

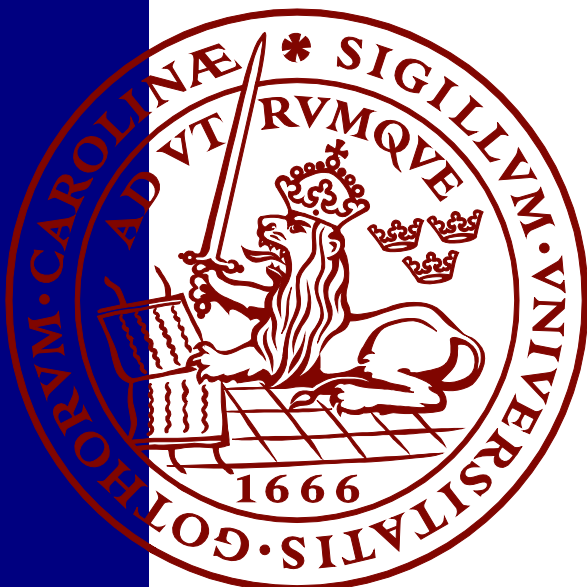
Can Universal Basic Income be a Sustainable Welfare instrument?

A systematic literature review analysing implementations in eight countries and perceptions of Universal Basic Income since 2015

Sophia Roller

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Lund University
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Abstract

The current climate crisis together with growing global inequality requires a transformation of the economic systems. Sustainable Welfare is an emerging concept in which the welfare system seeks to meet everyone's basic needs while staying within the planetary boundaries and decoupling the welfare-growth nexus. In this context, Universal Basic Income (UBI) is seen as one approach to support Sustainable Welfare. My study contributes to the debate by a systematic literature review of recent UBI research asking what the major claims, barriers and profiteers are and what influences the purpose and outcomes of implementation trials. The findings are that while UBI is seen as a tool that has the potential to support Sustainable Welfare its actual implementation is highly dependent on the economic constitution and the actors implementing it.

Keywords: planetary boundaries, global inequality, fair distribution, social security, economic systems, needs satisfaction

Word count: 11.566

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Abbreviations

UBI	Universal Basic Income
NIT	Negative income Tax
FAP	Family Assistance Plan
ESS	European Social Survey
PFD	Alaska Permanent Fund

1 Introduction

The current climate crisis and social issues like inequality constitute an urgent need for rebuilding an economic system that acknowledges planetary boundaries as what they are (Rockström et al., 2009; Steffen et al., 2015). Further, the transition to such an economic system would only succeed with a welfare system that satisfies human needs as people will have to adapt to such changes (Doyal & Gough, 1984; Max-Neef et al., 1994). According to an OECD report, GDP inequality - measured with the Gini coefficient – has decreased in the years between 1995 and 2013 comparing all 281 OECD regions with one another (Arnold & Blöchliger, 2016). Despite that, the opposite picture emerges when looking at the country-specific Gini coefficients. The level of inequality within a country has increased in most countries. During that time of globalisation, the economies have changed drastically. According to Tridico, three major shifts have led to the increase in financial inequality: The financing of economies, the adaptation of the labour market and the reduced public social spending (Tridico, 2018). Standing (2019) calls the current global economy 'rentier capitalism', where "economic returns to property (physical, financial and intellectual) have increased drastically while returns to labour have dropped" (Standing, 2019, p.12). The underlying cause is seen by some critics as the perpetual pursuit of economic growth. In recent years, this has given rise to a movement that advocates a post-growth/de-growth economy.

Sustainability is about balancing the needs of society and the environment (Keeble, 1988). One of the tools that has been introduced to envision just sustainable futures is Universal Basic Income (UBI) (MacNeill & Vibert, 2019). It is defined as a periodic cash payment to everyone, meaning there is no need for the recipients to fulfil any requirements (Network, 2021). I will introduce more characteristics of UBI and its development over the past century and the role of implementations in the second chapter. While UBI is not a newly invented phenomenon, the debate about it has experienced an awakening in the past decade and has been part of mainstream media ever since (Widerquist, 2019). Thus, there is a need to critically analyse the ways this tool is used to balance the needs of different segments of society and how it can be improved towards a sustainable future.

Recently, it has been discussed as a tool for Sustainable Welfare (Büchs, 2021a). Sustainable Welfare is a newly emerging concept representing an interdisciplinary research field intending to develop eco-social policies (Bohnenberger, 2020). Büchs (2021a) established four criteria that have to be fulfilled for Sustainable Welfare, namely *Fair Distribution*, *Needs Satisfaction*, *Democratic Governance* and

Compatibility with Planetary Boundaries. The framework of Sustainable Welfare, shown in Figure 1, will serve as the theoretical entry point for my analysis.

By examining how recent academic literature has perceived UBI in recent years I will acquire conceivable implications for UBI's potential of being a tool for Sustainable Welfare. I will further analyse the main claims, major challenges and how implementations are discussed in the literature. Thereby, I will analyse potential gaps between claims and implementations of UBI in the context of the Sustainable Welfare framework. Thus, my work contributes to sustainability science as it analyses the potential of economic policies for balancing environmental and societal challenges (Spangenberg, 2011).

The main RQ 1 reads as follows:

What are the challenges for UBI to be a Sustainable Welfare instrument?

The consequent sub-RQ will be as follows:

RQ 1.1 What are the major claims? What segments of society are benefitting from UBI?;

RQ 1.2 What are the major challenges?;

RQ 1.3 What are the different implementations and the promises of those alternative principles?

By comparing claims and challenges surrounding the topic of UBI and comparing them with different implementations I will create a base for further discussion of potential new areas of activity of UBI and bring clarity to controversial viewpoints.

2 Background

2.1 Characteristics of UBI

In 1986 the Basic Income European Network (BIEN) was founded representing a link between everyone interested in Basic Income. Through organised events, BIEN started to encourage informed discussions around the world (Network, 2021). Since 2006 BIEN became the Basic Income Earth Network and its definition is also the one found in most of the literature, it reads “Basic income is a periodic cash payment unconditionally delivered to all on an individual basis, without means test or work requirement”.

However, the level of this cash payment is not defined (Birnbaum, 2016). Thus, it is more seen as a foundation to which more different forms of income can be added. This ambiguously defined scope leaves room for interpretation and is reflected by the many different forms of proposal and trials, to which I will refer back later. Different ideologies and economic preconditions can impact details in the proposal itself and accompanying measures which further affect its notion compared to traditional safety nets. Some others argue that for UBI to be ethically justifiable, it should be high enough to satisfy basic needs (Wright, 2010) or enable a “modest but decent standard of life” (Pateman, 2003, p. 15). In other words, the first characteristic is basic, which is not explicitly defined but rather is a base on which to build on. Second, it is unconditional, since it does not require any contribution to receive it, and third, it is universal, since it is available to all (Wright, 2010).

In the debate on universal basic income, two positions have emerged that differ fundamentally on one point: one view is that universal basic income strengthens the social safety net by providing support to underprivileged individuals, thus representing a part of the welfare state's foundation. The UBI has, however, been proposed as an alternative to the welfare state in some proposals (Birnbaum, 2016). Thus, we can see how UBI is being discussed by people with differing worldviews and ideas, which, ideally, could be developed into a common framework for the same type of basic income (De Wispelaere, 2016).

2.2 History and development of UBI over the years

Similar ideas about UBI can even be traced back to ancient Greece (Widerquist, 2019). However, the first developed proposals emerged in the 1790s. At that time, society was driven by different concerns than it is today, for which two writers had a proposed remedy. Thomas Paine (1797) acquired attention through the publication of the pamphlet *Agrarian Justice*. Therein, he addressed the predicaments that have arisen as a result of the private ownership of land. It took away the right to hunt, fish, and farm

for those not owning land. His proposal envisaged the compensation of the disadvantaged people with cash payments out of taxes on land rates. This was already close to the modern understanding of UBI, however, Spencer (2000) consummated it. He built on Paine's pamphlet proposing higher taxes on land and a regular, unconditional cash income (Widerquist, 2019). Since then, the idea was given many different names like "guaranteed minimum," "state bonus," "social dividend," "demogrant," or "citizen's income" (Cunliffe & Erreygers, 2019; Vanderborght & Van Parijs, 2005). The discussions never fully evolved until the early twentieth century (Widerquist, 2019). Since then, there have been "three distinct waves of support" according to Widerquist (2019) which I will present in the following paragraphs.

The *first wave* unfolded in the period of the 1930s – 1940s, with early important contributions to the Basic Income discussions, especially in Britain, then mostly referred to as the 'social dividend' (Van Parijs, 2017). After the Second World War, many western welfare states developed conditional programs that were specifically targeted at those in need (Widerquist, 2019). These groups included elderly people, disabled people, single mothers and fathers, unemployed people, and others. At that time, its main objective was to restimulate the national labour market towards full employment. After 20 years of very little political discussion around Basic Income, it experienced its first breakthrough in North America (Birnbaum, 2016). Now the foe was poverty and the answer was called Negative Income Tax (NIT). However, although UBI and NIT are both unconditional NIT cannot be called universal as the refundable tax credit is targeted towards low-income groups. Nevertheless, the similarity of the two systems cannot be denied either as the NIT was designed to provide people with regular cash payments. Through prominent support from e.g., Martin Luther King Jr. NIT became part of Nixon's Family Assistance Plan (FAP) in 1969 and also George McGovern's presidential campaign in 1972, but none of these were implemented. At least three different groups can be named, which supported this idea in the 1960s: Welfare rights activists, futurists and economists (Widerquist, 2019). Welfare rights activists' main concern was to change inadequate and often degrading conditional systems into more equitable ones. Futurists, however, aspired to protect employees from the computer revolution, which was supposed to cause redundancies. Economists conversely saw NIT as a better alternative for poverty alleviation as opposed to conditional programmes (Friedman, 2013; Tobin, 1968; Van Parijs, 2017).

The *second wave* took place mainly in the USA and Canada, which ultimately conducted the first trials, which I will come back to later. The debate on UBI and the role of a welfare state were set back in the early 1980s by the politicians Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher (Widerquist, 2019). By framing people who benefited from the welfare state as frauds the discussion shifted away from strengthening

and expanding the welfare state to cutting benefits. After that, the debate around UBI disappeared from the mainstream political discussion.

The *third wave* took off between 2011 to 2016 and is still ongoing. In general, the debate had gained more global attention and different supporting groups appeared in various countries around the globe. In Germany, politicians from different spectrums publically promoted Basic Income proposals (Widerquist, 2019). This public debate inspired activism which further led to the first Basic Income week event being organised by UBI networks from Germany, Switzerland and Austria in 2008 (*International Basic Income Week*, 2019). Fanned by the financial crisis and the Great Recession activists' voices became louder (Widerquist, 2019). Additionally, public attention to poverty, unemployment and inequality led to an increased number of UBI supporters driven by a variety of reasons. As in the second wave, advocates see the world of work in jeopardy. Whereas then it was the computer revolution, now, many see automation and the unstable labour market as the greatest challenge (Bregman, 2017; Hughes, 2018; Yang, 2018). However, a new group of advocates has also joined the debate for the first time, namely environmentalists. On the one hand, two proposed strategies for combating climate change are tax-and-dividend and cap-and-dividend. Both set a price on carbon emissions and share the revenue between people (Widerquist, 2019). Additionally, the two environmental groups 'Degrowth' and 'Leap Manifesto' in Canada view UBI as a tool against overconsumption and more conscious usage of resources (Blaschke & Killing-stringer, 2016; Hornborg, 2017).

2.3 Implementations

As current implementations will be covered in my analysis I will give a brief overview of the development of trials here. According to Standing (2021a), pilots can be useful for the debate on UBI. Using his words it helps to deal with the "low-hanging fruit objections" of UBI such as people becoming lazy or spending the money solely on luxury goods (Standing, 2021, p. 2). Moreover, it proves to be beneficial for non-monetary reasons, such as health and wellbeing. Additionally, it can help to adapt UBI policies to specific environments in different countries. During the second wave of UBI support between 1968 and 1980, Canada and the USA both started the implementation trials of NIT (Birnbaum, 2016; Widerquist, 2019). Initial results showed that employees' work efforts would not decrease as had been alleged by some critics. Yet, some denounced the reduction in working hours, which could be justified by parents spending more time with their children among other things (Munnell, 1987). However, after the setback in the 1980s, both countries stopped these trials which also entailed analysing the data. With the BIEN event in South Africa in 2006 three different trials in Namibia, Brazil

and India were introduced (Widerquist, 2019) which marked the beginning of the contemporary, more international phase of trials. Other countries, in which pilots have already taken place or are still taking place are Alaska, Finland, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, Iran, Kenya, China, Macao and Japan (Samuel, 2020). Amid the pandemic in 2021, a pilot project started in Germany (E.V. & Busch, 2020). To determine whether this project fulfils the three conditions of a UBI policy, it was split up into three separate studies. First, there must be positive individual and collective effects. Second, it has to be financially feasible; and third, it should not reduce the incentive to paid employment. In 2021, the first study was started called *Basic Income on top of your monthly income* and it will last until 2024. In 2022, the *Minimum income study* will be launched and in 2023 the third study called *Unconditional Basic Income with simulated taxation* will follow. Due to the recent start date and the resulting lack of data, this study could not be part of the analysis but will be valuable for future research.

3 Theoretical entry points

In this section, I am going to introduce the theoretical approach to UBI. Different theoretical elements of UBI will be introduced and put into context for the use of this paper. Therein, I will discuss the importance of social security and the resulting role of a sustainable welfare state.

3.1 Sustainable Welfare

As my study analyses the current framing of the specific policy of the UBI, it requires a theory whose comprehensive basis allows this specific analysis. After the proposal of Raworth (2017) to combine the planetary boundaries framework with theories of human needs, Sustainable Welfare is an emerging concept representing just that. Thereby, welfare and wellbeing are being redefined by a change to an ecological perspective where the focus lies on human needs and planetary boundaries (Kirby, 2018; Mulligan, 2019).

Sustainable Welfare has its genesis in the 1970s and “continues the ‘green’ criticism of welfare states” from that time (Hirvilammi & Koch, 2020, p. 2). Since then, research on interrelations of social policy, welfare states and environmental topics have been rising. There are three factors, the ‘green’ criticism of current welfare states emphasizes most: “the status of economic growth as an unquestionable ‘meta-ideology’, the heavy dependence on employment, and the centralization of control over individuals and communities by and in the national state” (Fitzpatrick & Cahill, 2002; Hirvilammi & Koch, 2020, p. 2). In contrast to that critiques suggest welfare systems be seen as included in ecosystems while also respecting the biosphere’s capacity to regenerate. Resulting from that there have been several similar research publications on the integration of social and ecological factors called ecosocial welfare, sustainable welfare, eco-social state, ecosocial policy, and sustainable wellbeing (Hirvilammi & Koch, 2020). Despite the differences in these approaches, they are joined by the common aspiration of developing welfare systems and policies that are conscious of the environmental crisis and respect the limits to growth. The way social policies are implemented and combined with welfare benefits provided by the state, the impacts on the environment can differ greatly (Bohnenberger, 2020).

Büchs (2021a) analysed recent literature on Sustainable Welfare and identified that post-growth positions are often supported. Thereby post-growth is seen as a generic term including various growth-critical approaches such as steady-state economics, post-growth, degrowth, a-growth, doughnut economics, and wellbeing economics (Büchs, 2021a). This occurring growth criticism is highly relevant for welfare states as current welfare systems in western countries and growth-based economies are

tightly coupled and codependent on one another (Büchs, 2021a). On the one hand, funding welfare states depend on economic growth (Bailey, 2015) and on the other hand welfare states contribute to economic growth and thus serve as both economic and social constants (Büchs, 2021b). Sustainable Welfare implies the decoupling of these codependencies as the financing part of welfare states would be independent of economic growth. The creation of welfare systems would be independent of it as well as they are not only designed to generate macroeconomic growth (Büchs, 2021a). One characteristic of Sustainable Welfare is its recognition of the long-term implications of current production and consumption behaviours (Hirvilampi & Koch, 2020). Thus, questions arise about whose welfare should be represented in current welfare societies. Following the definition of sustainability from the United Nations Brundtland Commission in 1987 as meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Keeble, 1988), the present welfare provision has to take into account that current welfare demand must not deprive future generations capacity to achieve its welfare needs (Brandstedt & Emmelin, 2016).

Büchs (2021a) developed four criteria of Sustainable Welfare, drawn from the Doughnut Economics framework and literature on human needs, which are displayed in Figure 1. According to her, these four criteria represent essential principles of Sustainable Welfare. In this study, I am analysing how academic literature views UBI, what different forms of implementations occurred in the past years and further examine what that implies for UBI’s potential as a tool for Sustainable Welfare.

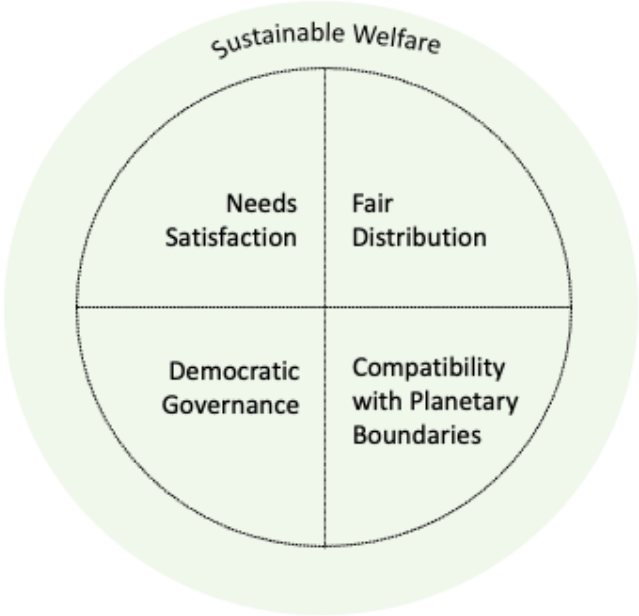


Figure 1. Sustainable Welfare framework
The figure shows the four criteria of Sustainable Welfare developed by Büchs (2021a).

1. Compatibility with planetary boundaries

There have been identified nine planetary boundaries by Rockström et al., (2009) and Steffen et al., (2015), namely climate change, novel entities, stratospheric ozone depletion, atmospheric aerosol loading, ocean acidification, biochemical flows, freshwater use, land-system change and biosphere integrity. In climate change, biosphere integrity, land system change and biochemical flows the zones of uncertainty implying increased risk have already been reached, solely due to human activity. Biosphere diversity and climate change have been declared as 'core' boundaries meaning transformative changes inside them could lead to a decreased "safe operating space" that humanity needs to thrive (Steffen et al., 2015, p. 2). This first criteria thus implies that the outcome of welfare policies has to stay within the planetary boundaries (Büchs, 2021a).

2. Need satisfaction

In Sustainable Welfare, the institutions should contribute to human basic needs. Büchs (2021a) describes human needs as being universal and objective on an abstract level. In her article, she follows the framework of Doyal & Gough (1984) where the two main human needs are health and the autonomy of agency or freedom. Depending on culture those basic needs can be supplemented with food, water, housing, education, and safety which are further linked to access to sufficient energy supply (Büchs, 2021a).

3. Fair distribution

To achieve fair distribution the welfare system has to evenly allocate resources and opportunities as well as the costs and benefits of social and environmental policies (Büchs, 2021a). The goal of a fair distribution is that everyone in society should have the same chance for unimpaired social participation (Doyal & Gough, 1984). This criterion is especially important in post-growth economies as it is a fundamental condition for social functioning and stability (Daly & Farley, 2011).

4. Democratic governance

This criterion is about the process that precedes the implementation. It asks whether the welfare policy is designed, adapted and changed through a democratic process (Büchs, 2021a). It is also linked to the human needs criterion. To avoid a top-down declaration of what these needs are, people have to have the chance to give their opinion and raise their voices.

In addition to UBI, there are other tools considered Sustainable Welfare benefits. Table 1 shows these assorted Sustainable Welfare benefits that have so far been discussed in the literature (Bohnenberger,

2020; S. S.-Y. Lee et al., 2020). The three typologies under which the various benefits can be grouped are called Basic Income, Basic Vouchers and Basic Services. The main differences not only are the form of benefits - cash, vouchers and different types of services - but also include the target group. While it serves as an overview of different options and areas of activity, the scope of this paper does not allow for a deeper analysis of Basic Vouchers and Basic Services.

Table 1. Sustainable Welfare typologys adapted from Bohnenberger (2020) and S. S.-Y. Lee et al., (2020)

	Basic Income		Basic Vouchers				Basic Services		
	UBI	Transitional Income	Shift Vouchers	Quasi-Currency Vouchers	Needs Vouchers	Commons-Innovation Vouchers	State Service	Free Consumption Goods	Public Infrastructure
Description	A periodic cash payment Unconditionally delivered to all citizens on an individual basis, without means-test or work requirements	As variants of UBI, conditionality is given or paid to specific groups	Vouchers issued to allow for specific behaviour shifts by supplying better allowances and price change	Vouchers that are allocated to recipients to restrict and organize usage of a scarce good	Vouchers given to people to ensure that their needs are met	Vouchers issued to enable the emergence of allowances and innovations	Services a person can enjoy free of charge when they or society considers it necessary	Goods provided that can be used by citizens without limitations	Institutions and public goods that are established or maintained and can be accessed by everyone
Target Recipient	Everyone	Selected groups	Groups who perform specific actions	Everyone	Low-income and selected groups	Everyone or selected group	-	-	-
Examples	UBI, Social Dividends	Categorical basic income, Participation Income	Regional food, Sports Vouchers, Ecological leave for sustainable behaviour	Personal carbon allowance, Housing space vouchers	Publis transport vouchers, Electricity vouchers, Vouchers for green and healthy food	Regional currencies, Timebanks	Healthcare, Education, Childcare and elderly care, free local transport, repair services	Free internet, Free tap water, Free school meals	Parks, Forests, Bike lanes, Community space, Repair Cafés, Transition houses

4 Methodology

Throughout this section, I will discuss the systematic literature review as a method and how it applies to my analysis. I will talk about the research design, as well as the article selection and the applied analytical framework. Table 2 illustrates the analytical framework which is based on the four Sustainable Welfare criteria.

4.1 Systematic literature review

The psychologist Donald Campbell (1969) once suggested that governments ought to consider “evaluation evidence” when deciding on social programs (Petrosino et al., 2001, p. 2). This approach leads to an evidence-based policy. In this process, systematic literature reviews are seen as an important instrument. The process typically consists of the collection of relevant literature, the critical assessment and concluding results using an applicable methodology. It will further “include detail about each stage of the decision process including the question that guides the review, the criteria for studies be included, and the methods used to search for and screen evaluation reports. It will also detail how analyses were done and how conclusions were reached” (Petrosino et al., 2001, p.8).

Systematic literature reviews can be useful on many occasions, e.g. for research articles, in funding proposals, for academic degrees and they can oblige as guidelines for professional and evidence-based practice (Fink, 2014). Fink (2014) describes them as “comprehensive and easily reproducible” (Fink, 2014, p.21). However, some of the weaknesses concern the often occurring lack of transparency (Petrosino et al., 2001). Additionally, the quality of systematic literature reviews is determined by the criteria for the selection of relevant papers. However, as UBI is an instrument that has been deliberated for a long time but has only recently been linked to Sustainable Welfare, the systematic literature review is well suited to provide a footing for comprehensive discussions and recommendations. For the selection of relevant articles, I screened the initial selection methodically basing my systematic literature review on Johansson's (2021) and Feola's (2015) approaches. Johansson's (2021) analysis consists of the categorisation of the reviewed articles which I adapted to the criteria of Sustainable Welfare. Feola was analysing emerging concepts of transformation and created a comprehensive analytical framework which I followed as a guideline for analysing the claims and barriers.

To answer the *RQ 1.1 What are the major claims? What segments of society benefit from UBI?; RQ 1.2 What are major challenges?; RQ 1.3 What are the different implementations and the promises of those alternative principles?;* and the main *RQ What are the challenges for UBI to be a Sustainable Welfare*

Instrument the analyses comprises both qualitative, but also quantitative segments. After identifying claims and challenges and further categorising them along with the four criteria of Sustainable Welfare, namely *Fair distribution*, *Needs satisfaction*, *Democratic governance* and *Compatibility with planetary boundaries*, I examined the articles according to the share of the respective categories. I show the occurrence in percentage in pie charts, which constitutes the quantitative part of my analysis. The different examples of implementations were analysed qualitatively. This step enabled me to evaluate pilot projects and theoretical case studies concerning their initial goals and outcomes and to further investigate if they correspond to the four criteria of Sustainable Welfare. By identifying the general perception of UBI and the prevailing reasons for past implementations I examined UBI's potential of being a Sustainable Welfare tool. Earlier, I considered conducting a survey, however, due to limitations in terms of access to participants' data I did not pursue this notion. Each RQ will be answered in its own section, therefore I will discuss the results that led me to the final answer there. This means there will not be a separate results and discussion section; those two have been combined.

4.2 Research design

4.2.1 Article selection

I executed a search for topics on SCOPUS to review peer-reviewed research papers that have engaged with UBI, its claims and barriers as well as different implementations. Search terms allowed me to collect as many research papers as possible and afterwards select relevant articles for the review using some inclusion and exclusion criteria. The applied search string was the following: TITLE-ABS-KEY (("Universal Basic Income") AND ("claims" OR promis* OR benefit* OR "solution") OR (barrier* OR challeng*) OR ("values" OR purpos* OR reason* OR just*)). As the RQs are about current perspectives of UBI and recent implementations I selected articles for the systematic literature review which were published from 2015 until present. Although this results in the review not being considered extensive, I still understand it provides insights into current developments. This is because the collected data from scientific literature published in English from SCOPUS resulted in 178 scientific articles. After narrowing it down to articles written in the English language no later than 2015 and deselecting nonrelevant research fields the search result was reduced to 121 from 178 articles. The systematic literature review and thus also the article selection was structured along the RQs. To identify relevant articles from the initial pool of 121 articles, I used the following four areas of interest:

1. Mentioning claims, promises or UBI as a solution to a (societal) problem.
2. Identification of barriers or challenges an implementation of UBI could face

3. Analysis of different values or purposes under which UBI is proposed and presented.
4. Analysis of the implementation through the analysis of a country-specific UBI trial or pilot project.

Applying the above-mentioned interest areas, I identified 48 articles for the review. While some articles were not relevant for the literature review but still useful for other parts of the present paper, others were either analysing a very specific separate problem or were not accessible. I then analysed the articles further by classifying claims and challenges along with the Sustainable Welfare criteria. This will be presented in the following section.

4.2.2 Analytical framework: Conformity of UBI and Sustainable Welfare

I analysed the 48 articles by creating a review protocol (Table A1 in Appendix A) to answer my research questions and to examine the selected articles regarding their perception of UBI's potential as a Sustainable Welfare tool. Therefore, I used the four criteria of Sustainable Welfare to review the articles according to the classifications for both claims and challenges (Table B1 and B2 in Appendix B). Table 2 shows the applied analytical framework and will be further described in the following paragraphs.

Table 2. Analytical framework (adapted from (Feola, 2015))

Sustainable Welfare criterion	Claims classification	Challenge classification
Fair distribution	Social security	Feasibility
	Poverty alleviation	Class relations
	Decoupling work and income	Developed vs developing countries
Planetary boundaries	Environmental sustainability	-
Democratic governance	-	Design of UBI
		Political influence
Needs satisfaction	Future work	Feasibility
	Economic growth	Class relations
	Social security	
	Decoupling work and income	

Classification of claims

As the aim of this paper is to identify recent development in how UBI is dealt with in academic literature, and whether they consider UBI to be a tool for Sustainable Welfare I first classified the most frequent claims. Since the four criteria of the Sustainable Welfare system from planetary boundaries and theories of human needs the further classification of claims are adaptations from this (Büchs, 2021b; Doyal & Gough, 1984; Rockström et al., 2009). However, some of the claims corresponded to more than one of the four criteria. In order not to simplify the emerging claims too much, I have established five classifications of claims. The first Sustainable Welfare criterion of *Fair distribution* is thereby represented by the classifications *Decoupling of work and income*, *Provision of Social security* and *Poverty Alleviation*. The criterion of *Compatibility with planetary boundaries* is represented by the classification of *Environmental sustainability*. Further, the criterion of *Needs satisfaction* corresponds to the classification of UBI as an answer to *Future work*, stimulation of *Economic growth* and again *Provision of Social security* as well as *Poverty Alleviation*. The Sustainable Welfare criterion of *Democratic governance* was not represented by any claims, however, it appears in the following section.

Classification of challenges

To further see which obstacles to the successful implementation of UBI are seen in recent academic literature and whether they compromise UBI as a tool for Sustainable Welfare I classified the most frequent challenges. As previously with the claims the classifications of challenges are adaptations from the Sustainable Welfare criteria. Yet again some of the challenges corresponded to more than one of the four criteria. Therefore, I set up five different classifications of challenges. The first Sustainable Welfare criterion of *Fair distribution* is thereby represented by the classifications of the *Feasibility* of a UBI Policy the *Developed vs developing countries* and the factor of *Class relations*. Further, the criterion of *Democratic governance* refers to the classifications of *Design of a UBI Policy* and the *Political Influence*. The fourth criterion of *Needs satisfaction* corresponds to *Class relations* as well as the *Feasibility* of a UBI policy. The Sustainable Welfare criterion of *Compatibility with planetary boundaries* was not represented by any challenges.

Implementations

Often the theoretical concepts sound promising and appear to be successful. However, the implementation gap challenges the validation from theory into practice. To overcome this, I will analyse different implementation examples occurring in the analysed literature. In the first step, I compare them with the previously found claims and barriers. Followed by an examination of the

examples regarding the four criteria of Sustainable Welfare in the second step to provide a better understanding of how UBI is presented in recent academic literature. In addition to the five pilot projects in Alaska, Finland, Canada, Switzerland and Kenya there will also be smaller trials of similar policies in other parts of the USA, Australia, France, and Latvia.

5 Results and discussion

In the following, I will present the results of the systematic literature review and discuss the findings by applying the Sustainable Welfare framework. I have structured this section with sub-segments concurring with the RQs. Section 5.1 addresses the first sub-RQ *1.1 What are the major claims? What segments of society benefit from UBI?*; Section 5.2 focuses on the second sub-RQ *1.2 What are major challenges?*; And section 5.3 refers to the third sub-RQ *1.3 What are the different implementations and the promises of those alternative principles?*. In section 5.4 I will discuss the main RQ *What are the challenges for UBI to be a Sustainable Welfare instrument?* by connecting my findings of the above-mentioned sections to the Sustainable Welfare criteria.

However, first, in Figure 2 and Figure 3 I want to present two general outcomes that both imply that UBI is generally being viewed as positive and desirable rather than challenging. In Figure 2 the general notion of each of the 48 articles is displayed. Of 79% the content is rather in favour of UBI compared to 13% discussing critical aspects and only 8% where no clear notion was notable.

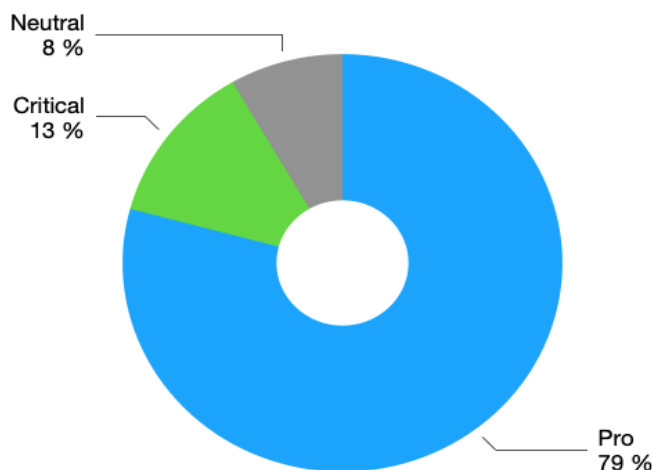


Figure 2. The notion of articles from the literature review.

This figure displays the general notion of the analysed articles. 100% hereby are the 48 articles, of which the content of 79% can be classified as in favour of UBI, whereas only 13% are examining critical aspects of UBI. 8% of the articles are more descriptive and therefore neutral.

Figure 3 describes the distribution of the four different classifications. As some articles were given more than one classification, the distribution of content classifications summed up to 100 points. 52% of the content was about claims of UBI. 34% was about challenges UBI and its implementation might face. 10% of the content was about pilot projects in different countries and 4% was about impacts on an individual level which I included in the claims section.

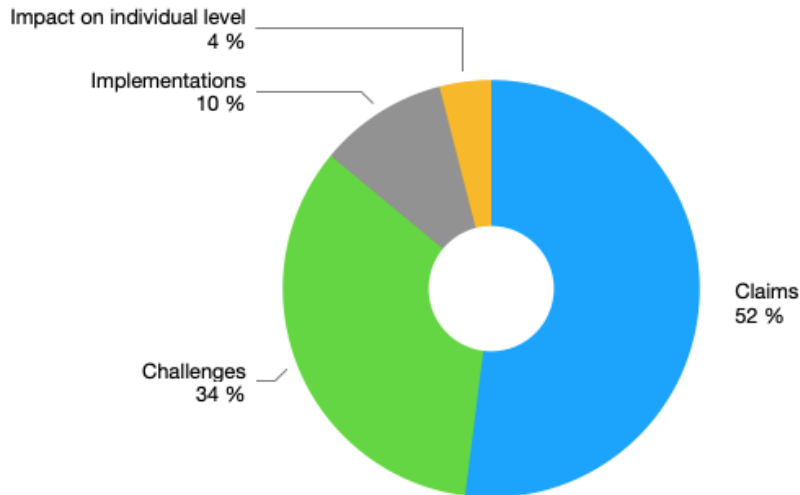


Figure 3. Distribution of classifications.

As some of the papers were in more than one category, the total sum of the classification distribution is 100.

What both figures show is an overall positive and promising picture of UBI, rather than what obstacles it might face. However, as I will discuss each of the classifications more detailed in the coming sections, we will see that it also depends on the scale of the promises versus challenges.

5.1 RQ 1.1: Claims about UBI

As claims account for the largest fraction of the analysed literature I will begin with it. Figure 4 displays the share of the different claims and values.

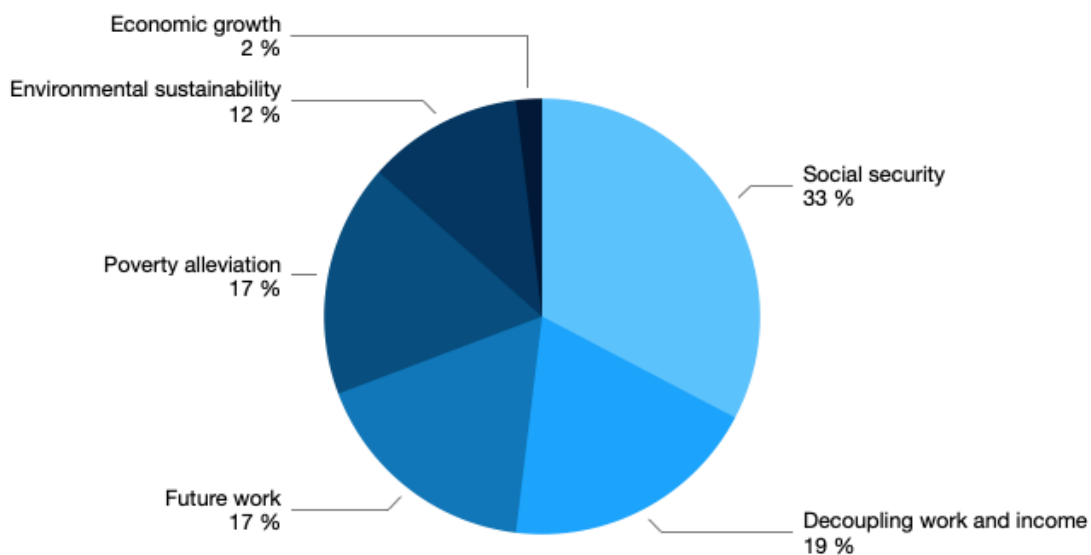


Figure 4. Different groups of claims resulting from the literature review.

As some papers discussed claims that fit into more than one group it resulted in a total sum of 52 claims. The most used claim of UBI is the provision of Social security with 33%. The following four claims occurred in a

similar amount with 19% the Decoupling of work and income; 17% as UBI being the answer to Future work; again 17% claiming UBI reduces poverty and 12% discussing UBI's potential of supporting Environmental sustainability. Only 2% are claiming that UBI can stimulate Economic growth.

The predominant claim is the one about the provision of *Social security* which makes up for 33% of the claims as can be seen in Figure 4. UBI serves as a social safety net that provides necessary (financial) support in the event of disasters or crises e.g., the COVID-19 pandemic (Johnson & Johnson, 2021). However, special attention must be paid to who supports this argument and for what reasons. This can influence the purpose of UBI to such an extent that contradictory goals can be achieved. For example, some advocates have long-term social security in mind. Thereby, the health and general satisfaction of society can be improved as social participation is enhanced, which benefits society as a whole (Hamilton & Mulvale, 2019). On the other hand, large tech companies advocate UBI to keep former employees, whose necessity has fallen victim to automation, as consumers, thus serving their individual, egoistic well-being (Fouksman & Klein, 2019). In addition, these factors determine who benefits from UBI – on the one hand, it is society as a whole, as people can live a life apart from existential fear whereas on the other hand companies gain from keeping customers while cutting costs by reducing the numbers of employees (Perkins et al., 2022).

Decoupling work and income accounts for 19% of the claims in the reviewed articles. By decoupling work and income employees benefit as the choice of the profession could be made less by income and more by personal preferences and pleasures; the decision could be freer and with less financial constraints. On the other hand, employers might feel less responsible when letting people go, as UBI provides a financial security net (Perkins et al., 2022). However, UBI also appears to have the potential to change the perception of automation from a threat to a “source of liberation from labour” (Fouksman & Klein, 2019, p.6) by enabling the imagination of a transformed world of work where livelihoods and wages are decoupled (Aronowitz et al., 1998).

The argument of UBI being an answer to *Future work* accounts for 17% of the claims and implies several factors. First, there is the aforementioned technological revolution, which renders some jobs superfluous where UBI can be a preparing measure (Reed & Lansley, 2016). One article also argues that UBI can benefit from and help realise the potential of the technological revolution (Arat & Waring, 2022). Again, two sides are in favour of UBI, but with different arguments: UBI supports automation versus automation is a danger for labour and UBI serves as a financial cushion (Widerquist, 2019).

The following claim that UBI is contributing to *Poverty alleviation* accounts for 17%. Interestingly, this claim was mostly used whenever the paper was also discussing pilot projects of UBI implementations, which indicates that this argument meets with particularly high approval among citizens. Often, this

argument was simultaneously linked to (gender) income inequalities, which are counteracted by the redistributive effect of UBI (depending on the structure of the policy) (Lacey, 2017; Magnani & Piccoli, 2020; Spies-Butcher et al., 2020; Zimmermann et al., 2020). The result of the article is that this influences the acceptance of UBI. However, a distinction was made here between developed and developing states. The result is that UBI is easier to argue as a poverty alleviation instrument in developing countries than as a social security policy in developed countries (Ghatak & Maniquet, 2019). This distinction is crucial when it comes to UBI, especially regarding the claim of poverty reduction. The drivers of poverty in different countries around the world diverge significantly, which is why UBI cannot be seen as a panacea (Crespo Cuaresma et al., 2018).

One article states that “[...]the social consequences of environmental policies are extensively evaluated in sustainability research, few studies exist on the ecological impact of social benefits and the welfare state.” (Bohnenberger, 2020, p.1) This can also be partly drawn from the result of the literature review with only 12% of the claims being about UBI leading to *Environmental sustainability*. However, since it belongs to the midfield, this may also mean that this connection has been made more frequently in recent years. Yet, environmental sustainability is often only a secondary product of UBI, not the objective. It is often mentioned in connection with the financing of UBI, which can be done, for example, by levying a carbon tax, which in turn is intended to prevent environmental damage (Riedl, 2020). Thus, UBI only indirectly leads to environmental sustainability, yet it is not a specific target.

The claim of UBI stimulating *Economic growth* was only discussed by one article which accounts for 2% of claims as seen in Figure 4. It is the result of an analysis of a UBI pilot in Latvia, which was conducted in 2020 (Judrupa & Romanovs, 2020).

As for the claims about *Impacts on the individual level*, one paper discussed the proven enhancement of mental health (Wilson & McDaid, 2021). Three articles were analysing behavioural impacts. One resulted in UBI leading to an increase in consumption (Garcia-Murillo & Macinnes, 2021), one discussed that UBI would not decrease employees’ work efforts (Cabrales et al., 2020) and the third one mentioned that UBI would lead to an increase in entrepreneurial activity (Feinberg & Kuehn, 2020).

Having presented the main claims of UBI above, I will now move on to the discussion, where I will answer the first sub-RQ: UBI is supposed to provide social security and serve as a tool for the transition to a future world of work. Fuelled by the technological revolution, we are facing a transformed world of work with a potential decrease in labour demand (Widerquist, 2019). Furthermore, there are weaknesses in social welfare states leading to insecurity and injustice that require fundamental

changes. In contrast to most social policies, with UBI the emancipatory value would exceed the monetary (Standing, 2019). UBI is only one tool in a toolbox of further answers to these future realities, towards more justice and social security. If we look at the results again in response to the first sub-research question of which segments of society benefit from UBI, at this point the following picture emerges: Due to the redistributive function of UBI (Fleischer & Hemel, 2017), the discrepancy between low-income and affluent sections of society is being equalised, which benefits the former. However, there is another beneficiary, the employers. On the one hand, they can dismiss employees with a lesser sense of responsibility, as UBI does not put them in an existential predicament. At the same time, they can assume that the purchasing power of the same will still exist, as they still have financial resources. However, one thing must be considered with all these arguments - they strongly depend on the exact structure and implementation of UBI. Further challenges, critiques and their prospective implications for UBI's potential as a Sustainable Welfare tool will be analysed in the next section, where the second sub-RQ will be answered.

5.2 RQ 1.2: Challenges and critiques of UBI

As previously demonstrated in Figure 3, challenges and critiques were discussed in 34% of analysed papers. Figure 5 displays the share of each of the 5 different classifications.

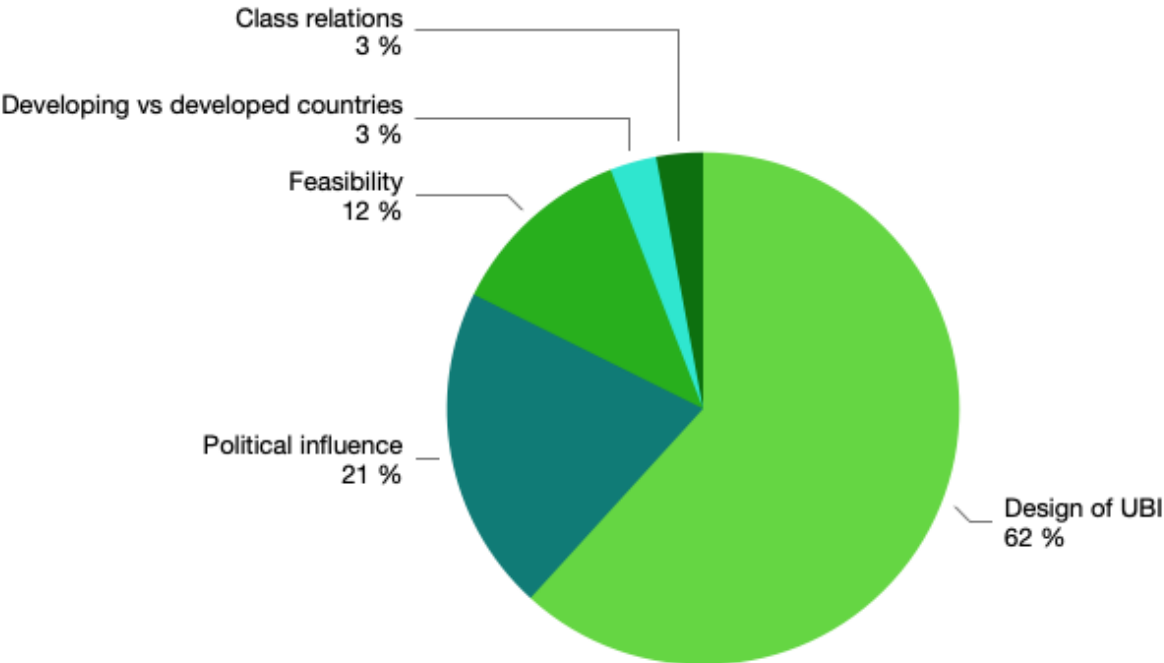


Figure 5. Discussed challenges and critiques UBI is currently and will be facing in the future. 34% of the challenges were about the design and structure of how a UBI policy is composed.

62% of the question about the *Design of the UBI* policy constitutes the largest part of the challenges in the literature review. As the Financing of UBI is represented in a separate classification, the *Design of UBI* implies more than what comes along with it. Depending on the content of a UBI policy, impacts can differ considerably as can the level of acceptance. However, public support for UBI can also be determined by prevailing conditions. Through an analysis of the European Social Survey (ESS) Choi (2021) examined the role of the welfare state. The results show that in a further developed welfare state people are inclined towards individual universalism, which further makes them more likely to support UBI. Conversely, this connection does not exist in underdeveloped welfare states (Choi, 2021). Hence, a developed welfare state is a better precondition for the implementation of a UBI than one that still needs development. However, this diverges from the argument of UBI as an instrument for enhancing existing weak welfare states. Another analysis of the ESS aimed to find out if public attitudes towards UBI reflect preferences for universalism and unconditionality. However, the result showed that respondents do not support UBI due to its universalism but rather because of its function to help the poor (S. Lee, 2021). Thus, the framing of the UBI policy plays a crucial part in its acceptance. Jordan et al. examined what effects framing of UBI on respondents had. Three key results were: 1. UBI is primarily a democratic and liberal policy; 2. Negative arguments against UBI move support for UBI more than positive arguments and 3. Respondents are equally affected by policy-driven as well as value-driven arguments about UBI (Jordan et al., 2022). Further, that paper showed that as soon as UBI is framed with value arguments there was no need for respondents to know how that political decision might relate to other policies or political phenomena. According to the authors, that fact is “especially important, as values might help respondents form opinions on relatively new issues (like UBI), and discussing issues in the context of values might shortcut a respondent’s evaluation of policy implications” (Jordan et al., 2022, p. 4). Another paper sees a challenge in UBI being multi-dimensional. The fact that its framing and purpose can differ greatly further impacts its social legitimacy (Chrisp et al., 2020). This also contains the dependency on public awareness. Thus, a big barrier is seen in the argument about a UBI leading to increasing costs, which immediately leads to a decrease in support. In terms of the specific case of UBI as a public health policy, one critical point is that there are ethical underpinnings that have to be acknowledged. This would however help politicians for the creation of a successful policy (Johnson & Johnson, 2021).

The second biggest section with 21% within challenges and critiques is the *Political influence*. One of the articles is analysing the results of the latest ESS. It argues that supporters of UBI vary greatly between different political spectrums. Additionally, the opinions of the left vary among themselves, which leads to the core of the problem: a pro-UBI coalition would have to draw on right-wing votes. But because they might support UBI due to contradictory reasons to the left, there is no consensus in

sight and therefore no grounds for a nationwide implementation (Vlandas, 2021). In another article, UBI is described as a “Trojan Horse for the left or right” (Battistoni, 2017, p. 2). It argues that one's support for UBI should be oriented by who is pushing it. Similar to the other article it suggests that motivations for implementation of UBI could be opposite.

The category *Feasibility* accounts for 12% of the challenges and critiques discussed in the reviewed literature. All of the papers see funding as an issue that is not discussed sufficiently in the debate. However, except for one paper, all of them deal with suggesting complementary measures and shiftings in the existing (welfare) system to ensure the feasibility of UBI (Ghatak & Maniquet, 2019; Riedl, 2020; Spies-Butcher et al., 2020). However, Spies-Butcher et al. (2020) view this departure from existing welfare structures, as too radical. Only one paper, discussing the implementation of Latvia, concludes by saying that in this specific case it is not feasible (Judrupa & Romanovs, 2020).

The last two sections were both represented in 3% of the papers; *Developed vs developing countries* and *Class relations*. Because of the justification of UBI as a tool for poverty alleviation, one of the papers concludes that it is easier to argue for UBI in developing than in developed countries (Ghatak & Maniquet, 2019). Another paper sees a problem in UBI being presented as a technological solution to poverty and economic insecurity. It argues that thereby the complexity of this system with social, economical and political dimensions has to be acknowledged. Depending on the situation a UBI is planned to be implemented, power and class relations have to be critically reflected on (Fouksman & Klein, 2019).

Having presented the main challenges of UBI above, I will now move on to the discussion, where I will answer the second sub-RQ: Which are the major challenges and critiques UBI is facing. Thereby, it is predominantly the exact design of the UBI policy that is linked to numerous implications. Public acceptance and support for UBI depend on how it is framed, and who is pushing it for what reasons. In general, people living in developed welfare states are more inclined towards it than in underdeveloped welfare states. Interestingly, those are the ones where the implementation is easier to justify as a poverty alleviation tool. However, thereby the acknowledgement of class and power relations plays a crucial role. Implementing UBI as a technological solution to poverty ignores the complexity of social systems. With the challenge of different political systems influencing the motivation of a UBI policy, participation in political discussions is necessary to avoid conferring too much power to one position. More about the challenges and risks regarding implementations will be discussed in the following section.

5.3 RQ 1.3: Differences between implementation examples

The articles analysed in the literature review discussed several examples of implementation which are displayed in Table 3.

Table 3. Overview of implementation examples from systematic literature review (own illustration, 2022)

Trials					
Country	Goal	Amount	Target Group	Implemented by	Duration
Finland	Decrease Unemployment rate	560 € per month	Unemployed	Government and Social Insurance Institution of Finland (Kela)	2017 - 2018
USA (State of Alaska)	State Wealth Redistribution	~ \$US125 per month	Alaskan Citizens	Alaska Permanent Fund (PFD) financed through revenues from oil and mining leases	1982 - ongoing
Switzerland	1. - 2. -	1. 2500 SF 2. ~ 2187 SF	1. all swiss citizens 2. resident of one town older than 22	1. would have been by the government, but the referendum got voted against 2. privately funded	1. referendum was in 2016 2. 2018 - ?
Canada	Guarantee of a minimum level of income	~\$1.709 per month	low-income earners	Government. However, cut short after the election of conservative premier Dough Ford.	2017 - 2018
Kenya	Poverty Alleviation	\$US22 per month	people living in impoverished villages	GiveDirectly charity	2017 - 2029
Theoretical case studies					
Country	Type		Outcome		
France	Micro–Macro simulation model		Reduction in income inequalities and poverty		
Latvia	theoretical analysis of policy options		Stimulation of economic growth but not feasible		
Australia	theoretical analysis of policy options		Reduce inequality while increasing overall taxation.		
Australia	Case study: a proposed basic income for Indigenous Australians		An efficient technological solution to poverty and economic insecurity		
USA	Case study: Support of UBI by high-net-worth individuals in California’s Silicon Valley		An efficient technological solution to poverty and economic insecurity		

First of all, they differ in the kind of implementation. While five papers discussed actual trials that have happened or are still ongoing, there were five examples of theoretical analysis like case studies or

simulations. While pilot projects allow to analyse possible impacts in certain regions, non-monetary effects and also help to disprove potential prejudice, case studies can help to understand the mechanism behind (Standing, 2021). But differences are also noticeable between the two sections. Although all of them occurred in the analysis for UBI, only two of the presented trials are universal; the Alaskan and the second Swiss example. All other examples are targeted towards a specific part of society. This indicates that the term alone is used vague and interchangeably with other types of benefits. Being targeted towards specific members of society also influences the goal of the policy. While Finland stated to introduce it for a lower unemployment rate, the goal was not communicated as direct in Canada. Here, the target group were low-income households, however, the goal was stated as guaranteeing a basic income. If there was a desired outcome of the policy this was left open which leaves the recipients a certain level of freedom.

Comparing the implementations' goals and outcomes to the previously identified claims I reach the following result: some could argue that except for Kenya, where the goal was poverty reduction, all of the country's trials are providing some kind of social security, none of the trials entails future work or the challenge of automation. One reason for this may be that the challenge of automation itself is still in the future and therefore no corresponding experiments can yet be carried out. Nevertheless, evaluations of the impact of existing tests can also be useful for future issues.

Coming to the second kind of implementation, the theoretical analysis, there was hardly a clear goal stated. The three examples of France, Latvia and Australia were all discussing nationwide basic income trials. The results were the following: In France, the simulation showed that income inequality and poverty would decrease (Magnani & Piccoli, 2020). In Latvia, UBI would stimulate economic growth, yet it would not be feasible (Judrupa & Romanovs, 2020). The theoretical analysis of UBI policies in Australia showed that inequality would decrease to a level similar to Scandinavian welfare states while taxation would have to increase to the OECD average (Spies-Butcher et al., 2020). The other two examples are a Basic Income case study where the cash payments are targeted towards indigenous Australians and a case study analysing reasons behind the increase in support for UBI.

Another impactful difference lies in the operating institutions. In Finland, one of the Swiss examples and Canada the trials were carried out by the government. While this should guarantee certain independence, Canada's example shows to which negative consequences this can lead. After a change in the government's political orientation, the project was stopped without adequate data collection and assessment. In the USA, the example of the Alaska Permanent Fund (PFD) is financed through revenues from oil and mining leases. This relation leads to a dependency on the very powerful oil and mining industry and thus allowing one actor to influence the contemporary political system in terms

of wealth distribution as well as social structures. However, the size of the monthly share does not allow households to solely depend on it.

In Finland, the USA, Switzerland and Canada both sides of actors – the conducting and receiving sides are within the same country and thus in the same political system. In Kenya, the trial is conducted by GiveDirectly, a non-profit organisation from New York that works towards poverty alleviation (GiveDirectly, n.d.). In other words, the trial is conducted by an organisation coming from a wealthy north-American city claiming to help the Kenyan population out of poverty – one group with more power deciding what is good for the less advanced group. Another example that shows the importance of awareness about unequal relations of power is given by the case study of a proposed UBI for indigenous people in Australia. There, a UBI is proposed to overcome previously introduced policies towards more employment which were oppressing indigenous Australians' values. Providing economic security would give indigenous Australians a chance to live the lives they want. This would further shift existing power relations in terms of less dependency on the state and more economic, cultural, social and political rights. However, it is still the Australian government that has the power to decide on what is necessary for the indigenous people and thus taking away their autonomy (Fouksman & Klein, 2019). According to Ferguson (2015), this can be dealt with by framing UBI as a 'rightful share' instead of a 'grant'.

Another paper deals with the recent prominence of UBI support rooting from the Silicon Valley (Fouksman & Klein, 2019). Yet again, the supporters and values behind it play an influential role in terms of class and power relations. In this example, there are, simplified, two aspects that need to be considered more closely: first, Silicon Valley is creating and profiting from one of the biggest threats, UBI is supposed to counteract: automation. And yet some powerful supporters can be found there. Second, the characteristics of UBI do not match the local work ethic and labour practices. This is because the supporters see UBI as a chance to continue their profit maximising cost-cutting work practices and still keep both employees and customers satisfied. This is an example of class capture where one group further accumulates wealth and keeps the power position which hinders wealth redistribution and less inequality.

Those discussed implementations show that the outcome of a UBI policy depends on several factors. Starting with the goals and design of the UBI it is crucial to differentiate a universal policy from a basic income scheme that is targeted towards one specific group of people with an exact outcome in mind. This leads to different potential conflicts like class capture and unequal power relations. Yet, the purpose of a UBI can depend on the level the respective economy is in. While in some it is poverty alleviation in others it is the provision of social security. Thereby, it has to be taken into account that

an implementation of a UBI policy would require a long transition time where the economy could be different in the end (Gentilini et al., 2020; Malmaeus et al., 2020). UBI further greatly depends on how it is being framed and the values implementing actors are driven by. A UBI supported by a powerful elite is different from the one motivated by grassroots, community-based decisions. This can go as far as the outcome of UBI implementations being contradictory – class capture and more inequality instead of wealth distribution and less inequality. For UBI to lead towards structural transformation instead of becoming a tool of neoliberal capitalism, we have to critically engage with questions about values, framing, politics, and power relations.

5.4 Discussion of main RQ: Can UBI be a Sustainable Welfare instrument?

Having answered the sub-RQ in the previous sections, I will now put them into context to answer the main RQ: How can UBI be a tool for Sustainable Welfare according to academic literature? According to Büchs (2021a), there are four criteria for Sustainable Welfare, namely, *Fair distribution*, *Compatibility with planetary boundaries*, *Democratic governance* and *Needs satisfaction*. Table 4 indicates examples of the systematic literature review for claims and challenges of the respective Sustainable Welfare criterion.

Table 4. Overview of claims and challenges of the respective Sustainable Welfare criterion (own illustration adapted from (Feola, 2015))

Sustainable Welfare criterion	Claim	Example	Challenge	Example
Fair distribution	Social security	“The potential ability of UBI to act as the latest philosophy of social policy in the era of globalisation, technological progress, pandemic challenges, etc. was proved.”(Khoma & Vdovychyn, 2021, p.2)	Feasibility	“Our analysis responds to concerns that Basic Income is both too expensive and too radical a departure from existing welfare state structures to be a feasible policy option.” (Spies-Butcher et al., 2020, p.1)
	Poverty alleviation	“First, moves towards universalism are likely to significantly benefit those on the margins of the labour market, with very low or no market income.” (Spies-Butcher et al., 2020, p.17)	Class relations	“[...] a worrying conclusion from such inconsistencies is that UBI might be a way to obfuscate or justify class capture and to perpetuate uninterrupted wealth accumulation.” (Fouksman & Klein, 2019, p.6)
	Decoupling work and income	“In doing so it decouples income from labour and removes any means or employment tests from the receipt of assistance.” (Sadiq & du Preez, 2021, p.170)	Developed vs developing countries	“[...]UBI easier to defend as a tool of poverty alleviation in developing countries than as a tool to achieve social justice in developed ones”. (Fouksman & Klein, 2019, p.1)
Planetary boundaries	Environmental sustainability	“UBI, UBV, and UBS can ultimately be the three policy combinations necessary for a social and ecological transformation.” (S. S.-Y. Lee et al., 2020, p.22)	-	-
Democratic governance	-	-	Design of UBI	“There is a dilemma between these proposals regarding their respective unfairness to the short- and long-lived.” (Valente, 2022, p.1)
	-	-	Political influence	“The version of basic income we get will depend, more than policies with a clearer ideological

				valence, on the political forces that shape it.” (Battistoni, 2017. p.2)
Needs satisfaction	Decoupling work and income	“The identified studies suggest that providing payments which are regular, guaranteed and ensure recipients are always able to cover their basic necessities, allows them to move beyond short-term survival and invest in their future, with clear benefits for their.” (Wilson & McDaid, 2021, p.10)	Class relations	See above
	Future work	“Srnicek and Williams set about trying to build a post-work platform whereby, with adequate time and resources, multiple ways of living could flourish, and the conditions for a universalism from below could emerge.” (Baker, 2020, p.2)	Feasibility	See above
	Economic growth	“[...] but implementation of the UBI will stimulate economic development of the country.” (Judrupa & Romanovs, 2020, p.6)		
	Social security	“[...] the idea that a UBI could help build a sustainable social security system while at the same time solve administrative problems of the tax and welfare systems was frequently raised [...]” (Zimmermann et al., 2020, p.6)		

Considered individually, the following picture emerges in regards to UBI's perception in recent academic literature: *Fair distribution* is part of the two prominent claims of *Social security* and *Poverty alleviation*. Regarding the discussed implementations it was only the Alaskan PFD directly seeing UBI as a redistributive tool. However, UBI targeted against unemployment and poverty can also be seen as redistributive as the policy has to be financed through tax schemes.

Concerning the criterion *Compatibility with planetary boundaries*, 12% of the literature claimed UBI supporting towards *Environmental sustainability*. Yet, planetary boundaries are more than environmental sustainability and thus not sufficiently addressed in the analysed literature. In the discussed implementations environmental sustainability was not addressed once. There can be several reasons for this. Concerning the trials, most of them have been introduced latest in 2017 with a planning time starting several years before. The link of UBI to the concept of planetary boundaries has not been very prominent at that time. Further, the urgency caused by the climate crisis can often not be argued convincingly, as other factors are usually more tangible (Newell et al., 2009). However, at the beginning of my paper, I have introduced the view of UBI being a tool for a just sustainable future. At this point, the results show that such a just transformation can only be realised when social and environmental policies are planned and implemented together (Hirvilammi & Koch, 2020).

The criterion of *Democratic governance* is only really represented by the second example of the implementation in Switzerland. Through a referendum, citizens were able to directly vote for or against a UBI. However, as the other countries are mainly led by democratic governments, one could argue that citizens are indirectly involved. Nevertheless, the two case study examples of UBI for indigenous Australians and the increasing UBI support in the Silicon Vally show how important this criterion is to critically engage with unequal power and class relations. Further, it showed, that it cannot be generally determined if a UBI fulfils this criterion or not, as it highly depends on the implementing operators and their values.

The fourth criterion of *Needs satisfaction*, which is providing health and the autonomy of agency, is addressed in the analysed papers. Especially when the universal character of UBI is acknowledged, freedom in terms of what the recipients chose to be the outcome is achieved. Health is directly linked with poverty which is both addressed in the theoretical parts as well as the implementation. However, human needs do not stay the same over time, they rather change according to the development of society (Fisher & Lezion, 2009). This has to be taken into account when determining what human needs are.

Together with *Fair distribution*, *Needs satisfaction* was the criterion addressed most dominantly. However, to determine if the policy of UBI does meet these criteria several questions have to be answered such as: Is it universal or is it targeted towards a specific group in society? What are the values and intentions of the operating institutions? What are the power and class relations? Were all actors included in the process?, to just name a few. As for the answer to the RQ, I see UBI alone not being perceived as a tool for Sustainable Welfare in recent academic literature yet. Especially the criteria *Democratic governance* and *Compatibility with planetary boundaries* are not yet addressed sufficiently. However, there lies great potential in the policy and previous experiments have proven positive impacts of it. Combined with other welfare benefits, such as Universal Basic Services (Büchs, 2021a), or Basic Vouchers (S. S.-Y. Lee et al., 2020) which are presented in Table 1, the weaknesses of UBI could be challenged. As part of Basic Vouchers, I see shift vouchers and needs vouchers such as Ecological leave for sustainable behaviour and Vouchers for green and healthy food as targeted additions to UBI that strengthen the *Compatibility with planetary boundaries* criterion. For Basic Services, I consider State Service and Public Infrastructure such as free local transport and protected parks and forests helpful. *Democratic governance* could be improved through improved Basic Services like education. The addition of more welfare benefits to UBI can help meet more of the Sustainable Welfare criteria, but it also poses challenges. Some of the benefits are complex and difficult to measure. Thus, implementations can only be done gradually over a long period of time.

Nonetheless, the potential of a UBI policy is promising. Outside of the capitalistic system, it would enable “a more ecologically and socially sustainable form of growth” (Standing, 2019, p. 58). This is possible due to two things. First, society would experience a transformation through the empowerment of care work and the provision of engagement in the life of the commons. Second, the government could focus on policies to fight climate change. On this point, I would like to return to the two distinct viewpoints that arose from this debate, wherein the one side views UBI as a foundation for the welfare state, whereas the other side sees UBI as an alternative to the welfare state (Birnbaum, 2016). None of the analysed literature and none of the experiments share the latter positions, which is conducive to the development of UBI into a Sustainable Welfare tool. By using the Sustainable Welfare concept as a theoretical framework, it was possible to analyse UBI in different areas. Nevertheless, it might be beneficial to study one specific trial in more detail. However, that would be a case-specific result hard to generalise. Nevertheless, four of the Sustainable Welfare criteria cover a broad range of topics and are useful for establishing a framework for analysis. According to Standing (2019), UBI would be a great way to enhance “basic economic security, personal and ‘republican’ freedom and social justice” (Standing, 2019, p. 58). This view is shared by other UBI advocates who see it “as a source for meaningful activity outside of capitalist notions of productive work” (Ferguson, 2015;

Fouksman & Klein, 2019, p. 6; Gorz, 1999; Weeks, 2011). The role of the state is thereby crucial. It should devolve its power to guarantee agency and the possibility of leading an emancipated life, forged by one's volitional power (Malmaeus et al., 2020).

6 Conclusion

In my study, I have analysed recent academic literature first in terms of the perception of UBI theoretically and second I have examined the potential of UBI being a tool for Sustainable Welfare in concrete implementation examples. By choosing the time horizon starting in 2015 the resulting literature was limited. UBI has been discussed for more than 100 years and thus there would have been more results. This decision is however justified by the aim of my analysis specifically targeting recent literature. Regarding the chosen classifications for the systematic literature review, they might have simplified the content of the respective literature. However, to analyse and compare the papers this step was necessary.

The results of discussed claims and barriers compared with different examples of implementations showed that the outcome of a UBI policy is highly dependent on the operating actors, their values and underlying power relations. Also, the state of the respective economy where UBI is implemented affects the design and purpose of the policy. Yet, even within the same phase, an economy is situated in there can be differences depending on the dominant political orientation. Comparing the theoretical claims and barriers with the implementation examples of the literature reviews revealed that there are still differences in the respective intentions. While academic literature already views UBI, among other things, as an answer to the challenge of a decline in labour demand because of an increase in automation the examples were mostly providing social security or a tool for decreasing poverty. However, as the issue of an increase in automation has just recently begun to enter the discussion around UBI it will be considered more in prospective implementation proposals. Regarding its potential as a tool for Sustainable Welfare, this is not yet fully reflected in the literature. Out of the four criteria for Sustainable Welfare UBI can be significantly connected to only two, namely *Needs satisfaction* and *Fair distribution*. To comply with the other two criteria there are complementary tools grouped under the terms Universal Basic Services and Universal Basic Vouchers. Yet, there is a lack of concrete proposals and concepts in the literature on how a nationwide UBI can be successfully implemented to achieve the criteria of a Sustainable Welfare state.

The results of the analysis are based on a sample of available literature and are therefore not exhaustive. Nevertheless, I was able to achieve well-founded results and answer the RQ. The scope of this study did not allow for a comprehensive evaluation of the individual implementation examples, which simplifies the understanding of the analysis and results. Further research regarding UBI should focus on its role regarding contemporary and future issues, however, according to respective economic and welfare situations.

To further elaborate on the potential within the Sustainable Welfare umbrella, concrete proposals have to be evaluated regarding the aspects that fundamentally influence the outcome, especially the universal character of such a policy has to be guaranteed. It is crucial to critically engage with class relations and power structures to allow working on a Sustainable Welfare scheme consisting of UBI and complementary welfare benefits. In 2021, a project has started in Germany in which I encourage these aspects to be observed and analysed. In the future, the role of UBI could take even more forms. In the analysed literature, the topic of crises and disasters is represented by only a few COVID 19 examples due to the set time frame. With the increasing climate crisis and more frequent (natural) disasters, more and more people will be dependent on social safety nets. The associated increase in climate refugees calls for a global approach. After the first successful country-wide implementations, I see thoughtful global proposals as the next step.

7 References

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8 Appendices

Appendix A: Review Protocol

Table A1. Review Protocol illustrating the main steps of the review process (own illustration, 2022)

Steps	Procedure	Results
1. Data Gathering	A database search on Scopus using a defined search string.	178 hits, after filtering 121 left for Data Screening.
2. Data Screening	Screening of abstracts	After this step, 54 articles were identified for further analysis, others were deselected due to being out of scope for analysis, not available or not relevant.
3. Data Cleaning	Screening the abstracts by questions: /“Does the paper analyse a case study?” /“Does the paper mention any political claims/ impacts a UBI might bring along?” /“Does the paper mention any barriers a UBI implementation might face?” /“Does the paper talk about the values of UBI?”	Identification of main claims, barriers and values which led to the next step and classification of articles for deeper analysis.
4. Data Scoping	The download of all papers which were classified as potentially relevant.	48
5. Paper Review	Analysis of papers classified as relevant to answer RQs through classification of selected papers	Further division of claims , challenges and case studies into classification along the RQ.

Appendix B: Overview of classifications for the Systematic Literature Review

Table B1 Overview of first classifications of selected literature

Authors	Title	Year	Case Study yes/ no	Country	Claims/ impacts yes/ no	Main ones	Barriers	Main ones	Values yes/ no	Main ones	Selected for analysis Yes/ no
Sá Valente M.	Basic Income and Unequal Longevity	2022	no		no		yes	Design of UBI: uneven longevity			yes
Gazioğlu A., Çakıroğlu Z.D., Doğan A.	Effects of COVID-19 Pandemic on Robot Employment and Digitalization in Employment	2022	no		no		no		no		no
Arat Z.F.K., Waring D.	Rethinking work, the right to work, and automation	2022	no		yes	benefit from automation and help realize its emancipatory human rights potential:	no		no		yes
Klein E., Fouksman E.	Reparations as a Rightful Share: From Universalism to Redress in Distributive Justice	2022	no		no		no		no		no
Jordan S., Ferguson G., Haglin K.	Measuring and framing support for universal basic income	2022	no	USA	no		no		yes	UBI is Democratic and liberal policy; negative arguments against UBI move support for UBI more than positive arguments; respondents are equally affected by both policy-driven and value-driven arguments about UBI; an increase in messaging about UBI is likely to widen existing partisan differences in UBI support	yes

Perkins G., Gilmore S., Guttormsen D.S.A., Taylor S.	Analysing the impacts of Universal Basic Income in the changing world of work: Challenges to the psychological contract and a future research agenda	2022	no		yes	potential 'buffer'—a social safety	no		no		yes
Choi G.	Basic Human Values and Attitudes towards a Universal Basic Income in Europe	2021	no						yes	individual universalism that is a self-Transcendence value is positively and significantly associated with support for UBI, while the other self-Transcendence value, benevolence, has a negative relationship with that; the two self-enhancement values, power and achievement, are positively linked to support for UBI. Additionally, in advanced welfare states, people who are more inclined towards individual universalism are more likely to support UBI; by contrast, in underdeveloped welfare states, this relationship is not apparent	yes
Garcia-Murillo M.A., Macinnes I.P.	Consumption Patterns under a Universal Basic Income	2021	no		yes	increase in consumption would be responsibly	yes	criticism that UBI will lead to increase in consumption	no		yes
Johnson M.T., Johnson E.A.	Examining the ethical underpinnings of universal basic income as a public health policy: Prophylaxis, social engineering and 'good' lives	2021	no		yes	UBI = public health upstream intervention by reducing poverty, fostering health-promoting behaviour and ameliorating biopsychosocial pathways to health	yes	discussion of the ethical underpinnings of UBI as a public health policy is sparse. This is depriving policymakers of clear perspectives about the reasons for, restrictions to and potential for the policy's design and implementation.	no		yes
Wilson N., McDaid S.	The mental health effects of a Universal Basic Income: A synthesis of the evidence from previous pilots	2021	no		yes	improve mental health					yes

Lazar O.	Work, Domination, and the False Hope of Universal Basic Income	2021	no		yes	solve problem of domination at work	no		no		yes
Shin Y.-K., Kemppainen T., Kuitto K.	Precarious Work, Unemployment Benefit Generosity and Universal Basic Income Preferences: A Multilevel Study on 21 European Countries	2021	no		no		no		no		no
Vlandas T.	The political economy of individual-level support for the basic income in Europe	2021	no		no		yes	These results suggest one possible reason why countries with high support for a UBI have not introduced it: the mixed support among the left means a pro-UBI coalition has to draw on right-wing voters who may support it only with lower taxes and/or extensive replacement of welfare state benefits, which in turn may further alienate parts of the left	no		yes
Khoma N., Vdovychyn I.	Universal basic income as a form of social contract: Assessment of the prospects of institutionalisation	2021	no	?	yes	potential ability of UBI to act as the latest philosophy of social policy in the era of globalisation, technological progress, pandemic challenges, etc. was proved	yes	need for public solidarity regarding the new social contract as a key prerequisite for the widespread implementation of UBI	yes	interest in UBI was caused by the inefficiency of the institution of the welfare state in the context of economic globalisation, technological advance (automation, robotisation of production) and increased under long-term quarantine restrictions in 2020-2021 with their devastating effect on national economies	yes
De Andrade L.H.A., Ylikännö M., Kangas O.	Increased Trust in the Finnish UBI Experiment - Is the Secret Universalism or Less Bureaucracy?	2021	yes	Finland	yes	protect recipients' trust by circumventing selectivity paraphernalia	no		no		yes

Santoni de Sio F., Almeida T., van den Hoven J.	The future of work: freedom, justice and capital in the age of artificial intelligence	2021	no		yes	BI having positive impact on future work and employment ?	no		no		yes
Cigna L.M.	Looking for a North Star? Ideological justifications and trade unions' preferences for a universal basic income	2021	no		yes	This study illustrates that unions' preferences for a UBI are associated with their theoretical understanding of labour, diverging substantially across welfare regimes. Whereas unions from Bismarckian and Nordic countries are generally opposed to a UBI, organizations from Liberal and Mediterranean countries tend to see UBI as a legitimate policy option. However, in some circumstances they set aside the policy for pragmatic reasons, thus disconnecting their normative orientations from perceptions of its concrete viability.	no		no		yes
McGann M., Murphy M.P.	Income Support in an Eco-Social State: The Case for Participation Income	2021	no		yes	UBS in the short term, be more administratively practical and politically feasible than universal basic income.	no		no		yes
Kildal N.	Basic income and social democratic policies	2021	no		no		yes	The article argues that the lack of enthusiasm for the last option among social democrats is based on the misconception	no		yes

								that a basic income will harm people's motivation to work, their self-respect, the social economy and the principle of justice. The article sheds light on this misconception. In the closing remarks, the proposal for an 'emergency basic income' is considered in view of the current global corona crisis.			
Muravska T., Dyomkin D.	Proof positive? Testing the universal basic income as a post-covid new normal: The cases of the baltic and canada	2021	yes	Canada and Baltics	yes	Social security: global crisis, exposing the alarming state of affairs of social security, has reopened an intense debate over the role of government interventions and the scope of the welfare state and paved the way for reforms that would embrace better state funding, with an emphasis on social solidarity.	no		no		yes
Reveley J.	Universal basic income revisited: COVID-19, biopolitical trade-offs, and the expropriation of digital academic labour	2021	no		yes	solution to the increasingly binaristic choice between work and life in the neoliberal university and beyond	no		yes	crucial distinction between UBI as an emergency response and UBI as an institutionally frame-breaking initiative, the latter – non-emergency UBI	yes

Sadiq K., du Preez H.	The case for a universal basic income in South Africa: A conceptual approach	2021	yes	Alaska, Switzerland, Canada, Finland, Kenya and Namibia	yes	decouples income from labour and removes any means or employment tests from the receipt of assistance; such a model is not outside the realm of political will or practicality	no		no		yes
Kozák M.	Cultural productivism and public support for the universal basic income from a cross-national perspective	2021	no		no		yes	The study argues that the capacity of UBI to appeal to the general public is limited by the prosperity of post-industrial societies, rather than by the cultural attachment of their populations to paid work.	no		yes
Cabrales A., Hernández P., Sánchez A.	Robots, labor markets, and universal basic income	2020	no		yes	neither universal basic income nor a tax on robots decrease workers' effort.	no		no		yes
Riedl D.	Financing universal basic income: Eliminating poverty and bolstering the middle class while addressing inequality, economic rents, and climate change	2020	no		yes	society (and American capitalism) would be on a more stable, equitable, and environmentally sustainable footing	yes	funding	no		yes

Spies-Butcher B., Phillips B., Henderson T.	Between universalism and targeting: Exploring policy pathways for an Australian Basic Income	2020	yes	Australia	yes	reduce inequality and poverty while also requiring taxes to rise substantially. Placing these trade-offs in international context we find the policy would reduce inequality to levels similar to Nordic welfare states while increasing overall taxation to approximately the OECD average.	yes	too expensive and too radical a departure from existing welfare state structures to be a feasible policy option	no		yes
Baker S.E.	Post-work Futures and Full Automation: Towards a Feminist Design Methodology	2020	no		yes	full automation, universal basic income, and future thinking, should be demanded in order to challenge neo-liberal hegemony.	no		no		yes
Lombardozi L., Pitts F.H.	Social form, social reproduction and social policy: Basic income, basic services, basic infrastructure	2020	no		yes	solution to a trifold crisis of work, wage and social democracy; UBI not the right tool, but Universal Basic Infrastructure and Universal Basic Services	no		no		yes
Zimmermann K., Boljka U., Rakar T., Hrast M.F.	The social legitimacy of the universal basic income from a social justice perspective: A comparative analysis of Germany and Slovenia	2020	no		yes	solution for the consequences of a large variety of current societal challenges, such as unemployment, over- education, ecological crises, gender inequality and issues related to digitalization and automatization; option for future welfare state	no		no		yes

Feinberg R.M., Kuehn D.	Does a Guaranteed Basic Income Encourage Entrepreneurship? Evidence from Alaska	2020	yes	Alaska	yes	UBI increased entrepreneurial activity	no		yes	response to structural employment shifts due to automation and globalization, another motivation that is sometimes put forward for these plans is to encourage risk-taking by providing a safety net:	yes
Lee S.S.-Y., Lee J.-E., Kim K.-S.	Evaluating basic income, basic service, and basic voucher for social and ecological sustainability	2020	yes	Korea	no		no		yes	Social and Ecological Transition (SET)	yes
Mathers A.	Universal basic income and cognitive capitalism: A post-work dystopia in the making?	2020	no		yes	re-orientation of welfare distribution would not only mitigate the effects of these tectonic changes to the nature of labour, but it might in fact facilitate a break away from neoliberal capitalism and towards a post-work condition; handmaid for capitalism as its mode of production evolves.			yes	The rise of the gig economy and the prospect of increased automation has led to renewed calls for the implementation of a Universal Basic Income scheme from a variety of spokespeople on the left, including notable journalists, academics and politicians	yes
Spies-Butcher B.	Advancing Universalism in Neoliberal Times? Basic Income, Workfare and the Politics of Conditionality	2020	no		no		no		no		no
Fleischer M.P., Hemel D.	The architecture of a basic income	2020	no		no		yes	the design of UBI requires sustained scholarly attention	no		yes
Roosma F., van Oorschot W.	Public opinion on basic income: Mapping European support for a radical alternative for welfare provision	2020	no		no		yes	questions arise about its social legitimacy.	yes	This pattern of relations on both the individual and contextual levels seems to suggest that it is not the universal character or its unconditionality that makes a BI so attractive to a large share of the European population,	yes

										but the fact that it provides (poor) people with a guaranteed minimum income.	
Mason P.	The Postcapitalist Transition: Policy Implications for the Left	2020	no		yes	UBI is program adopted by left parties for transition bc capitalism isn't functioning as a system anymore	no		yes	political programme of left parties	yes
Thompson P.	Capitalism, Technology and Work: Interrogating the Tipping Point Thesis	2020	no		yes	UBI proponents views are on trend with developments in markets and technology	yes	post-work discourses are not sustainable	no		yes
Magnani R., Piccoli L.	Universal basic income with flat tax reform in France	2020	yes	France	yes	reduction in income inequalities and poverty + positive effect at macroeconomic level—> equity-efficiency trade-off would not be produced	yes	equity-efficiency trade-off	no		yes
Judrupa I., Romanovs A.	Sustainable public finances-impact of universal basic income on economy: Case study of latvia	2020	yes	Latvia	yes	UBI stimulates economic growth	yes	financial feasibility	no		yes
Bohnenberger K.	Money, vouchers, public infrastructures? A framework for sustainable welfare benefits	2020	no		yes	social impacts vastly evaluated but not ecological	no		yes	ecological sustainability	yes
McDonough B., Morales J.B.	Universal basic income	2019	no		no		no		no		no
Hamilton L., Mulvale J.P.	"Human Again": The (Unrealized) Promise of Basic Income in Ontario	2019	yes	Canada	yes	enabling economic security and social participation	no		no		yes

Fouksman E., Klein E.	Radical transformation or technological intervention? Two paths for universal basic income	2019	yes	Australia and USA	yes	efficient technological solution to poverty and economic insecurity.	yes	coloniality and class relations	no		yes
Ciaian P., Ivanov A., Kancs D.	Universal basic income: A viable policy alternative?	2019	no		no		no		no		no
Gough I.	Universal Basic Services: A Theoretical and Moral Framework	2019	no		no		no		yes	equality, efficiency, solidarity and sustainability	yes
Ghatak M., Maniquet F.	Universal Basic Income: Some Theoretical Aspects	2019	no		yes	both normative and practical considerations make UBI easier to defend as a tool of poverty alleviation in developing countries than as a tool to achieve social justice in developed ones.	yes	feasability	no		yes
Hall R.P., Ashford R., Ashford N.A., Arango-Quiroga J.	Universal basic income and inclusive capitalism: Consequences for sustainability	2019	no		yes	economic stability	yes	approaches rarely consider the potential environmental impact from the likely increase in aggregate demand for goods and services or consider ways to focus this demand on more sustainable forms of consumption	yes	enhancing environmental sustainability through 'new' model/ approach of UBI	yes
Bidadanure J.U.	The political theory of universal basic income	2019	no		yes	UBI fundamentally unjust	no		yes	social justice	yes
Sculos B.W.	Changing lives and minds: Progress, strategy, and universal basic income	2019	no		yes	UBI is part of 'transitional programme';	yes	left criticisms of UBI	no		yes

Kapoor I.	Cold critique, faint passion, bleak future: Post-Development's surrender to global capitalism	2017	no		yes	post-development ultimately engages in an unconscious acceptance of capitalism	yes	failure of post-development	no		yes
Lacey A.	Universal basic income as development solution?	2017	no		yes	just solution to wealth distribution and anecdote to poverty; a means to resolve the impact of neoliberal reform at the macroeconomic level and at the more specific level of welfare reform	no		no		yes
Battistoni A.	The false promise of universal basic income	2017	no		yes	version of UBI depends on who pushes it; atm when article was published, Trump was still president so voting for UBI was problematic	yes	who is proposing a UBI with what intentions	yes	right or left orientation	yes
Schneider H.	Universal Basic Income — Empty Dreams of Paradise	2017	no		yes	UBI giving wrong incentives and tends to promote collective poverty	no		yes	wealth of society; optimal resource allocation	yes
Fleischer M.P., Hemel D.	Atlas nods: The libertarian case for a basic income	2017	no		yes	supporters of a universal basic income have been self-described libertarians- even though libertarians are generally considered to be antagonistic towards redistribution and a universal basic income is, at its core, a program of income redistribution	no		yes	relationship between libertarian theory and UBI	yes

Table B2 Overview of second classification of selected literature

Authors	Title	Year	Notion			Classifications														
			Pro	Neutral	Critical	Claims + Values						Challenges					Impact on individual level		Pilot Projects	
						Decoupling work/labour	Environmental Sustainability	UBI as answer for future work/	UBI reduce poverty	Provision of social security	UBI stimulates economic growth	Design/ Structure of	Funding/ Financing it	Differentiating between UBI for	UBI and relationship to	Coloniality and class relations	Behavioural changes (also at work)/	Mental Health Improvement		Case studies + trials
Sá Valente M.	Basic Income and Unequal Longevity	2022	1									1								
Gazioğlu A., Çakıroğlu Z.D., Doğan A.	Effects of COVID-19 Pandemic on Robot Employment and Digitalization in Employment	2022																		
Arat Z.F.K., Waring D.	Rethinking work, the right to work, and automation	2022		1				1												
Klein E., Fouksman E.	Reparations as a Rightful Share: From Universalism to Redress in Distributive Justice	2022																		
Jordan S., Ferguson G., Haglin K.	Measuring and framing support for universal basic income	2022		1								1								
Perkins G., Gilmore S., Guttormsen D.S.A., Taylor S.	Analysing the impacts of Universal Basic Income in the changing world of work: Challenges to the psychological contract and a future research agenda	2022	1						1											

Choi G.	Basic Human Values and Attitudes towards a Universal Basic Income in Europe	2021	1								1							
Garcia-Murillo M.A., Macinnes I.P.	Consumption Patterns under a Universal Basic Income	2021	1													1		
Johnson M.T., Johnson E.A.	Examining the ethical underpinnings of universal basic income as a public health policy: Prophylaxis, social engineering and 'good' lives	2021	1								1							
Wilson N., McDaid S.	The mental health effects of a Universal Basic Income: A synthesis of the evidence from previous pilots	2021	1			1											1	
Lazar O.	Work, Domination, and the False Hope of Universal Basic Income	2021	1			1					1							
Shin Y.-K., Kemppainen T., Kuitto K.	Precarious Work, Unemployment Benefit Generosity and Universal Basic Income Preferences: A Multilevel Study on 21 European Countries	2021																
Vlandas T.	The political economy of individual-level support for the basic income in Europe	2021	1								1			1				
Khoma N., Vdovychyn I.	Universal basic income as a form of social contract: Assessment of the prospects of institutionalisation	2021	1				1	1	1									
De Andrade L.H.A., Ylikännö M., Kangas O.	Increased Trust in the Finnish UBI Experiment - Is the Secret Universalism or Less Bureaucracy?	2021	1						1									1

Santoni de Sio F., Almeida T., van den Hoven J.	The future of work: freedom, justice and capital in the age of artificial intelligence	2021	1			1		1										
Cigna L.M.	Looking for a North Star? Ideological justifications and trade unions' preferences for a universal basic income	2021	1								1			1				
McGann M., Murphy M.P.	Income Support in an Eco-Social State: The Case for Participation Income	2021	1								1							
Kildal N.	Basic income and social democratic policies	2021	1								1							
Muravska T., Dyomkin D.	Proof positive? Testing the universal basic income as a post-covid new normal: The cases of the baltic and canada	2021	1						1									1
Revey J.	Universal basic income revisited: COVID-19, biopolitical trade-offs, and the expropriation of digital academic labour	2021	1			1					1							
Sadiq K., du Preez H.	The case for a universal basic income in South Africa: A conceptual approach	2021	1			1												1
Kozák M.	Cultural productivism and public support for the universal basic income from a cross-national perspective	2021	1								1							
Cabrales A., Hernández P., Sánchez A.	Robots, labor markets, and universal basic income	2020	1			1										1		
Riedl D.	Financing universal basic income: Eliminating poverty and bolstering the middle class while addressing	2020	1				1			1			1					

	inequality, economic rents, and climate change																		
Spies-Butcher B., Phillips B., Henderson T.	Between universalism and targeting: Exploring policy pathways for an Australian Basic Income	2020	1					1	1			1							1
Baker S.E.	Post-work Futures and Full Automation: Towards a Feminist Design Methodology	2020	1					1						1					
Lombardozi L., Pitts F.H.	Social form, social reproduction and social policy: Basic income, basic services, basic infrastructure	2020	1			1		1		1		1							
Zimmermann K., Boljka U., Rakar T., Hrast M.F.	The social legitimacy of the universal basic income from a social justice perspective: A comparative analysis of Germany and Slovenia	2020	1			1	1	1	1	1									
Feinberg R.M., Kuehn D.	Does a Guaranteed Basic Income Encourage Entrepreneurship? Evidence from Alaska	2020	1			1											1		1
Lee S.S.-Y., Lee J.-E., Kim K.-S.	Evaluating basic income, basic service, and basic voucher for social and ecological sustainability	2020	1				1			1									1
Mathers A.	Universal basic income and cognitive capitalism: A post-work dystopia in the making?	2020	1			1		1		1									
Spies-Butcher B.	Advancing Universalism in Neoliberal Times? Basic Income, Workfare and the Politics of Conditionality	2020																	

Fleischer M.P., Hemel D.	The architecture of a basic income	2020			1						1							
Roosma F., van Oorschot W.	Public opinion on basic income: Mapping European support for a radical alternative for welfare provision	2020	1						1		1							
Mason P.	The Postcapitalist Transition: Policy Implications for the Left	2020	1						1									
Thompson P.	Capitalism, Technology and Work: Interrogating the Tipping Point Thesis	2020			1						1			1				
Magnani R., Piccoli L.	Universal basic income with flat tax reform in France	2020	1					1	1									1
Judrupa I., Romanovs A.	Sustainable public finances- impact of universal basic income on economy: Case study of latvia	2020	1							1		1						1
Bohnenberger K.	Money, vouchers, public infrastructures? A framework for sustainable welfare benefits	2020	1				1											
McDonough B., Morales J.B.	Universal basic income	2019																
Hamilton L., Mulvale J.P.	“Human Again”: The (Unrealized) Promise of Basic Income in Ontario	2019	1					1	1									1
Fouksman E., Klein E.	Radical transformation or technological intervention? Two paths for universal basic income	2019	1					1							1			1
Ciaian P., Ivanov A., Kancs D.	Universal basic income: A viable policy alternative?	2019																

Gough I.	Universal Basic Services: A Theoretical and Moral Framework	2019	1				1	1		1		1							
Ghatak M., Maniquet F.	Universal Basic Income: Some Theoretical Aspects	2019	1						1				1	1					
Hall R.P., Ashford R., Ashford N.A., Arango-Quiroga J.	Universal basic income and inclusive capitalism: Consequences for sustainability	2019	1				1		1			1							
Bidanure J.U.	The political theory of universal basic income	2019			1							1							
Sculos B.W.	Changing lives and minds: Progress, strategy, and universal basic income	2019	1					1		1					1				
Kapoor I.	Cold critique, faint passion, bleak future: Post-Development's surrender to global capitalism	2017			1										1				
Lacey A.	Universal basic income as development solution?	2017	1						1	1									
Battistoni A.	The false promise of universal basic income	2017		1								1			1				
Schneider H.	Universal Basic Income — Empty Dreams of Paradise	2017			1							1							
Fleischer M.P., Hemel D.	Atlas nods: The libertarian case for a basic income	2017			1							1							