

A paper for the BIEN Congress in Lisbon, 2017

What's a definition? And how should we define 'Basic Income'?

Abstract

This paper will explore a variety of different ways in which terms are defined: according to current usage; by a list of characteristics; by a legitimate authority on the basis of normative considerations; or by a legitimate authority on the basis of current usage. These methods will then be employed in order to construct a variety of definitions of 'Basic Income', 'Citizen's Income', 'Universal Basic Income', 'Citizen's Basic Income', etc.. How the terms are used in practice will be explored, and a categorisation of definitions will be attempted.

The paper will then ask how terms such as 'guarantee', 'unconditional' and 'universal' might be defined, and will relate the definitions of these words to the definitions of 'Basic Income'.

Some policy implications will be discussed.

Introduction

There has been much discussion, in BIEN circles and elsewhere, as to how a Basic Income should be defined. The question is this: What does 'Basic Income' mean, and how can that meaning be expressed in a set of words? Related questions are these: What does 'Citizen's Income' mean? What does 'Universal Basic Income' mean? What does 'Citizen's Basic Income' mean? What does 'Basic Income Guarantee' mean? And what do 'unconditional' and 'universal' mean?

This paper will first of all explore the meaning of 'definition': that is, what are we doing when we 'define' something? (How should we define 'define'? Take care, reader, that you do not disappear down an infinite vortex.) We shall discover a variety of ways of defining, and will then apply those different methods to the task of defining a Basic Income, a Citizen's Income, and so on.

Finally, we shall look at policy implications of different definitions.

Why does any of this matter? It matters because mutual comprehension requires that different participants in a conversation should understand similar things by a particular word or group of words. If we mean different things by 'Basic Income' then people and organisations involved in research and debate might think that they are understanding each other when in fact they are not. While 'definition' and 'meaning' do not mean the same thing, and, as we shall see, two people can mean different things by the same words, for two people to agree on a definition of Basic Income can help each of them to have some idea about what the other one means by 'Basic Income', and can therefore enable useful dialogue to occur.

Different ways of defining ¹

Usage

Ludwig Wittgenstein suggested that we discover the meaning of language by studying how language is used (Wittgenstein 1967: § 1), and, as the same word might be used in different

¹ Some of the material in this section was first presented in a paper entitled ' "Unconditional" and "Universal": Definitions and applications' presented at the Federation for International Studies on Social Security at Sigtuna, 5th to 7th June 2017.

ways in a multitude of different contexts, he offered the image of ‘family resemblances’ to describe the relationship between one use of a word and another (Wittgenstein 1967: §§ 66-67).

By ‘definition’ we generally mean a set of words that indicates the ‘meaning’ of a word or group of words. This immediately poses a problem. If we study a particular use of a word and then construct a set of words to express the meaning of that use, then the use of the new set of words, and of each of its component words, will be specific to a particular context: so even if we employ the same definition (in the sense of the same set of words in the same order) in a different context, it will have a different meaning.

However, there really will be a family *resemblance*: and it is on this that dictionaries rely when they define a word or group of words. The Oxford English Dictionary not only offers a definition of each English word commonly in use, but it also lists the particular usages on which it has based its definition. There is no entry for ‘Basic Income’ or ‘Citizen’s Income’ (which is interesting), but we do of course find both ‘basic’ and ‘income’. ‘Basic’ used as an adjective is given a wide variety of definitions, the first two of which are as follows:

- a. Of, pertaining to, or forming a base; fundamental, essential: ... b. That is or constitutes a standard minimum amount in a scale of remuneration or the like. (Oxford English Dictionary)

The dictionary also offers the following definition:

Providing or having few or no amenities, accessories, functions, etc., beyond the ordinary or essential; of or designating the lowest standard acceptable or available; rudimentary: (Oxford English Dictionary)

- of which it gives an example: ‘Pastries and other sweets in the north can be pretty basic.’

English as spoken in the United States of America exhibits similar meanings:

- a. being the main or most important part of something ... b. very simple, with nothing special added: ‘The software is very basic.’ (Cambridge Essential American English Dictionary)

Whether the derogatory undertones are understood by a speaker using the word ‘basic’ in the context of ‘Basic Income’, or by someone hearing or reading the words, will depend on the speaker’s, writer’s, hearer’s or reader’s previous experience of the word ‘basic’ and the context in which the word is being used; and whether these undertones will be encapsulated in definitions will again depend on the context. It is in relation to such undertones that meaning and definition can diverge. When we hear the term ‘Basic Income’ we might define it as ‘an unconditional and nonwithdrawable income for every individual’: but we might also understand the term to mean that in some respect the income will not be a very good one – an aspect of our understanding that might not appear in the stated definition.

The conclusion to draw from this discussion is that two people using the same words do not necessarily mean the same thing by them, and that they might not mean the same thing by words that they use to explicate the meaning of those words. This means that to attempt to define ‘Basic Income’ by reference to current usage will deliver a variety of different definitions, and an even wider variety of understood meanings, with each definition and meaning depending on the particular uses of the words that the definer has experienced and the context in which the words are being used. There might or might not be a family resemblance between the different definitions and between the different meanings.

In relation to the global debate on Basic Income, a significant additional question has to be

that of the transferability of definitions between different languages. The German ‘Grundeinkommen’ offers a useful example. ‘Grund’ in this context means ‘foundation’, so ‘Grundeinkommen’ means a foundational income. There is no sense here that the income is not of good quality. ‘Basiseinkommen’ has a similar meaning to ‘Grundeinkommen’: it represents an income that provides a foundation on which people can build. So again, the question arises as to whether two people using a word will mean the same thing by it. An English speaker might translate ‘Grundeinkommen’ as ‘Basic Income’ and understand some derogatory undertones that a German speaker would not understand when they heard the same word. The relationship between the various definitions of ‘Grundeinkommen’ and the various definitions of ‘Basic Income’ will therefore be an interesting one.

Definition by characteristics

What is sometimes called the ‘classical’ way of defining a definition is to envisage a category defined by a list of characteristics, with the category name being defined by names of characteristics. Thus the category ‘table’ is defined by the characteristics ‘horizontal surface’ and ‘supported on legs’. Those entities that possess the characteristics are in the category, and those entities that do not are not: so a square is a rectangle because it has four sides, opposite sides are parallel, and the angles are right angles. But for anything other than simple cases of definition this strategy quickly breaks down because there are frequently cases where we cannot determine whether the entity concerned is in the category or not. Thus if to be a ‘bird’ something needs to fly, then an ostrich is not a bird and a bat is one. A folded drop-leaf table is not a table, whereas a stool is a table.

Eleanor Rosch (Rosch and Lloyd 1978; Rosch 1999) has suggested that categories are not the clear-cut things that we often think they are, and that it is often not the case that entities are either in the category or not in it; and neither is it the case that entities belong equally. Thus a robin is more a bird than an ostrich is, and a bat is on the boundary of the category. Rosch points out that in the real world we define categories in terms of prototypes and then decide whether something is in the category by asking how similar it is to the prototype. For the category ‘bird’ the prototype might be ‘robin’. Mark Johnson (Johnson 1993) has successfully used this means of definition to give a coherent account of how we categorize actions as moral or otherwise: we have in our minds a prototype lie and we then ask whether other actions are more or less like it.

So the question to ask is this: Is there a set of characteristics by which we can decide whether something belongs in the category labelled ‘Basic Income’? There are a number of ways to approach this:

- Each user of the term ‘Basic Income’ could select their own preferred characteristics. The individual’s autonomy would thus be honoured, but at the risk of losing mutual comprehension.
- We could study a wide variety of actual usages of the term ‘Basic Income’ and work out the lists of characteristics either stated or assumed by users of the term. If we could find characteristics employed in *all* actual usages, then we would have discovered the ‘family likeness’ and would be able to list a definitive set of characteristics. However, that does not mean that everyone would agree with the list. It would only take one user of the term ‘Basic Income’ to insist that they understood a characteristic not in the list to be essential to the definition of the category for the definition to become contentious and thus problematic in relation to attempts at mutual comprehension.

- An authority of some kind could decide on the list of characteristics that would qualify something as belonging to the category ‘Basic Income’. This is our third definitional strategy.

A recognised authority

If a field of interest has related to it an organisation that those involved in that field believe to have some standing or authority, then participants might look to that organisation to supply definitions of terms. This will be by way of something like a social contract. In order to avoid the chaos of multiple definitions, participants might be willing to forego autonomy and to grant authority to the recognised organisation.

There are a number of ways in which the organisation might construct the expected definitions. It might construct a list of characteristics that something has to have in order to be included in the named category; or it might collect examples of the use of the term and on that basis decide on a definition; or it might employ a mixture of those methods: constructing a list of characteristics and testing the list against current usage. There might be various ways in which an organisation goes about the task. There might be an individual with the authority to make such decisions; a small body of people might be elected or appointed to decide; or the entire membership might decide on a definition by a democratic process (although this method might in practice come down to an individual or small group making the decision, because the wording of a resolution will always be words written by an individual or a small group).

Defining ‘Basic Income’

‘Basic Income’ is frequently defined in relation to a list of characteristics. An income might belong in the category ‘Basic Income’ if it is ‘unconditional’, ‘nonwithdrawable’, and paid to ‘each individual’ rather than to households. However, as we have seen, meaning might be richer than definition. Usually unstated, but generally assumed, are some additional characteristics:

- That the income will be paid monthly, fortnightly, or weekly (or perhaps daily?). The Alaska Permanent Fund Dividend (Goldsmith, 2012: 49-50) is therefore not a Basic Income.
- That the income will not vary, although regular annual upratings will be expected. Again, the Alaska Permanent Fund dividend, which is the payment of a varying dividend, is not a Basic Income.
- That the income will vary with the recipient’s age, with a ‘standard’ amount for working age adults, smaller amounts for children, and perhaps for young adults, and larger amounts for individuals over a defined state pension age. This assumption would appear to breach the ‘unconditional’ requirement, and strictly speaking it does: but because this conditionality is of a particular type, the breach is permitted. In relation to social security benefits, conditionalities exhibit two variables: ease of administration, and whether or not enquiry has to be made into an individual’s situation or activity. Two of the expected advantages of a Basic Income are that it will be simple to administer and that it will require no bureaucratic intrusion into the lives of recipients. Employment market status, household structure, and disability, are conditionalities about which enquiries have to be made, so none of them can be permitted to influence the level of someone’s Basic

Income. On the other hand, nobody would ever have to enquire into someone's age. Their Basic Income would begin at their birth, the computer would automatically increase their Basic Incomes as they ceased to be children, when they became working age adults, and when they passed state retirement age, and it would turn off their Basic Income when they died. There would be no bureaucratic intrusion, and, indeed, no active administration to be done.

These three assumptions are generally understood to belong to the definition of a Basic Income, but they are rarely stated. If 'definition' means a set of words that give some indication of the meaning of 'Basic Income, then the definition will rarely include these three assumptions. If by 'definition' we mean the understood meaning of 'Basic Income', then they do belong to the definition.

If we look for the words that generally accompany 'Basic Income' then we will often find the words 'unconditional', 'nonwithdrawable', and 'individual'. We might find 'regular', which can encapsulate the first assumption above; we might find a statement that the payment will be weekly or monthly, reflecting the second assumption; and we will generally find different levels of Basic Income for different age groups, reflecting the third assumption. So in the case of 'Basic Income', usage delivers a fairly consistent set of characteristics and our first two definition methods converge.

We also find the third method in use. There are now multiple organisations involved in the Basic Income debate. In many countries we can find at least one organisation facilitating the debate, and in some countries there will be more than one (- in the UK the Citizen's Basic Income Trust has been facilitating the debate for more than thirty years; Basic Income UK is a more recent campaigning organisation; and Citizen's Basic Income Network Scotland is now facilitating the debate in Scotland). BIEN is the debate's global umbrella organisation. Some of the national organisations affiliate to BIEN, but BIEN has no control over the activities of the national groups.

Each of these organisations has the authority to construct its own definition, but because each organisation's definition reflects common usage, and because the organisations are in network relationships with each other and with numerous writers on the subject, we might expect a certain amount of consistency. Quite often, 'unconditional', 'nonwithdrawable' and 'individual', or similar words, will be found, and the three assumptions (regular payment, nonvarying but upratable payments, and payments varying with age) will also be found.

Because BIEN is an umbrella organisation with affiliates, its own definition of Basic Income will need to reflect current usage, and in particular it will need to reflect current usage among its affiliates. This is not difficult to achieve. The wording on its website runs as follows:

A basic income is a periodic cash payment unconditionally delivered to all on an individual basis, without means-test or work requirement.

That is, basic income has the following five characteristics:

1. Periodic: it is paid at regular intervals (for example every month), not as a one-off grant.
2. Cash payment: it is paid in an appropriate medium of exchange, allowing those who receive it to decide what they spend it on. It is not, therefore, paid either in kind (such as food or services) or in vouchers dedicated to a specific use.
3. Individual: it is paid on an individual basis—and not, for instance, to households.

4. Universal: it is paid to all, without means test.
5. Unconditional: it is paid without a requirement to work or to demonstrate willingness-to-work. (BIEN)

And a shorter form, last amended at the Seoul General Assembly, reads like this:

A periodic cash payment delivered to all on an individual basis, without means test or work requirement. (BIEN General Assembly in Seoul, South Korea, 2016)

As far as I can tell, neither of these definitions conflicts with any affiliate's definition, and both of them represent the consensus among affiliates and, most importantly, they reflect common usage of the term 'Basic Income'.

BIEN can therefore confidently function as a 'recognised authority' in relation to the definition of Basic Income: and perhaps it should. The current Ontario 'Basic Income' pilot describes its 'Basic Income' like this:

The payment will account for other income and ensure a minimum level of income is provided. Participants will receive:

- Up to \$16,989 per year for a single person, less 50 per cent of any earned income
- Up to \$24,027 per year for a couple, less 50 per cent of any earned income
- Up to an additional \$6,000 per year for a person with a disability. (Ontario)

Such payments are neither 'individual' nor 'without means test'. They do not constitute a Basic Income, and perhaps BIEN should say that.

The amount of the payment

There would appear to be just one issue over which the national organisations disagree: the amount of the payment. For some national organisations, only a working age adult unconditional, nonwithdrawable, regular and individual income at 'subsistence level' can qualify as a Basic Income, whereas for other organisations an unconditional, nonwithdrawable, regular and individual income of any amount can count as a Basic Income. The results of a survey can be found in the appendix.

It might be thought that this leaves an umbrella organisation such as BIEN with a dilemma, but in fact it does not. BIEN is an authoritative organisation in the field, as are all of the national organisations. The difference is that BIEN has affiliates. If BIEN were to include 'at subsistence level' in its definition of Basic Income, then it would have to disaffiliate national organisations that did not require that (or they would disaffiliate themselves), whereas if it were not to include 'at subsistence level' in its definition of Basic Income then every national organisation would be able to remain affiliated. The fact that some of those organisations chose to add an additional characteristic to their definition would only be relevant to affiliation if BIEN were to decide that it should be.

If BIEN did wish to say something about the level of Basic Income that would be agreeable to every affiliate, then there is just one possibility. The survey shows that

- Some affiliates do not mention the issue, suggesting that the amount to be paid is not integral to the definition;
- Some say that a democratic process will be used to decide the amount;
- One mentions a particular amount (as in Southern Africa);

- And some offer a description of the kind of life that the Basic Income will be expected to fund ('subsistence', 'dignity', 'participation', 'poverty line') in relation to the national context, but without specifying the relevant level of Basic Income.

BIEN could legitimately say that in each country the normal democratic process will determine the levels of Basic Income and their funding mechanisms. This would be entirely uncontentious.

'Universal', 'unconditional', 'citizen's', 'guarantee',

If we study uses of the word 'universal' in the context of Basic Income, then we generally find that it means 'everyone within a national boundary', or perhaps 'everyone within a regional boundary'. For those campaigning for a global Basic Income, 'universal' means what it says: but generally 'universal' does not in fact mean universal. Does that matter? Not if everyone understands what is meant.

If within a particular jurisdiction a benefit is unconditional, then by definition it is universal within that jurisdiction. If it is universal then it is not necessarily unconditional. This means that 'unconditional' cannot be replaced by 'universal'. It might be thought that 'universal' in 'Universal Basic Income' is redundant. Strictly speaking, it is. Presumably 'Universal Basic Income' has become a common designation for a Basic Income because it emphasises an aspect of the income that its proponent wish to emphasise: the fact that it is for everyone.

'Basic Income' is sometimes described as 'Citizen's Income' (with the apostrophe before the s, because the income is for each individual citizen). It is partly because of the somewhat derogatory undertones of the word 'basic' in English that in 1992 the trustees of the Citizen's Basic Income Trust agreed with the suggestion of the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust that we should speak of a 'Citizen's Income' rather than a 'Basic Income'; and the Green Party in the UK has often preferred 'Citizen's' to 'Basic'. However, the designation is not unproblematic, because the word 'citizen' does not necessarily include everyone who lives within a nation state's borders, so the word is not as all-encompassing as 'universal': but it does connect Basic Income with a discourse about citizens' rights, it avoids the negative connotations of 'Basic', and it encourages debate about the meaning of 'citizen'. The new Scottish network, and the publisher of my recent *Citizen's Basic Income: A Christian social policy*, both independently asked that we should call the income a 'Citizen's Basic Income', and the trustees of what is now the Citizen's Basic Income Trust have now decided to do the same. The advantage of this designation is that it contains both 'Basic Income' and 'Citizen's'. The disadvantages are that it is longer than either 'Basic Income' or 'Citizen's Income', and that CBI can also mean the Confederation of British Industry.

Rather more problematic is the word 'guarantee'. During the early 1980s, at the beginning of the modern debate about Basic Income, Hermione Parker and Brandon Rhys Williams MP called a Basic Income a 'Basic Income Guarantee' (House of Commons Treasury and Civil Service Committee Sub-Committee, 1982; 1983; Parker, 1989). The word 'guarantee' was confusing because to guarantee an income is not necessarily to provide one. A means-tested benefit can guarantee someone an income by filling a gap between other income and a specified minimum income. When the British Government wanted a new name for its means-tested top-up for pensioners, it chose 'Minimum Income Guarantee': a rare example of accurate description. Because 'guarantee' can imply means-testing, the British debate soon dropped the word, preferring 'Basic Income', then 'Citizen's Income', and now 'Citizen's Basic Income', with 'Basic Income' remaining a common description. The North American debate, however, retains the use of 'guarantee', causing occasional misunderstanding as to

what is intended. Take, for instance, the wording on USBIG's website:

The Basic Income Guarantee (BIG) is a government ensured guarantee that no one's income will fall below the level necessary to meet their most basic needs for any reason. ... The Basic Income gives every citizen a check for the full basic income every month, and taxes his or her earned income, so that nearly everyone both pays taxes and receives a basic income. (USBIG)

Here 'Basic Income Guarantee' can mean a means-tested benefit, whereas 'Basic Income' does not. Because 'Basic Income' appears in both designations, this is potentially quite confusing, because someone could easily think that 'Basic Income' and 'Basic Income Guarantee' mean the same thing when in fact they do not. My recommendation would be that anyone using the term 'Basic Income Guarantee' should instead employ the term 'Minimum Income Guarantee', because that is more descriptive of what is intended, and it cannot be confused with 'Basic Income'.

Implications for BIEN

'Basic Income' has a clear definition – unconditional, nonwithdrawable, individual - and also carries with it three significant assumptions: regularity of payment, unvarying but upratable payments, and payments varying with age. Its meaning is clear, which is helpful to the debate about incomes paid unconditionally, nonwithdrawably, and to individuals. 'Citizen's Income' has the advantages that it does not suffer from the unfortunate undertones that 'Basic' can suffer from, and that it connects Basic Income with a citizen's rights discourse: but the downside is that in most jurisdictions the word 'citizen' is not entirely unproblematic. As long as we are clear that 'Citizen's Income' and 'Basic Income' mean the same thing, either or both of them can provide the clarity that the debate requires. Strictly speaking 'Universal Basic Income' means simply 'Basic Income': but the 'universal' is making a point. 'Basic Income', 'Citizen's Income', 'Citizen's Basic Income' and 'Universal Basic Income' will continue to provide the debate on unconditional, nonwithdrawable and individual incomes with the consistent definitional foundations that it needs.

It might be thought that it would be helpful to reduce this variety to a single agreed term. First of all, there is no organisation with the authority to make the decision as to which that term should be; secondly, neither individuals nor organisations would be under any obligation to conform; and thirdly, the diversity is helpful in that it enables different aspects of a Basic Income to be emphasised: Basic Income its foundational nature; Citizen's Income its payment to each individual as a right; Citizen's Basic Income both of those; and Universal Basic Income its payment to everyone.

'Guarantee' can cause confusion, and we should not be using it in association with 'Basic Income'.

Perhaps the most significant implication for BIEN relates to the question as to whether or not 'Basic Income' should imply an income at subsistence level. We have already recognised that any national organisation is at liberty to add this requirement to its definition of Basic Income, but that BIEN ought not to do so. We now need to recognise a number of problems relating to adding the requirement to the definition:

- 'Subsistence level' is notoriously difficult to define. Every household behaves differently, and what one household counts as a subsistence income might be counted as utterly inadequate by another, and as overgenerous by yet another. Qualitative research can construct a list of expenditures regarded as necessary for participation in society (as in the

Minimum Income Standards annual survey conducted for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation) (Davis, Hill, Hirsch and Padley, 2016): but such an approach can only obscure the wide variation in understandings of 'subsistence'. Government-specified subsistence levels are precisely that, and are driven largely or partly by political considerations.

- Governments tend to be cautious, and social policy is path dependent, so it is more likely that a Basic Income will start small, and will then grow, than that a large Basic Income will be implemented in the first instance. Organisations that insist that 'Basic Income' means an income at subsistence level will not help a government to ponder the possibility of making a start with a small Basic Income: and such an organisation will not be doing the kind of research required to enable a government to think rationally about whether a Basic Income might be feasible.
- Any organisation that decides that a payment is only a Basic Income if it is at a predetermined subsistence level is at risk of depriving itself of research results from organisations that research Basic Incomes at lower levels.

One solution to this problem would be to return to a set of terminology developed during the earlier period of the debate: a 'Full Basic Income' meant a Basic Income at subsistence level (somehow defined); a 'Partial Basic Income' meant one at a lower level; and a 'Transitional Basic Income' meant something in between. Some organisations might find this terminology helpful: and, because it assumes that a 'Basic Income' can be paid at any level, no organisation should find the terminology problematic.

Conclusion

Definition is a complex field, but it is one that anyone involved in the Basic Income debate needs to understand. Definitions matter. The more clarity we can achieve, the more useful will be our research results, and the more productive will be the debate.

The content of this paper suggests that I should make a recommendation: That every individual and every organisation involved in the Basic Income debate should ask what they mean by the terms that they employ, and should seek the greatest possible clarity, including clarity over any unstated assumptions lying hidden behind the stated definitions; and also that BIEN should facilitate widespread debate about definitions in order to ensure that people working on Basic Income in different parts of the world can understand each other and can benefit most effectively from each others' research.

Appendix

Definitions of Basic Income employed by organisations affiliated to BIEN

(This appendix was presented to a meeting of BIEN's Executive Committee on the 8th January 2017 and subsequently published on the BIEN website.)

All of the definitions of Basic Income employed by BIEN affiliates describe it as unconditional, nonwithdrawable, and individual, although not necessarily in those precise words. They either say or assume that the payment will be regular and of a consistent amount, i.e., weekly or monthly, not annually; that payments will not vary (although they will be updated); and the amount paid will differ with someone's age. Some state that the Basic

Income will be a right of citizenship, or of legal residence, and others might be taken to assume this.

But there are differences when it comes to the levels at which Basic Income will be paid. In the table below, if the definition given on the website does not mention the amount of the Basic Income, then the second column in the table is empty. Where a definition on the website does mention the level of BI, only the relevant part or parts of the definition are quoted.

Definitions were initially drawn from affiliated organisations' websites. A draft was then circulated to affiliates, and further material submitted by affiliated organisations was then added. This additional material is marked *.

Translations are in square brackets.

EUROPE: Unconditional Basic Income Europe (UBI-Europe)	'UBI is universal, individual, unconditional, and high enough to ensure an existence in dignity and participation in society.' http://basicincome-europe.org/ubie/unconditional-basic-income/
SOUTHERN AFRICA: 1. Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute (SPII), and 2. UBI Africa	1. 'Amount: The grant should be no less than US\$15.00 per person per month on introduction, [* which in 2013 was sufficient to meet peoples' basic needs in the region], and should be inflation indexed.' http://www.spii.org.za/index.php/sadc-big-principles/ 2. 'A wide variety of Basic Income proposals are circulating today. They differ along many other dimensions, including in the amounts of the Basic Income, the source of funding, the nature and size of reductions in other transfers that might accompany it, and so on.' http://ubi-africa.blogspot.co.uk/
ARGENTINA: Red Argentina de Ingreso Ciudadano	
AUSTRALIA: Basic Income Guarantee Australia (BIGA)	'A Universal Basic Income (Basic Income Guarantee) is an unconditional cash payment to individuals sufficient to meet basic needs (Universal Basic Income New Zealand, 2003).' http://www.basicincome.qut.edu.au/about-basic-income/frequently-asked-questions.jsp
AUSTRIA: Netzwerk Grundeinkommen und sozialer Zusammenhalt – B.I.E.N. Austria	'Existenzsichernd: die zur Verfügung gestellte Summe soll ein bescheidenes, aber dem Standard der Gesellschaft entsprechendes Leben, die Teilhabe an allem, was in dieser Gesellschaft zu einem normalen Leben gehört, ermöglichen.' http://www.grundeinkommen.at/index.php/grundeinkommen [Ensuring existence: The sum made available is intended to make possible a life that is modest, but corresponding to the

	standards of society, and participation in everything that belongs to a normal life in this society.]
BELGIUM: Belgian Network for Basic Income	<p>‘Ce revenu de base vise à permettre à chacun et chacune de mener une vie digne et de participer à la vie en société sous toutes ses formes.’ https://basicincome.be/fr/quest-ce-que-le-revenu-de-base/</p> <p>[This basic income is intended to enable each and every individual to lead a dignified life and to participate fully in society.]</p>
BRAZIL: Rede Brasileira de Renda Básica de Cidadania	<p>‘A RBC é uma renda suficiente para que uma pessoa possa prover as suas necessidades vitais, como alimentação, saúde, educação e outras, que sera paga pelo governo a toda e qualquer pessoa residente no país, inclusive as estrangeiras residentes há cinco anos ou mais no Brasil, não importa sua origem, raça, sexo, idade, condição civil ou mesmo socioeconômica.’ http://eduardosuplicy.com.br/renda-basica-de-cidadania/</p> <p>[The Basic Citizenship Income (CBR) is a sufficient income for a person to provide for his or her vital needs, such as food, health, education and other necessities, which will be paid by the government to all persons residing in the country, ... regardless of their origin, race, gender, age, civil status or even socioeconomic status.]</p>
CANADA: Basic Income Canada Network / Réseau canadien pour le revenu garanti	<p>‘A basic income guarantee (BIG) ensures everyone an income sufficient to meet basic needs and live with dignity, regardless of work status.’ http://www.basicincomecanada.org/</p>
CANADA: Quebec – Revenu de base Quebec (RBQ)	<p>‘Le revenu de base est un revenu versé par une communauté politique à tous ses membres sur une base individuelle, sans condition ou contrepartie, dont le montant et le financement sont déterminés démocratiquement.</p> <p>Un revenu de base garantit ainsi un niveau de vie décent à tous et il reste cumulable avec tout revenu perçu par ailleurs.’ https://revenuebase.quebec/</p> <p>[A Basic income is an income paid by a political community to all of its members on an individual basis, without condition or withdrawal, of which the amount and the funding method are determined democratically.</p> <p>A basic income thus guarantees a decent standard of living for all and to it can be added income from other sources.]</p>
CHINA: BIEN China Affiliated in July 2016	

<p>DENMARK: BIEN Denmark (Borgerlønsbevægelsen)</p>	<p>,Hvor stor skal basisindkomsten være? I princippet kan den have en hvilken som helst størrelse, som man i et samfund kan blive enige om, men den mest almindelige holdning er, at den skal være på et niveau, som gør det muligt at leve af den, om end på et beskedent niveau. Hvis man har en defineret fattigdomsgrænse i et samfund kan dette være et vejledende niveau for en basisindkomst. Basisindkomsten kan gradueres, så der er lavere satser for børn, for unge osv.’ http://basisindkomst.dk/hvad-er-basisindkomst/</p> <p>[How big should the basic income be? In principle, it can have any size, as agreed by a country, but the most common view is that it should be at a level that makes it possible to live on, albeit at a modest level. If you have a defined poverty line in a society then that can be a guide for the level of basic income. Basic Income can be of different amounts, so there would be lower rates for children, young people, etc.]</p>
<p>FINLAND: BIEN Finland – Suomen perustuloverkosto</p>	<p>‘According to the model of BIEN Finland, basic income is paid monthly for every member of society with no strings attached. Basic income would simplify the complex jungle of the current social security system, would facilitate the reconciliation of work and social security, and fill the gaps in the social protection. Income increase by UBI for people with high and middle income would be reclaimed from their earned income taxes. For implementation of basic income, there are several different models.’ [English translation provided by Jouko Hemmi]</p>
<p>FRANCE: Mouvement Français pour un revenu de base</p>	<p>‘Le revenu de base est un droit inaliénable, inconditionnel, cumulable avec d’autres revenus, distribué par une communauté politique à tous ses membres, de la naissance à la mort, sur base individuelle, sans contrôle des ressources ni exigence de contrepartie, dont le montant et le financement sont ajustés démocratiquement.’ http://www.revenudebase.info/mfrb/</p> <p>[Basic income is an inalienable, unconditional right, cumulative with other income, distributed by a political community to all its members, from birth to death, on an individual basis, without control of resources or counterpart requirement, of which the amount and funding mechanism are adjusted democratically.]</p>
<p>GERMANY: Netzwerk Grundeinkommen</p>	<p>,Ein Grundeinkommen ist ein Einkommen, das eine politische Gemeinschaft bedingungslos jedem ihrer Mitglieder gewährt. Es soll die Existenz sichern und gesellschaftliche Teilhabe ermöglichen, ...’</p>

	<p>https://www.grundeinkommen.de/die-idee</p> <p>[A basic income is an income which a political community unconditionally grants to each of its members. It should ensure subsistence and enable social participation ...]</p>
INDIA: India Network for Basic Income (INBI)	<p>‘Basic Income is modest income paid by government unconditionally to all its citizens. It is paid monthly to every individual, irrespective of their social and economic status, i.e., without any means test or work requirement. The basic principle behind this idea is that every citizen is entitled to a basic income, as a matter of right, so as to meet her / his basic material requirements of life.’</p> <p>http://basicincomeindia.weebly.com/</p>
IRELAND: Basic Income Ireland	<p>‘A basic income is a payment from the state to every resident on an individual basis, without any means test or work requirement.</p> <p>It would be sufficient to live a frugal but decent lifestyle without supplementary income from paid work.’</p> <p>http://www.basicincomeireland.com/</p>
ITALY: Bin Italia (Basic Income Network Italy)	[I can’t find a definition]
JAPAN: BIEN Japan	<p>ベーシックインカムとは</p> <p>ベーシックインカムとは、全ての人々が、生活に足るだろう所得への権利を、無条件でもつ、という考え方です。</p> <p>考え方としては200年ほどの歴史があります。思想家、哲学者、経済学者たちが議論する一方、土地の共有化を求めたり、分権的な社会主義を求めたり、金融の民主化を求めたり、福祉から性差別をなくすことを求めたり、といった社会運動のなかでも要求されてきました。http://tyamamor.doshisha.ac.jp/bienj/bienj_top.html</p> <p>Basic income is the idea that everyone has the unconditional right to an income to live on.</p>
MEXICO: Red Mexicana Ingreso Ciudadano Universal	[Website not available]
NETHERLANDS: Vereniging Basisinkomen	<p>,Het bedrag is hoog genoeg voor een menswaardig bestaan</p> <p>Hoog genoeg : Het bedrag moet zorgen voor een fatsoenlijke levensstandaard, die aan de sociale en culturele normen voldoet in het betrokken land. Het moet materiële armoede te voorkomen en bieden de mogelijkheid om te participeren in de samenleving en in waardigheid te leven.’</p> <p>http://basisinkomen.nl/informatie/de-vier-criteria-voor-een-</p>

	<p><u>onvoorwaardelijk-basisinkomen/</u></p> <p>[The amount is high enough for a decent life:</p> <p>High enough: The amount should provide a decent standard of living according to social and cultural norms prevailing in the country concerned in order to avoid material poverty and provide the opportunity to participate in society and live in dignity.]</p> <p>* Adriaan Planken, VBi secretaris a.i. adds: ‘UBI is universal, individual, unconditional, and high enough to ensure an existence in dignity and participation in society.’</p>
<p>NEW ZEALAND: Basic Income New Zealand Incorporated (BINZ)</p>	<p>‘A basic income is an individual income paid to all legal residents as of right without means test or work requirement. ... the government and the public together decide how much it will be. BINZ does not promote any particular solution. Additional funding can be nothing at all for an income-neutral basic income where each household receives the same total income after tax as it does now. It can be moderately redistributive like the examples shown in the handbook published on the BINZ website that substantially reduce poverty by redistributing about 2% of national income. Or it can be any other greater or lesser amount.’</p> <p>http://www.basicincomenz.net/faq</p>
<p>NORWAY: Borgerlønn BIEN Norge</p>	<p>,En universell, individuell og ubetinget inntekt som er høy nok til å gi hver og en av oss et verdig liv, uavhengig av arbeidsstatus.’ http://www.borgerlonn.no/</p> <p>[A universal, individual and unconditional income that is high enough to give each of us a dignified life, regardless of employment status.]</p>
<p>PORTUGAL: Rendimento Básico</p>	<p>‘O Rendimento Básico Incondicional é uma prestação atribuída a cada cidadão, independentemente da sua situação financeira, familiar ou profissional, e suficiente para permitir uma vida com dignidade.</p> <p>Um RBI é:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Universal - não discrimina ninguém, todos o recebem - Incondicional - um direito para todos, sem burocracias - Individual - garante autonomia às pessoas em situação vulnerável - Suficiente - para viver com dignidade’ <p>http://www.rendimentobasico.pt/</p> <p>[Unconditional Basic Income is a benefit attributed to each citizen, regardless of their financial situation, family or professional, and sufficient to allow a life with dignity.</p> <p>An RBI is:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Universal - does not discriminate against anyone, everyone - Unconditional - a right for all without bureaucracies

	<p>- Individual - guarantees autonomy for people in vulnerable situation</p> <p>- Enough - to live with dignity]</p>
SCOTLAND: Citizen's Basic Income Network Scotland	<p>'A basic income is a fixed amount of money paid to citizens which never decreases or disappears no matter the circumstances of that citizen. For example, unemployed, low wage, and rich people of the same age-bracket (i.e. not a child or a pensioner) would all receive the same basic level of state support. Children, adults, and pensioners would be provided with different levels of basic income. The objective of a basic income is to alleviate poverty caused by low wages and the benefits trap.' https://cbin.scot/what-is-a-basic-income/</p>
SLOVENIA: Sekcija za promocijo UTD v Sloveniji	<p>[I couldn't find a definition]</p>
SOUTH KOREA: Basic Income Korean Network (BIKN)	<p>따라서 기본소득은 보편적 복지이자 그 이상입니다. 모든 구성원의 적절한 삶을 보장한다는 점에서 보편적 복지이고, 단순한 재분배정책이 아니라 사회적 생태적 전환의 기초가 된다는 점에서 이행전략입니다. 기본소득은 정의상으로는 매우 단순하지만 필요성, 정당성, 지향성의 측면에서는 복합적이고 심층적입니다. www.basicincomekorea.org/all-about-bi_definition/</p> <p>Therefore, basic income is more than universal welfare. It is a universal welfare in that it guarantees the proper life of all members, and is a transition strategy in that it is the basis of social ecological transformation, not a simple redistribution policy. Basic income is by definition fairly simple, but complex and deep in terms of necessity, legitimacy, and direction.</p>
SPAIN: Red Renta Basica	<p>'La renta básica puede ser definida de distintas formas. En la web la Red Renta Básica ha utilizado esta definición: la renta básica es un ingreso pagado por el estado, como derecho de ciudadanía, a cada miembro de pleno derecho o residente de la sociedad incluso si no quiere trabajar de forma remunerada, sin tomar en consideración si es rico o pobre o, dicho de otra forma, independientemente de cuáles puedan ser las otras posibles fuentes de renta, y sin importar con quien conviva. En menos palabras: una renta básica es una asignación monetaria pública incondicional a toda la población.' http://www.redrentabasica.org/rb/que-es-la-rb/</p>

	<p>[Basic income can be defined in different ways. On the web the Basic Income Network has used this definition: basic income is an income paid by the state, as a right of citizenship, to each full member or resident of the society even if they do not want to work in a paid way, without taking In consideration whether he is rich or poor or, in other words, regardless of what the other possible sources of income may be, and regardless of who he lives with. In less words: a basic income is an unconditional public monetary allocation to the entire population.]</p>
<p>SWITZERLAND: BIEN Switzerland</p>	<p>‘The unconditional basic income (UBI) is a monthly payment by a public agency, to each individual, of a sum of money high enough to cover basic needs and enable participation in social life, as a monthly, lifelong rent. It is the concretization of a basic human right.’ http://bien.ch/en/story/basic-income/what-unconditionnal-basic-income</p>
<p>TAIWAN: Global Basic Income Social Welfare Promotion Association in Taiwan</p>	
<p>UNITED KINGDOM: Citizen’s Income Trust</p>	<p>‘A Citizen’s Income is</p> <p>‘Unconditional’: A Citizen’s Income would vary with age, but there would be no other conditions: so everyone of the same age would receive the same Citizen’s Income, whatever their gender, employment status, family structure, contribution to society, housing costs, or anything else.</p> <p>‘Automatic’: Someone’s Citizen’s Income would be paid weekly or monthly, automatically.</p> <p>‘Nonwithdrawable’: Citizen’s Incomes would not be means-tested. If someone’s earnings or wealth increased, then their Citizen’s Income would not change.</p> <p>‘Individual’: Citizen’s Incomes would be paid on an individual basis, and not on the basis of a couple or household.</p> <p>‘As a right of citizenship’: Everybody legally resident in the UK would receive a Citizen’s Income, subject to a minimum period of legal residency in the UK, and continuing residency for most of the year.’ http://citizensincome.org/faqs/</p>
<p>UNITED STATES: U.S. Basic Income Guarantee Network (USBIG)</p>	<p>‘The Basic Income Guarantee (BIG) is a government ensured guarantee that no one’s income will fall below the level necessary to meet their most basic needs for any reason. ... The Basic Income gives every citizen a check for</p>

	<p>the full basic income every month, and taxes his or her earned income, so that nearly everyone both pays taxes and receives a basic income. ... A partial basic income guarantee is any income guarantee set at a level that is less than enough to meet a person's basic needs.'</p> <p>http://www.usbig.net/whatisbig.php</p>
--	---

References

BIEN, <http://basicincome.org/basic-income/>

Davis, Abigail, Katherine Hill, Donald Hirsch and Matt Padley (2016) *A Minimum Income Standard for 2016*, York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Goldsmith, Scott (2012) 'The economic and social impacts of the Permanent Fund Dividend on Alaska', pp. 49-63 in Karl Widerquist and Michael W. Howard (eds) *Alaska's Permanent Fund Dividend: Examining its suitability as a model*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan

House of Commons Treasury and Civil Service Committee Sub-Committee (1982) *The Structure of Personal Income Taxation and Income Support: Minutes of Evidence*, HC 331–ix, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office

House of Commons Treasury and Civil Service Committee (1983) *Enquiry into the Structure of Personal Income Taxation and Income Support*, Third Special Report, Session 1982-3

Johnson, Mark (1993), *Moral Imagination: Implications of Cognitive Science for Ethics*, Chicago: Chicago University Press

Ontario, *Ontario's Basic Income Pilot: Studying the impact of a basic income*, https://files.ontario.ca/170508_bi_brochure_eng_pg_by_pg_proof.pdf

Oxford English Dictionary, <http://www.oed.com/>

Parker, Hermione (1989) *Instead of the Dole: An enquiry into integration of the tax and benefit systems*, London: Routledge

Rosch, Eleanor (1999), 'Reclaiming Concepts', in Freeman, Walter J. and Núñez, Rafael (eds.), *Reclaiming Cognition, Journal of Consciousness Studies*, **6** (11-12), 61-77

Rosch, Eleanor and Lloyd, Barbara B. (1978), *Cognition and Categorization*, Lawrence Erlbaum

USBIG, www.usbig.net/whatisbig.php

Wittgenstein, Ludwig (1967), *Philosophical Investigations*, tr. G.E.M. Anscombe, 2nd edn., Oxford: Oxford University Press

Views expressed in this paper are not necessarily those of BIEN or of its Executive Committee.