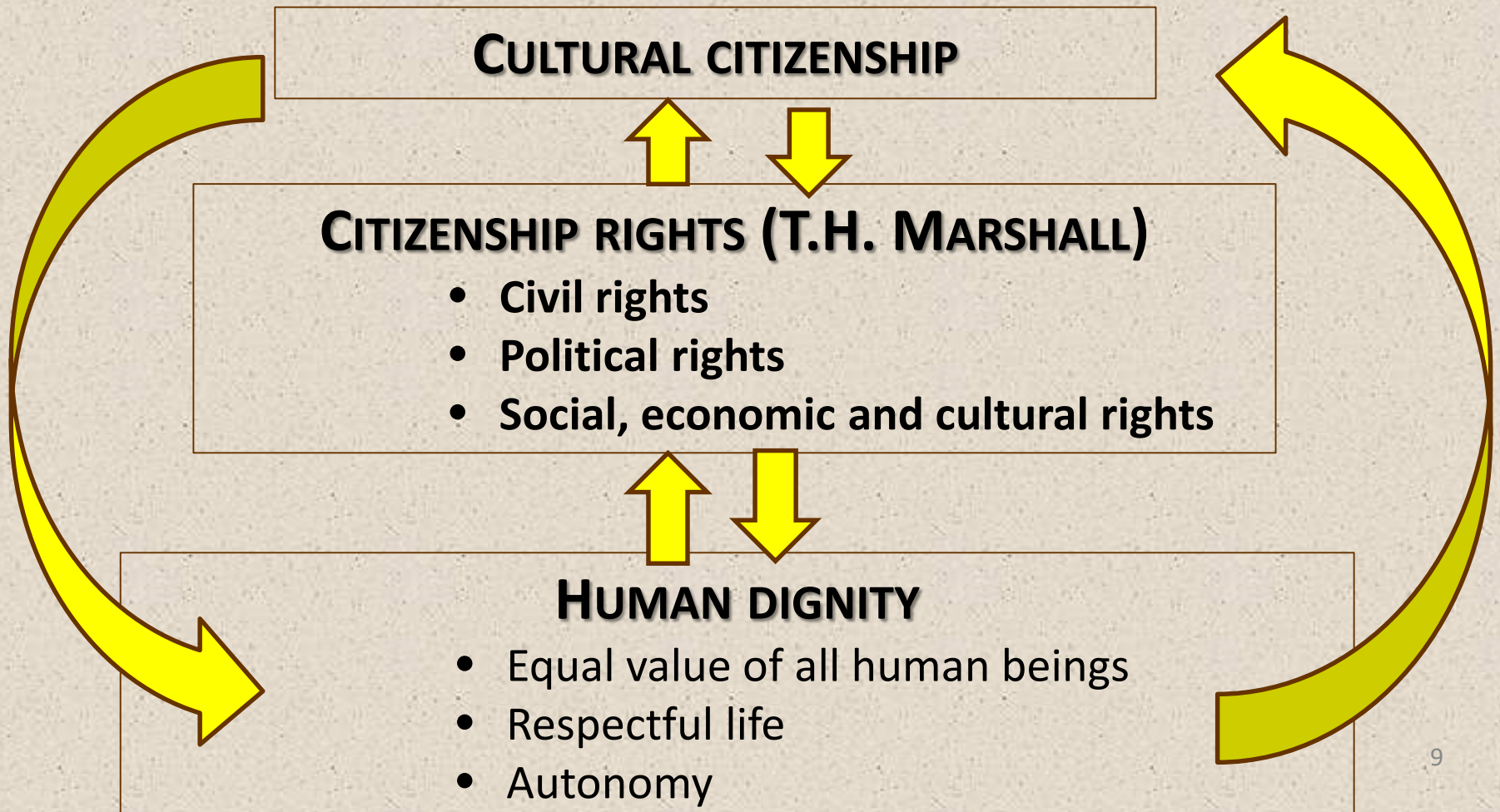


## *With Work or Without work?*

### *The Dilemmas surrounding Basic Income from the Perspective of full Full Citizenship*

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## ***The concept of full citizenship***



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### ***The implication of the principle „workfare” - 2005***

- all local governments were made to prepare „inclusion programs” to help the integration of the long-term unemployed
- required more activities and responsibility from the clients
- contradictory results - the social institutions were not sufficiently prepared for the arrangement of reintegration program (lack of resources and the great number of clients who were forced to cooperate)

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### ***From inclusion to work test 1***

- The welfare consensus in Hungary overturned in around 2007-2008
- The obligatory public employment program – „**Pathway to Work**” launched in 2009
- The former socialist cabinet linked social benefits to public works



- categories „worthiness/unworthiness can be legally regulated locally
- the majority of recipients are given almost no social or employment services

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# ***From inclusion to work test 2***

- The effects of the Program
  - reproduces the most disadvantaged group of the unemployed → for them is unable to provide any chance for reintegration
  - in small settlements it was almost impossible to provide meaningful employment to the great number of public workers



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### ***From work test to „work-based“ society 1***

- In 2010 the new conservative government announced a public employment program larger than the „Pathway to Work“ program
- Unemployment insurance has accordingly been reduced from 9 to a maximum of 3 month (!)
- The amount of social benefits has been nominally cut from 20 to 15 percent of the average wage

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### ***From work test to „work-based society” 2***

- The public employment functions as a legitimizing tool of the ideology of the „work-based society”
- It became a disciplining tool – the new regulation consisted of rules on possible elements of lifestyle and behavior



**This measure excludes the ‚idle poor’ from social rights**



**Duplicate citizenship**

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### ***Conclusions 1***

- Not only the activation but entitlements based social policy can also be „two-faced“, it may also contribute for the long-term unemployed to become second-class citizens
- If the employment is interpreted as a political right, the introduction of the basic income would not be able to provide a sense of social usefulness for the unemployed



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### ***Conclusions 2***

- Citizens' duties must pertain to everyone
- We have to separate social entitlements from the labor market participation
- Those who need help should be seen as entitled and not as dependent



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### ***Conclusions 3***

- If we do not offer realistic alternatives, we legitimize the exclusion of the long-term unemployed from the society
- But: creating opportunity is not imaginable without ensuring the unconditional income
- I do not primarily think of the unconditional basic income, but at least a minimum income

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### ***Suggestions***

- Firstly, the sanctions should be abolished – they can not change the behavior and it is very easy to abuse them
- We have to consider social policy to be a productive sector → in such a way the welfare benefits appear as the prerequisite for the success of activating or empowering social services