

Conditionality at a cross-roads: Exploring public attitudes to universal (unconditional) basic income and in-work conditionality

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Overview

- What is conditionality?
- At a cross-roads?
- Attitudes to welfare & conditionality
- Hypotheses
- Data and methods
- Results
 - Overall support
 - Where does support come from?
 - Multivariate regressions
- Reflections



Conceptualising welfare conditionality

 Conditionality in welfare restricts or guarantees social rights (Dwyer 2004; Clasen & Clegg 2007)

LEVEL: <u>Category</u> (e.g. unemployed) LEVER: Definition (socially defined)

LEVEL: **Circumstance** (e.g. low income)

LEVER: Eligibility and entitlement criteria (means-test)

LEVEL: **Conduct** (e.g. searching for work)

LEVER: Behavioural requirements and penalties for non-

compliance





Conditionality at a cross-roads

- Long history of conditionality in UK but "punitive turn" from 2012 –
 sanctions regime especially for unemployed (Fletcher and Wright, 2018)
- Two "new"/ divergent pathways for conditionality

1. Universal Basic Income (Unconditional)

- no conduct or circumstance conditions, very broad category (e.g. citizens)

2. Universal Credit (In-work conditionality)

- Extends conduct conditionality to working recipients not meeting DWP's earning threshold
- Requirements to try to increase income by attending appointments, take part in training, apply for additional work etc.





Attitudes to conditionality in the UK

 High support for conduct conditionality for unemployed recipients (BSA 2011; Buss et al. 2018)

Which of the statements on this card comes closest to what you think should happen to unemployed people's benefits if they do not visit the job centre regularly and prove they are actively looking for work?

Val	lues Categories		N	
1	Their benefits should no	t be affected 1	.92	5.8%
2	Their benefits should be	reduced a little 10	13	30.6%
3	Their benefits should be	reduced a lot 7	782	23.6%
4	Their benefits should be	stopped 12	94	39.1%
8	Don't know		28 0).8%
9	Refusal		2 0.	0.1%

- Different attitudes towards welfare for "deserving" and "undeserving" groups (Van Oorschot 2006)
- Welfare attitudes driven by material interests (e.g. Rehm 2016)
- Values & political ideology equally if not more important authoritarianism? (Hausermann & Kriesi, 2015)



Hypotheses



H1: Support for benefits with in-work conditionality will be higher than support for universal (unconditional) basic income

H2: Attitudes to conditionality will be related to material interests

H3: Attitudes to conditionality will be related to values and political ideology

H4: Values will be a stronger determinant of attitudes to conditionality than material interests



Data & methods



- Cross sectional IPSOS-Mori IPR poll conducted in August 2017
- Representative sample of 1,111 adults aged 18-75 in the UK

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

- Universal basic income
- In-work conditionality (x4)

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Material interests:

Household income, benefit receipt, employment status, gender, children

Values:

Political party choice (2017), age, attitude to unemployment benefit conditionality and education



Items



As you may be aware, some countries are considering introducing a basic income.

If introduced in the United Kingdom, this would provide a regular income paid in cash to every individual adult in the UK, regardless of their working status and income from other sources.

In other words, it would be:

- Universal (i.e. paid to all),
- Unconditional (i.e. paid without a requirement to work); and
- Paid to individuals (rather than to a household)

Assuming the level would be set roughly at the amount the UK government judged to be necessary to cover basic needs, e.g. food and clothing (but not housing costs), to what extent would you support or oppose the UK Government introducing a basic income in general?

Imagine now a working adult on low wages who is receiving tax credits from the UK Government to top up their wages.

Do you feel it would be acceptable or not for the UK Government to reduce the payments that person receives in each of the following situations?

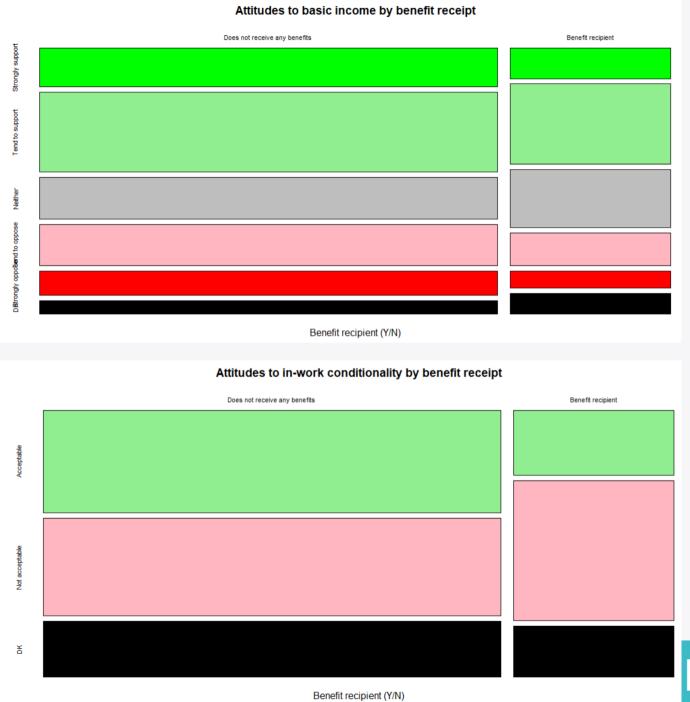
- ...If they received an offer to work more hours to increase their income, but did not take this work on
- ... If they received an offer of a better paid job, but did not take this work on
- ...If they had not been actively looking for a better paid job
- ...If they had not been actively looking to increase the hours that they work to increase their income



Overall support



		Support (%)	Oppose (%)	Net (%)	Neither (%)	Don't Know (%)
Basic income						
	in general?	49	26	+23	19	6
In-	work conditionality					
	refused offer of more hours	50	33	+17	-	18
	refused offer of more pay	54	29	+25	-	17
	no active search for more					
	hours	36	42	-6	-	21
	no active search for more pay	36	45	-9	-	19
Unemployment benefit						
conditionality						
	1-5 v. 6-10	64	33	+31	-	4
	1-4 v. 7-10 (5-6)	51	24	+27	22	4



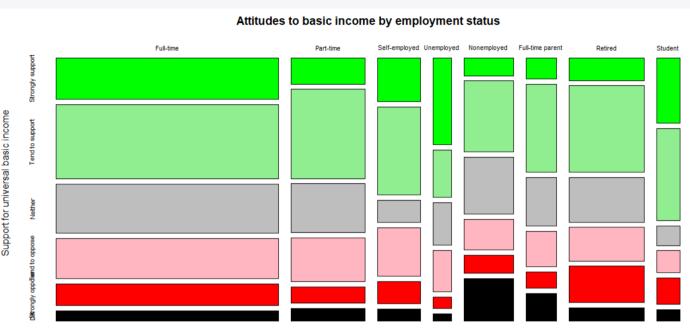
Support for universal basic income

Support for in-work conditionality



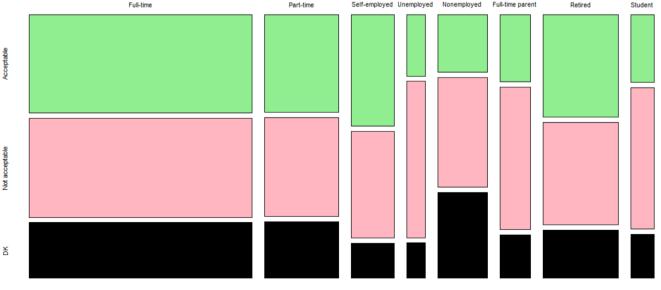
Benefit receipt







Attitudes to in-work conditionality by employment status



Support for in-work conditionality

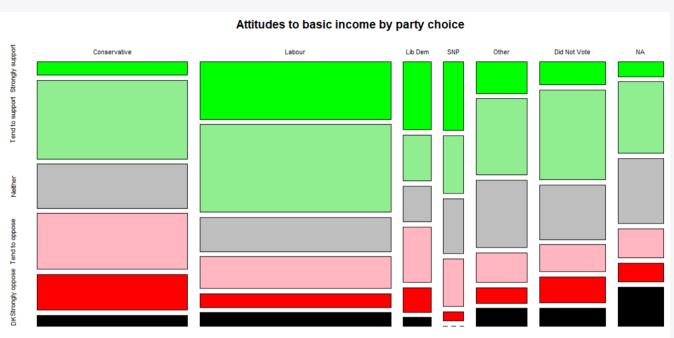
Employment status



Employment status







Support for universal basic income

Support for in-work conditionality

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Attitudes to in-work conditionality by party choice Conservative Labour Lib Dem SNP Other Did Not Vote NA Did Not Vote NA

Party choice at 2017 Election



Party choice



ORDINAL REGRESSION MODEL	ATTITUDE TO UNIVERSAL BASIC INCOME [RELATIVE RISK RATIOS] ***p<0.01; **p<0.05; *p<0.1
INCOME	1.004 (0.031)
EMPLOYMENT STATUS (REF: FULL-TIME)	PART-TIME 0.977 (0.179); SELF-EMPLOYED 0.988 (0.221); UNEMPLOYED 1.027 (0.328); NON-EMPLOYED 1.177 (0.23); FULL-TIME PARENT 0.906 (0.272); RETIRED 0.876 (0.209); STUDENT 0.711 (0.282)
BENEFIT RECEIPT (REF: NO)	1.099 (0.156)
GENDER (REF: MALE)	1.204 (0.116)
FAMILY TYPE (REF: NO CHILDREN)	0.981 (0.152)
AGE	1.008 (0.005)
PARTY CHOICE (REF: CONSERVATIVE)	LABOUR 0.42*** (0.148) ; LIB DEM 0.645* (0.263); SNP 0.361*** (0.339) ; OTHER 0.607** (0.209) ; DID NOT VOTE 0.808 (0.196); N/A 0.636* (0.236)
EDUCATION (REF: NVQ1-2/GCSE)	NVQ3/A-LEVEL 1.23 (0.157); NVQ4/HIGHER 0.975 (0.139)
UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT CONDITIONALITY (SUPPORT)	0.882*** (0.022)



MULTINOMIAL REGRESSION MODEL (DON'T KNOW OUTCOME NOT DISPLAYED)	ATTITUDE TO IN-WORK CONDITIONALITY [RELATIVE RISK RATIOS] ***p<0.01; **p<0.05; *p<0.1
INCOME	0.955 (0.043)
EMPLOYMENT STATUS (REF: FULL-TIME)	PART-TIME 0.842 (0.249); SELF-EMPLOYED 0.793 (0.221); UNEMPLOYED 1.355 (0.45); NON-EMPLOYED 1.457 (0.335); FULL-TIME PARENT 2.13* (0.387); RETIRED 1.385 (0.28); STUDENT 1.611 (0.377)
BENEFIT RECEIPT (REF: NO)	1.194 (0.216)
GENDER (REF: MALE)	0.925 (0.158)
FAMILY TYPE (REF: NO CHILDREN)	2.233*** (0.207)
AGE	0.999 (0.007)
PARTY CHOICE (REF: CONSERVATIVE)	LABOUR 2.344*** (0.198); LIB DEM 1.989** (0.327); SNP 3.759*** (0.481); OTHER 1.631* (0.286); DID NOT VOTE 2.133*** (0.274); N/A 1.647 (0.35)
EDUCATION (REF: NVQ1-2/GCSE)	NVQ3/A-LEVEL 1.156 (0.217); NVQ4/HIGHER 1.063 (0.191)
UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT CONDITIONALITY (SUPPORT)	1.32*** (0.031)



Reflections



- Future of conditionality in the UK
 - Opposition to IWC
 - Support for UBI (cautious)
- Other policy features matter
 - Target group
 - Level and funding
- Political ideology and value-driven attitudes to conditionality
 - But parents' opposition to IWC striking
- Attitudes are not fixed battle of ideas (or framing)?

References



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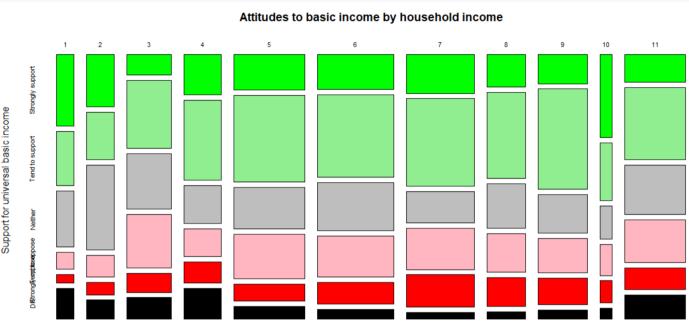




Thank you!

Feedback, comments, suggestions, questions welcome!







Attitudes to in-work conditionality by household income

Annual household income

Support for in-work conditionality



Results: Household income

