

## CHAPTER 4

### The Universal Basic Income

#### 4.1 History of the Universal Basic Income

There are three main *historical roots* of the Universal Basic Income; -

##### 4.1.1 Commonwealth and Minimum Income

###### *Commonwealth*

Let's trace back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century when a humanist, Thomas More introduced "Utopia."<sup>1</sup> In the very last chapter of the book, he mentioned the idea of commonwealth and how the society would be with the idea as:

"...in Utopia, where every man has a right to everything, they all know that if care is taken to keep the public stores full no private man can want anything; for among them *there is no unequal distribution*, so that no man is poor, none in necessity, and though no man has anything, yet they are all rich; for what can make a man so rich as to lead a serene and cheerful life, free from anxieties; neither apprehending want himself, nor vexed with the endless complaints of his wife? He is not afraid of the misery of his children, nor is he contriving how to raise a portion for his daughters; but is secure in this, that both he and his wife, his children and grand- children, to as many generations as he can fancy, will all live both plentifully and happily; since, among them, there is no less care taken of those who were once engaged in labour, but grow afterwards unable to follow it, than there is, elsewhere, of these that continue still employed. ..."

More, *Utopia*, 1516

In this imaginary island society, Utopia, all men are equal and free. In order to do so, there is a political system in the background, which is *Commonwealth*. In this political system, government and politicians are not the only players but all citizens are. The system itself requires people who are looking for wealth, which can be shared “commonly” and “equally,” not just only for their own-private use. With this condition, all men would share the commonwealth and that would create freedom of living for all citizens, later safety and happiness will follow.

Connecting this idea to the thief problem he mentioned earlier in the same book, the idea of commonwealth is the solution. It is a system that provides a better livelihood for all citizens; thereby no one should need to steal.

“...every man might be put in a method how to live, and so be preserved from the fatal necessity of stealing and of dying for it. ...”

“...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, *Utopia*, 1516

### *Minimum Income*

Together with More’ idea of the commonwealth, there is also an idea of his friend, Johannes Ludovicus Vives (Juan Luis Vives) called *Minimum Income*, introduced in one of his books, “De Subventionem Pauperum, Sive de humanis necessitatibus” or “On Assistance To The Poor” (1526).<sup>2</sup> The book has been written to serve the main purpose of answering the Dutch city of Bruges’ request to address the issue of relief for the poor.<sup>3</sup>

“Even those who have dissipated their fortunes in dissolute living – through gaming, harlots, excessive luxury, gluttony and gambling – should be given food, for no one should die of hunger. [...] Even to the old and the stupid, it should be possible to give a job they can learn in a few days, such as digging holes, getting water or carrying something on

their shoulders.” The point of requiring such toil from the beneficiaries of the scheme is in part to make them contribute to the funding of the latter.”

Vives, *On Assistance To The Poor*, 1526

This idea of his later become the State assistance for those in poverty or Minimum income. Just like More’s Commonwealth, Minimum Income is also based on the idea that everything on earth is created for human to use and share commonly, it does not belong to anyone but for everyone.

“All these things God created, He put them in our large home, the world, without surrounding them with walls and gates, so that they would be common to all his children.”

Juan Luis Vives, 1493-1540

He suggested that the government should give a subsistence minimum to all its residents not on grounds of justice but for the sake of a more effective exercise of morally required charity. The idea is one of the very first systematic expressions on the social thinking. Until Montesquieu stated that “The State owes all its citizens a secure subsistence, food, suitable clothes and a way of life that does not damage their health.” (*L’Esprit des Lois*, 1748, p. 134), that creates many social movements in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.

#### 4.1.2 Basic Endowment

While Commonwealth and Minimum Income ideas were in idle for almost two centuries, towards the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century, another idea of poverty alleviation had come up, the *Social Insurance*. The idea has been firstly described in “*Esquisse d’un tableau historique des progrès de l’esprit humain*” (1795), written by Condorcet while he was hiding until arrested, imprisoned and died.<sup>4</sup> The book was published by his widow after his death. It is his most systematic work on social insurance. It gives such a clear sketch of the social insurance and how it will alleviate inequality, insecurity

and poverty.<sup>5</sup> Two years after his death; one of his best friends did not let the idea floating in the air. Thomas Paine had developed his friend's idea in greater detail in his book "Agrarian Justice." For cultivated land, he suggested,

"it is the value of the improvement, only, and not the earth itself, that is in individual property. Every proprietor, therefore, of cultivated lands, owes to the community a ground rent for the land, which he holds; and it is from this ground rent that the fund proposed in this plan is to issue. Out of this fund, *there shall be paid to every person, when arrived at the age of twenty-one years, the sum of fifteen pounds sterling, as compensation in part, for the loss of his or her natural inheritance, by the introduction of the system of landed property. And also, the sum of ten pounds per annum, during life, to every person now living, of the age of fifty years, and to all others as they shall arrive at that age.*

Thomas Paine, *Agrarian Justice*, 1797

One of the details Paine suggested, which brings us closer to the universality of the Universal Basic Income is Payments. He insists, should be made

"...to every person, rich or poor", "because it is in lieu of the natural inheritance, which, as a right, belongs to every man, over and above the property he may have created, or inherited from those who did."

Ibid.

#### 4.1.3 Basic Income

Charles Fourier, one of the radical visionaries Marx contemptuously labeled "utopian socialists". In "La Fausse Industrie" (1836), Fourier argues that the violation of each person's fundamental natural right to hunt, fish, pick fruit and let her or his cattle graze on the commons implies that "civilization" owes subsistence to everyone unable to meet her or his needs. He is clear about the non-universality of the delivery of this income: it is an unconditional entitlement for the poor by way of compensation for the loss of direct access to natural resources. That was the idea.

The first formulation of a genuine basic income was published by Joseph Charlier in his “Solution du problème social ou constitution humanitaire”, 1848. As a Fourierist he was, he agreed on the point that there should be unconditional right to some income, however, he rejected the Fourierism idea of “the right to assistance” (means-tested) and “right to work or organization of labor”. Under several names he called: *minimum garanti*, *revenue garanti* or *dividende territorial*, he suggested giving every citizen an unconditional right to a quarterly (later, monthly) payment of an amount fixed annually.

Only a year after, John Stuart Mill ascribed to the Fourierists the proposal of a non-means-tested basic income in his “Principles of Political Economy”, 1849. He stated that,

“...In the distribution, a certain minimum is first assigned for the subsistence of every member of the community, whether capable or not of labor. The remainder of the produce is shared in certain proportions, to be determined beforehand, among the three elements, Labor, Capital, and Talent.”

John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, 1849

Through three centuries the idea had been developed, all the way from More in 16<sup>th</sup> century to Mill in 19<sup>th</sup> century. Still, the idea was not well recognized or even put in action until 20<sup>th</sup> century philosophers brought it on the table again.

#### 4.1.4 Basic Income in the 20<sup>th</sup> century

**England:** *Basic Income, State Bonus, Social credit, National Dividend, and Social Dividend*

Started with a British Nobel laureate in literature Bertrand Russell in 1918 <sup>6</sup>, he proposed in his “Road to Freedom: Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism” a social model that combines the advantages of socialism and anarchism. He argued that the *Basic Income* is “sufficient for necessities.”

“Anarchism has the advantage as regards liberty, Socialism as regards the inducement to work. [...] 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...*When education is finished, no one should be compelled to work, and those who choose not to work should receive a bare livelihood and be left completely free.*”

Russell, *Road to Freedom*, 1918

In the same year, Dennis Milner and his wife published a booklet, “Scheme for a State Bonus” (1918). The idea is as clear as its name. They suggested that 20% of GDP should be shared among citizens as a *State Bonus* in order to solve the problem of poverty. That was just six years before Clifford H (Major) Douglas introduced the idea of *Social Credit* (which shares the same name with the book) and *National Dividend* in 1924.<sup>7</sup> Until in 1944, an economist George D.H. Cole (1889-1959) proposed the “Social Dividend” in his presentation of J.S. Mill in *History of Socialist Thought* (1953). He stated that,

“Current productive power is, in effect, a joint result of current effort and of the social heritage of inventiveness and skill incorporated in the stage of advancement and education reached in the arts of production; and it has always appeared to me *only right that all the citizens should share in the yield of this common heritage*, and that only the balance of the product after this allocation should be distributed in the form of rewards for, and incentives to, current service in production.”

Cole, 1944

The social dividend had been analyzed by a Nobel Laureate James Meade. He expressed it as partnerships between capitals, labor and a social

dividend; together they offer a solution to the problem of unemployment and poverty.

All of these ideas: Basic Income, State Bonus, Social credit, National Dividend and Social Dividend, share the main concept of the Basic Income in general. After that kick-off period in England the idea has been spread out internationally in the 1980s. However, the idea was just “Basic Income”, which is “universal” at some level, but still not fully developed in the “unconditional” part yet.

***Canada: Mincome***

For a short while in Canada between 1974 and 1979, there was an idea, which was very close to the Universal Basic Income. They started an experiment in a small town, Manitoba. A guaranteed annual income had been offered to every eligible family in Dauphin, Winnipeg and some rural communities throughout the province. However, they could not finish their experiment according to Canada government party changed and the entire fund was just dried up in mid-way.

However, there is still hope for Canada, as a Liberal-dominated committee in Parliament is recommending the federal government to bring back and study the idea. In its 2016 budget, the provincial government of Ontario announced plans to conduct a basic income pilot.

***The United States: Negative Income Tax, Guaranteed minimum income, Demogrant***

Nobel Laureate Milton Friedman proposed the idea of *Negative Income Tax* in his *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962). He suggested that it would integrate the income tax and transfer systems. Two years later, the idea of guaranteed minimum income, raised by Robert Theobald in 1964 takes us closer to one of the main topics we will discuss later in this study “automation.” He once mentioned,

“...automation is rendering work for pay obsolete, and that government handouts are the only way to give the public the means to buy the immense bounty produced by automatons”.

Robert Theobald, 1964

Then in 1967, came the *Demogrant*, an idea which involving an automatic payment to all citizens proposed by James Tobin, Joseph Pechman. The suggested that each household was to be granted a basic credit at a level varying with family composition, which each family could supplement with earnings and other income taxed. The idea was not left theoretically, when it showed up in Nixon's Family Assistance Plan (FAP)<sup>8</sup>. President Nixon publicly presented it, himself, in 1969. The topic did not last long in the country level discussion (it definitively rejected in 1972), and even led to Nixon's resignation in 1974. But that was a strong significant movement of the (resemble) Universal Basic Income.

*North-Western Europe: Citizen's wage, Guaranteed income, Basisinkomen, Partial Basic Income, Citizen's income*

The Universal Basic Income stayed in idleness for decades in European countries. Until it came back again as *Citizen's wage* in 1978 in “Revolt from the Center” by Dane academics: Villy Sørensen, Kristen Helveg Petersen, and Niels I. Meyer. The book was later translated to English in 1981.

However, it was in the Netherlands, where the Universal Basic Income officially came back on the topics (again). That was when Professor J.P. Kuiper from the Free University of Amsterdam raised the question about working and sickness. He pointed out that some people were able to make (or force) themselves to work too much and finally get sick. And there also people who make themselves sick because they were not be able to work or find a job. That is how he saw a contradiction; whether people have “job” or not, people still get sick? There should be something wrong with the relation between labor, employment and income. In 1975, in a conference, he finally

summed up that *Guaranteed income* is a solution and it will enable people to develop independently and autonomously. Two years after Kuiper raised the idea in the Netherlands, “Politieke Partij Radicalen”, a small radical party became the first European political party with parliamentary representation to officially include a UBI (basisinkomen) in its electoral program. In 1985, the Dutch prestigious Scientific Council for Government Policy published a report about the Universal Basic Income both to clarify and introduce the idea of *Partial Basic Income*.

In 1984, the idea was also interested in England. There is a formation of the Basic Income Research Group (BIRG) – which was to become in 1998 the Citizen’s Income Trust.

Just like in Denmark, England and the Netherlands, Germany also had a (another) kick-off for the idea in 1984-1985. There were some small different details in the Universal Basic Income idea in Germany. One of them was adding up of a negative income tax to the idea.

France was a bit late; compared to its neighbors. Several French philosophers have been discussing on the idea such as André Gorz (1923-2007), Yoland Bresson (1942-2014), Alain Caillé and Jean-Marc Ferry. They define the idea differently, however, it is still moving around the main idea of the Universal Basic Income.

#### 4.1.5 Alaska’s dividends

Even in Alaska, which is part of the United States but they are more egalitarian than most of the rest of the United States. In the mid-1970s, their oil mining in Prudhoe Bay, the largest oilfield in North America, seemed to generate too much income for them. They did not just let the opportunity go. They decided to set up a fund called **Alaska Permanent Fund (APF)** to ensure that income they generated will not be gone with the wind one day. Their purpose is not just to keep the income but also to share wealth among Alaskan population. Finally it turned to be the annual payment of a dividend to all Alaskan residents, in proportion to their number of years of residence.

Today, the APF is not just a fund. They also invest in many financial and capital markets such as stocks, bonds, real estate, private equity and etc. At the beginning, it was around \$300 per person per annum. After all these years through the economic boom and recessions, in 2015 the Alaska's oil dividend has reached \$2,072<sup>9</sup> per person per annum.

#### 4.2 What is the Universal basic Income

“An income, unconditionally granted to all  
on an individual basis,  
without mean test or work requirement.”

That could be a short definition of the Universal Basic Income. As spelled out above, the idea has many roots from both historical and in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. From all those mixtures centuries ago, today we have the “Universal Basic Income,” which has three main characteristics: universal, unconditional and individually.

##### 4.2.1 Universal

“...Granted to all...” that is one of the main purposes of the UBI. It needs to be paid to *everyone* in the society. No matter the citizens young, old, rich, poor or any other social status they have; they must earn this income. The idea does not just aim to help children or people in poverty. But it aims to bring equality to our society.

##### 4.2.2 Unconditional

“...Without mean test or work requirement” is the meaning of to be paid *unconditionally*. In the era, which we are looking for equality, this is one of the necessary conditions to bring us to the goal of equality. Though equality is not easily achieved; at least unconditionally is one small step to go there. All fulltime or part-time workers, retired people, domestic workers and those who do not do anything, will be paid at the same amount.

### 4.2.3 Individually

“...On and individual basis...” yes, it must be “strictly” paid to all *individual* with irrespective to household composition. It does not depend on how many people in the family, how many people are sharing the same apartment or marriage status of the individuals; all must receive the UBI. Philippe Van Parijs had once said in his conference in December 2014 that,

“...Isn't it a good thing if people are living together, share a fridge, share a housing, save the heating cost and the rest, in addition to reducing loneliness and so on? Why should we punish people who decided to live together? ... Should we say that, we like you to do that, as a reward we will withdraw a part of your benefit?...”<sup>10</sup>

Van Parijs (2014)

His explanation gives us reasons why it should be strictly paid to all “individual.” That even makes clearer picture if we consider our society today. Marriage status is no more important; it lost its social meaning for long. People are living together with no marriage status; married people are not living together, this is the way most of us are living our lives today. Thus, paying the income based on the number of the family members or their marriage status is almost impossible to do so.

This is only a short explanation for the characteristics of the Universal Basic Income. So far, we have a big picture of the idea, where it comes from, how is it today and some might see the trend of the idea. Later in this study, the idea will be analyzed in details to see how this socialist idea from the 16<sup>th</sup> century is possibly able to free human and society in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### 4.3 Recent status of the Universal Basic Income

The idea attracts people globally and more so as of late. In the second half of 2015 to the beginning of 2016, the Universal Basic Income is always one of the topics in political and economic agendas. Many philosophers and thinkers in many fields of study try to merge their expertise to the idea. Consequently, the idea has been studied in many

ways and much deeper in detail. It is almost impossible to list all of the study regarding the Universal Basic Income in this paper. As aforementioned earlier, three main focuses in this study are the Left-libertarianism, Autonomism and Accelerationism.

The Left-libertarianism is mainly focusing on the meanings of “Freedom” and “Exploitation.” First, the meaning of freedom, Philippe Van Parijs has described several meaning of freedom in his “Real freedom for all: What if anything can justify capitalism?” He gives the meaning of “Real Freedom” and explained it in detail how the Universal Basic Income can possibly give people the real freedom. That is a point he stands for. Another topic he tries to explain economically is “Exploitation.” This familiar word, which has always been mentioned in the left, has been analyzed and explained again in a view of a left-libertarian.

Van Parijs, he is also one of the Collectif Charles Fourier,<sup>11</sup> the founders of the BIEN (Basic Income European Network, later became Basic Income Earth Network) in 1983. They set up many meeting to gather people who had an idea of the Universal Basic Income. Obviously, there were too many people interested in the idea, the meetings they set up later become a European network and eventually become an “Earth” network. Since 1988, the BIEN has published three newsletters a year and arrange regular meetings around the globe. Since 1996, as technology gets in everyone’s life, BIEN maintains its substantial website to be an information hub for the Universal Basic Income.

The Autonomists also make their movements on the Universal Basic Income. Whereas freedom and rights of labors are the main purpose of the autonomists, thus their study is based on capital, production, exploitation, values of the immaterial, and of course, freedom. In Hardt and Negri’s “Commonwealth,” they have linked the idea of the Universal Basic Income to the idea of “common,” which should be brought back to our society. Besides, there are also explanations on the struggles of capitalism and neoliberal and how the Universal Basic Income can possibly solve those problems. Another main interesting topic mentioned is “bio-politic.” They also nicely explain the linkage among capitalism, production, labors, bio-politic, and the Universal Basic Income. That even makes more sense for the idea to be applied in the economy.

The last but not least school of thinking under consideration, accelerationists, they are ones of those people who make the idea becomes more popular today. With the best mixture of the past and the future, Nick Srnicek and Alex Williams wrote one of the best UBI-Accelerationism books – “Inventing the Future: Postcapitalism and a World Without Work.”

In the last two decades, technology has gone too far as rapidly. Some people have been worried about the automation taking over jobs from human. There are many ideas and solutions offered to prevent humanity from unemployment. But not for Srnicek and Williams, they propose that automation is the future of humanity not an obstacle. Instead of fighting for a job between human and automation, they propose that this is a good opportunity to free human from production sector.

It had been decades that the economy aims to the goal of full employment. That makes unemployment seem terrible and unacceptable. Thereby, when the idea of putting automation instead of human in the production line comes up, obviously, some human force will be laid off and finally the unemployment rate will rise. From the old perspective, this situation is not good for the economy and it will later cause more problems when people do not have jobs to do, money to earn. What if we just leave it in the past and move on with the automation? What if we can leave the production line on the robots and let humanity enjoy their lives with the Universal Basic Income? That is the point where the accelerationists stand for the Universal Basic Income.

#### **4.4 Implementation of the Universal Basic Income**

##### **4.4.1 Finland**

In 2015, Kela<sup>12</sup> set up working group of researchers in exploring an experimental study focusing on the implementation of a universal basic income scheme. The purpose of the experiment is to find ways to reshape the social security system in response to changes in the labor market. The experiment will also explore how to make the system more empowering and more effective in terms of providing incentives for work. Further objectives include the reduction of bureaucracy and the streamlining the complicated system for providing welfare benefits. The government will carry out the

experiment in 2017 and 2018, propose a tax-free monthly wage of 550 EUR, involve up to 10,000 adults of working age, and will evaluate the results in 2019.

#### 4.4.2 The Netherlands

In 2015, the municipalities of Utrecht, Tilburg, Groningen and Wageningen wanted to set up the UBI experiments around social security payments. Persons entitled to this assistance may also reserve their extra earnings. Tilburg, Utrecht, Groningen and Wageningen want to examine whether this group will become more active than others with the current, strict regime. The program is expected to start its experiment by January 2017.

However, since July 2015 till now, Frans Kerver is the only Dutch man receiving the UBI from the Dutch organization MIES (translation: Society for Innovations in Economics and Community). He receives around 1,100 USD a month on top of his normal income.

#### 4.4.3 Canada

After the Minitoba's Mincome, Ontario ministry of Finance has set up a project for the Basic Income pilot for its 2016 budget. The project aims test if a basic income could build on the success of minimum wage policies and increase in child benefits by providing more consistent and predictable support in the context of today's dynamic labor market. The research will be done by the government, communities, researchers and other stakeholders in 2016 to decide how the UBI pilot experiment would be.

#### 4.4.4 Switzerland

The Swiss referendum of the UBI in June 2016 was one of the significant movements on the UBI. The result showed that 76.9 percent of voters opposed the idea of offering 2,500 SFr for adults and 625 SFr for children with no conditions. Even the referendum failed but it does matter. It sparked the conversations all over the world. It grows an awareness of the idea.

Governments and policy makers are now having the UBI crossing their minds.

#### 4.4.5 France

MFRB (French: Mouvement Français pour un Revenu de Base, English: The French movement for a Basic Income) has played its prominent role in France. The idea of the UBI is constantly an agenda in many public conversations at any level from the street<sup>13</sup> all the way to the parliament. In June 2016, the French Senate rejected a motion calling on the government to introduce basic income, but it still decided to form a parliamentary commission aiming at investigating the idea. Most of them admitted that basic income was an interesting issue that needed to be explored in more of its details, potentially with the funding of feasibility studies and pilot-projects. Some were more cautious, fearing that basic income would discourage people to work and would promote laziness. Just like a Swiss referendum, even it failed; it brought the idea to reach a milestone in the public debate.

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## Notes

- [1] More, Thomas., *Utopia*, (1st Latin ed., Louvain, 1516); English translation by Paul Turner, Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, (1963).

The book was firstly published in Latin in 1516, later translated and published in English in 1551. The book is a frame narrative representing an island society and its religious, social and political customs.

- [2] Vives, Juan Luis., *De Subventione Pauperum, Sive de humanis necessitatibus*, (1526); English translation of part II only by Tobriner, Alice., *On the Assistance to the Poor*, Toronto & London: University of Toronto Press (“Renaissance Society of America Reprints”), (1998).

- [3] In 1525, the Dutch city of Bruges requested to address the issue of relief for the poor. He set out his views in his essay *De Subventione Pauperum Sive de Humanis Necessitatibus (On Assistance To The Poor)*. He argued that the state had a responsibility to provide some level of financial relief for the poor. The city of Bruges did not implement Vives's suggestions until 1557, but his proposals influenced social relief legislation enacted in England and the German Empire during the 1530s.

- [4] Condorcet took a leading role in the French Revolution. In 1791 he was elected as a Paris representative in the Assemblée, and then became the secretary of the Assembly. The warrant forced him into hiding. On 25 March 1794 Condorcet was convinced that he was no longer safe. He left his hideout and attempted to flee Paris. Two days later he was arrested in Clamart and imprisoned in Bourg-la-Reine (or, as it was known during the Revolution, “*Bourg-l'Égalité*: Equality Borough”) Two days after that, he was found dead in his cell.

- [5] History of Basic Income., Website: <http://www.basicincome.org/basic-income/history/>

- [6] The idea came up right after the WW1, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1918, when the society cried for equality and freedom. There were many social and economic problems in British society at that time.
- [7] Before publishing “Social credit” in 1924, between 1916 and 1920, C. H. Douglas developed his economic ideas, publishing two books in 1920, “Economic Democracy” and “Credit-Power and Democracy”.
- [8] Family Assistance Plan (FAP), an ambitious social welfare program prepared by the democrat senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1927-2003) on behalf of Republican President Richard Nixon’s administration. The FAP provided for the abolition of the aid program targeting poor families (Aid to Families with Dependent Children: AFDC) and incorporated a guaranteed income with financial supplements for workers.
- [9] Table 4.1 Alaska Permanent Fund Annual dividend payouts

		1990	\$952.63	2000	\$1,963.86	2010	\$1,281.00
		1991	\$931.34	2001	\$1,850.28	2011	\$1,174.00
1982	\$1,000.00	1992	\$915.84	2002	\$1,540.76	2012	\$878.00
1983	\$386.15	1993	\$949.46	2003	\$1,107.56	2013	\$900.00
1984	\$331.29	1994	\$983.90	2004	\$919.84	2014	\$1,884.00
1985	\$404.00	1995	\$990.30	2005	\$845.76	2015	\$2072.00
1986	\$556.26	1996	\$1,130.68	2006	\$1,106.96		
1987	\$708.19	1997	\$1,296.54	2007	\$1,654.00		
1988	\$826.93	1998	\$1,540.88	2008	\$2,069.00		
1989	\$873.16	1999	\$1,769.84	2009	\$1,305.00		

Source: <http://www.apfc.org/home/Content/dividend/dividendamounts.cfm>

- [10] Van Parijs, Philippe. Full Circle: Philippe Van Parijs on Basic Income, Website: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Aw4QSOUNH8g&list=RDSVQz6xGCTKM&index=8>
- [11] In the autumn of 1983, three young researchers decided to set up a working group in order to explore the implications of an extremely simple, unusual

but attractive idea which one of them had proposed to call, in a paper circulated a few months earlier, “L’allocation universelle”. There were Paul-Marie Boulanger, Philippe Defeyt and Philippe Van Parijs, students from the departments of demography, economics and philosophy, respectively, of the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium. Later, the group is known as the *Collectif Charles Fourier*.

- [12] Kela (Finnish: Kansaneläkelaitos), the Social Insurance Institution (ISS), is a Finnish government agency in charge of settling benefits under national social security programs. Their role is to handle retirement pay and other fields like child benefits, unemployment benefits, sickness benefits, health insurance and student benefits.
- [13] March 2016, two dozens of MFRB members from all over France have met on the Place de la République to take part on the first day of the convergence of struggles. The atmosphere was rather cordial. Questions and answers were exchanged with passers-by all day long. A conference was held with the MFRB, the Réseau Salarial network and the Economist and basic income supporter Baptiste Mylondo.

Workshops, co-facilitated by members of the MFRB and the network Réseau salariat, have enabled hundreds of people to discuss the basic income, living wage and on matters related to work as well as education, equal opportunities, free time, and many other topics. By late afternoon, a debate enabled participants to better understand these topics.

*<http://www.basicincome.org/news/2016/05/nuit-debout-france-basic-income-awakening/>*