

How Basic Income Will Transform Active Citizenship? A Scenario of Political Participation beyond Delegation

Katarzyna Gajewska, PhD¹

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Abstract

This article questions the potential development of political deliberation and the old forms of political participation, such as voting, and party or associational membership, in the wake of freeing the precariat's time via the introduction of a basic income. Instead, it predicts that other forms of expression of citizenship will be developed: self-organization of services and solidarity among citizens, direct action to influence government outcomes, and restructuring the production of subsistence goods. These predictions of the forms of participation are derived from the currently observed trends in the attitudes of citizens and in the restructuring of organizational forms in the realms of production and representation of interests. A basic income may promote the restructuring of production and create new levels of organizing in direct democratic ways within projects involving peer production. The structural changes caused by a basic income will induce the necessity of developing new forms of active citizenship to sustain the project.

Keywords: citizenship, political participation, precariat, basic income, radical democracy, postcapitalism

¹ Katarzyna Gajewska (PhD Bremen) is an independent scholar. She is the author of the book: *Transnational Labour Solidarity: Mechanisms of Commitment to Cooperation within the European Trade Union Movement* (Routledge, 2009, 2013). Interested in alternative organization of production and postcapitalism, I conduct research on peer production of services in the physical world. If you would like to receive irregular updates on my research write me an e-mail to this address: k.gajewska_comm[AT]zoho.com and/or like my Facebook profile: Katarzyna Gajewska – Independent Scholar. You can support my research, see Goteo crowdfunding campaign: <http://goteo.org/project/basic-income-and-peer-production> .

Basic income (BI) is defined as ‘an income unconditionally paid to all on an individual basis, without means test or work requirement.’² It is one of the most advanced changes in the paradigm of capitalism, as it would transform the principles of the capitalist system but it does not challenge this system. The proponents of basic income argue that a deepening of democracy and a democratization of citizenship will be a result of its introduction. The ethical argumentation in favor of basic income mentions that this measure would enable full inclusion of all citizens. This would be a base for their participation in political community. Van Parijs uses expression ‘full participant in the community.’³

This article will extend the scenario of a 'politics of paradise' presented in Standing's article in *Polity*, where he conceptualizes on the forms of citizen involvement to be induced by the introduction of a basic income. I believe that this element of his scenario requires revision. My contribution is based on assumptions about citizenship norms that differ from those underpinning his vision. Citizenship norms are defined as a ‘shared set of expectations about citizen's role in politics.’⁴ It is an important task of political scientists to develop scenarios on the effects of a BI on citizenship to enrich the reflection on potential outcomes of this reform. Furthermore, my contribution, by highlighting that a BI would be introduced in a specific citizenship norms and power relations context, will develop argument against making civic engagement a condition for receiving a BI allocation, which has been proposed by some promoters of basic income.

Two elements may intervene in the scenario of political participation after the introduction of a BI: 1) current trends in state-citizen relations and 2) the changes in the organizing of state and production resulting from the change in power relations induced by a BI. The first element involves the intensification of citizenship norms and political activities operating outside of the logic of delegation. It results from the increased citizen awareness and learning about the inherent democratic deficit of the delegation system. The second element anticipates the change in state organization, which will follow this radical redistribution mechanism. This shift may inculcate new citizenship norms and reinforce new forms of

² Philippe Van Parijs, “Basic Income: A Simple Idea for the Twenty-First Century,” *Politics and Society* 32(1 2004): 7-39.

³ Philippe Van Parijs, “Competing justifications of basic income,” in *Arguing for Basic Income*, P. Van Parijs ed., (London: Verso, 1992), 3-43.

⁴ Russell J. Dalton, “Citizenship Norms and the Expansion of Political Participation,” *Political Studies* 56 (March 2008): 76-98, 78.

political activity. Any prediction on the forms of participation should include these two trends. The hypothesis presented by Standing, namely, that there is a causal connection between the relations of production and citizenship, also underpins the argument presented in this article. It will further develop a conceptualization of transformations in the state governance and the provision of goods and services that could be promoted by the introduction of a basic income.

The analysis of the impact of a basic income on the political participation naturally subscribed to the future studies research. Its logic of inquiry bases on an observation of the current trends. The examples that I will present may appear marginal. However, they reflect the broader, statistically confirmed, trends in citizen perceptions and attitudes towards the state and the structural factors that may dominate once a basic income is introduced. The importance of spontaneous citizen organizing in predicting future has been recognized in the discipline of future studies. Futurist analysis should take into account ‘bottom-up self-organisation [sic!],’ instead of concentrating only on policy makers and managers.⁵

My argument will be developed in the following steps: 1) I will summarize literature on the impact of basic income on citizenship and specifically political participation. Standing is the main contributor in this debate. I will relate the conceptualization of political involvement hoped for in Standing's 'politics of paradise' to the model of state-citizen relations based on delegation. In this way, underlying assumptions about citizenship norms in his vision will be highlighted. 2) I will present recent findings and the conceptualization of citizenship norms that are contrary to those underpinning Standing's scenario. Furthermore, the role of deliberation in politics will be questioned. 3) I will analyze the structural changes induced by a basic income that may have an impact on citizenship norms and the forms of political participation. 4) Finally, I will bring these elements together to predict the future forms of political participation that would develop if a basic income were introduced. This will bring out more detail and enable fine-tuning of the scenario of a 'politics of paradise' in consideration of current trends. I will illustrate forms of participation in a model that operates outside of the logic of delegation and that has as its base a radical democratic citizenship. In the conclusions, the conceptualization in dialogue with Standing's vision will be discussed.

Scenarios of Basic Income's Impact on Political Participation

⁵ Aaron C.T. Smith, “Complexity theory for organizational futures studies,” *foresight* 7(3 2005): 22-30, 28.

Scholars promoting a BI usually see it as a way to advance citizen participation. However, the forms of the realization of an active citizenship and the model of democracy resulting from this change within the capitalist paradigm have been outlined in Standing's contributions most extensively. Other authors have made some implicit assumptions about the forms of participation. I will start off by summarizing Standing's conceptualization. His implicit conceptualization of a democratic model that would be fostered by the introduction of a basic income corresponds to the delegation system.

Standing makes a valuable point by linking the character of democracy to the structure of production and the use of labor. In his articles and book, he analyzes the impact of the growing precarization of work in developed countries on political participation and choices. Standing observes that political participation and well-functioning democracy are impeded by two factors imposed by the precarization of labor: 1) the lack of representation of the interests of this marginalized group and 2) the lack of control over their own time and insufficient time to build a political community. Standing describes the 'precaritized mind' as being prone to engage in undemanding activities rather than concentrate on one subject. He points to the shrinking of time available for reflection and the discussion of politics within this group, which would be a condition for meaningful participation in the democratic process. He assumes that the time 'gained' thanks to the increased security conveyed by the provision of a basic income would be used for reflection and debate, which would rebuild the old model of delegation democracy.⁶ His vision of a 'politics of paradise' – an optimistic scenario of democracy in the postindustrial age – combines three elements: the development of associations representing the interests of the precariat, a basic income, and the increased involvement of the precariat in political deliberations, and consequently its participation in associations, parties, and voting. He envisions that the introduction of a basic income will enable citizens to build associations for the precariat and give them time to engage actively in deliberation, voting, and other political activities.⁷ However, he mainly writes about forms of participation associated with a model of democracy based on delegation and the aggregation of interests.

One of the questions in the debate on a basic income is whether the allocation should be conditional on active citizenship and political participation. This article's prediction on an active

⁶ Guy Standing, "Tertiary Time: The Precariat's Dilemma," *Public Culture* 25 (Winter 2013): 5-23.

⁷ Guy Standing, *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2011); Guy Standing, "The Precariat: From Denizens to Citizens?" *Polity* 44 (October 2012): 588-608; Standing, "Tertiary Time."

citizenship and on the forms of political participation after a basic income is introduced gives some clues to this debate. Standing argues that political participation should be a condition to receive a BI. André Gorz has been arguing that a basic income should be conditional on the performance of a social service of considerable length (20.000 hours) but he dropped this proposal.⁸ Some authors propose to guarantee a basic income in exchange for an “approved” citizen contribution,⁹ others argue against any form of coercion attached to this measure. The latter argue that conditionality faces feasibility problems because it would require administrative capacities for monitoring and control. It would also be inefficient and intrusive. Although it may help to get the support for a BI, it would also undermine it due to the resources needed for monitoring.¹⁰ A middle ground is presented by Williams and Nadin, who propose that citizens should be rewarded for their contribution to the community but no conditionality on receiving a basic income should be introduced.¹¹

Structural crisis of the delegation as a model of citizen-state relations

I will here demonstrate the limits of the delegation principle in state-citizen relations and in the organization of interest representation. Žižek explains uprisings in Greece and Turkey (and the Occupy movement in general) by referring to the inherent democratic deficit of the state and the market. He points to two sources of discontentment with the current model of democracy: 1) capitalism as a system and not just some instances of its malfunctioning and 2) the incapacity of the current democratic system, in the form of representative multi-party democracy, to correct capitalism.¹² This explanation of social uprising

⁸ André Gorz, “L'allocation universelle: version de droite et version de gauche,” *La Revue Nouvelle* 81 (1985): 419-428; André Gorz, *Reclaiming Work: Beyond the Wage-based Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press & Blackwell, 1999).

⁹ Anthony B. Atkinson, “The Case for a Participation Income,” *Political Quarterly* 27 (1 1996), 67-70; Anthony B. Atkinson, *Poverty in Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); Jeremy Rifkin, *The End of Work*, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1995).

¹⁰ Brian Barry, “UBI and the Work Ethic,” in *What's Wrong with a Free Lunch?* Ed. Philippe van Parijs (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001). Bill Jordan, *The New Politics of Welfare: social justice in a global context* (London: Sage, 1998); Bill Jordan, “Efficiency, Justice and the Obligations of Citizenship,” in *Social Policy in Transition: Anglo-German Perspectives in the New European Community*, (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1994, pp. 109-113); Jurgen DeWispelaere and Lindsay Stirton, “The Public Administration Case Against Participation Income,” *Social Service Review* 81 (3 2007): 523-549; Jurgen DeWispelaere and Lindsay Stirton, “A Disarmingly Simple Idea? Practical Bottlenecks in Implementing a Universal Basic Income,” *International Social Security Review* 65 (April-June 2012): 103–121.

¹¹ Colin C. Williams and Sara Nadin, “Beyond the market: The case for a citizen's income,” *Re-public: re-imagining democracy*, November 23, 2010, URL to article: <http://www.re-public.gr/en/?p=3070>.

¹² Slavoj Žižek, “Trouble in Paradise: Slavoj Žižek on the Protests in Turkey and Greece,” *London Review of Books*, <http://www.lrb.co.uk/2013/06/28/slavoj-zizek/trouble-in-paradise>, 28 June 2013.

can be generalized to citizens' perception of the state, which defines political participation. The state's position in the capitalist relations of production determines this perception. State managers are dependent on capital and its interests are reflected in their decision making. The democratic process helps or used to help to balance the interests of capital with those of society because state managers are dependent on voters for re-election.¹³ However, old forms of participation do not seem to be an effective way of pursuing interests anymore. The analysis of these two problems of the current state of democracy is the basis for the conceptualization of new forms of citizenship.

The distinction between two forms of democracy: aggregative and radical types, is crucial for elaborating on citizenship norms.¹⁴ The three dominant models of governance and citizen-public administration relations, namely, the classic or Weberian model, new public management, and collaborative governance, belong to the aggregative model. The principle underpinning the aggregative model is delegation. Even though citizens may be involved in the process of decision making, they have limited influence on the final output. Incumbents' initiatives in the realm of political participation do not seem to alleviate the democratic deficit. Participatory elements within the new public management and neo-Weberian state models can be motivated by the instrumental aim of overcoming resistance.¹⁵ Participatory and deliberative procedures can be used as 'public relations' tools by political elites to give citizens the illusion of engagement,¹⁶ so-called 'participatory window-dressing.'¹⁷ Even in Brazil, from where the model of participatory budgeting spread to other countries and where its practice is considered to be most advanced,¹⁸ participatory budgeting constitutes another layer of representation and can be derived from the

¹³ Fred Block, "The Ruling Class Does Not Rule: Notes on the Marxist Theory of the State," *Socialist Revolution* 33 (May-June 1977): 6-28.

¹⁴ Simon Springer, "Public Space as Emancipation: Meditations on Anarchism, Radical Democracy, Neoliberalism and Violence," *Antipode* 43 (March 2011): 525-562.

¹⁵ William N. Dunn and David Y. Miller, "A Critique of the New Public Management and the Neo-Weberian State: Advancing a Critical Theory of Administrative Reform," *Public Organization Review* 7 (December 2007) 345-358, 355.

¹⁶ Léon Blondiaux, "L'idée de démocratie participative: enjeux, impensés et questions récurrentes," In M.-H. Bacqué et al. (eds), *Gestion de proximité et démocratie participative*. (Paris: La découverte, 2005). Léon Blondiaux and Yves Sintomer, "L'impératif délibératif," *Politix* 15.57 (2002): 17-35.

¹⁷ Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, "Countervailing Power in Empowered Participatory Governance," in *Deepening Democracy* (London/New York: Verso, 2003), 265.

¹⁸ Yves Sintomer, Carsten Herzberg, Giovanni Allegretti, with Anja Röcke, "Learning from the South: Participatory Budgeting Worldwide – an Invitation to Global Cooperation," *Dialog Global* No. 25, Bonn: InWent gGmbH – Capacity Building International, Germany/Service Agency Communities in One World. (2010)

strategic choices of incumbents.¹⁹ Aggregative models of democracy are not able to provide a real alternative to citizens because of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system. State managers tend to take capitalist interests into account. The forms of participation proposed by Standing also reflect the democracy model based on delegation. Even if deliberation, becoming possible due to the ‘gain’ of time for the precariat resulting from provision of a basic income, is about the direct involvement of participants, the final outcome is delegation. In this sense, deliberation is part of the aggregative democracy model.

Not only do workers have less say in determining their working conditions owing to the growing power of employers, but also consumers have only a passive role in the production process, output, and prices. Since the economy is based on the necessity of consumption, this is a huge democratic deficit in the current economic system. In the realm of services in the general public interest, which are increasingly being privatized, citizens can less and less meaningfully participate in their governance, being left with the relatively passive roles of voter and client.²⁰

Although a BI may empower workers by giving them an exit option, it does not automatically imply a voice for the precariat, an increasing proportion of the population.²¹ A BI does not seem to prevent the fact that such aggregative forms of representation as associations to represent the precariat’s interests, as Standing envisions, will lose significance. First, the organizing of the precariat is more difficult than of the salariat due to the dispersal of labor and changes in workplaces. The representation of this group’s interests needs to take place outside of the workplace. The decentralization of its bargaining system implies an increase in operating costs for trade unions because of a huge number of temporary work contracts. It is also difficult to formulate collective interests and organize strikes or other activities for this part of the labor force. Furthermore, the main challenge for precarious workers is the enforcement and execution of law. For example, lawyers in Spain have begun to offer union services and individual forms of representation creating provider-customer relations. However, there is a cost burden to this form of interest representation called ‘adversial legalism’²² and it requires a well-functioning judiciary system.

¹⁹ William R. Nylen, “Participatory Institutions in Latin America: The Next Generation of Scholarship,” *Comparative Politics* 43 (July 2011): 479-497.

²⁰ Elinor Ostrom, “A Communitarian Approach to Local Governance,” *National Civic Review* (Summer 1993): 226-233.

²¹ Cf. Standing, “The Precariat: From Denizens to Citizens?”

²² Miguel Martinez Lucio, “New Communication Systems and Trade Union Politics: A Case Study of Spanish Trade Unions and the Role of Internet,” *Industrial Relations Journal* 34(4 2003): 334-347, 343.

Citizenship norms and the forms of political participation

This section presents current citizenship norms identified in the literature on political participation that contrast with the model of delegation. While delegation is the dominant model of organizing state-citizen relations, there is evidence that it is not accepted by citizens, which may explain their withdrawal from politics.²³ The current economic and governance system has lost trust and legitimacy among citizens, especially after the financial crisis, although skepticism has been developing for the last two decades, in both East and West.²⁴ Within populations in different regions of the world, a transformation of citizenship norms towards direct participation rather than representation has been confirmed through survey research.²⁵ Standing observes that the trust in political systems has diminished. Therefore, citizens choose not to participate in them: ‘Many people understand what is happening. This itself contributes to the thinning of democracy as they witness a game of marketing unworthy of their attention. The millions around the precariat do not feel allegiance to old-style social democratic parties and are suspicious of patrician conservative parties that represent elite and salariat interests.’²⁶

While delegation is the main principle of state and market governance, citizens and social movements are pursuing their interests less and less through representation and delegation. The new generations within trade unions prefer to organize ‘diverse, open, and loose networks.’²⁷ Activists reject delegation. ‘Affinity groups’ are created for anti-globalization protests, and then dissolved afterwards. This form of organization of collective action started in the 1970s. The actors organize without functional divisions and hierarchies. There are no membership cards, and commitment is project-related and limited in time.²⁸ Such groups prefer informal, participatory forms of organization. Instead of formal structures, namely, hierarchies or vertical relations, the organizations are based on reciprocity and cooperation. The

²³ A good overview of recent discussions on measuring civic engagement is provided by Dietlind Stolle and Marc Hooghe, “Review Article: Inaccurate, Exceptional, One-Sided or Irrelevant? The Debate about the Alleged Decline of Social Capital and Civic Engagement in Western Societies,” *British Journal of Political Science* 35 (January 2005): 149–167.

²⁴ Pippa Norris, *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Hubert Tworzecki, “A Dissatisfied New Democracy? Identities, Institutions and Civic Engagement in Post-Communist Poland,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 41 (March 2008): 47-62.

²⁵ Dalton, “Citizenship Norms;” Norris, *Democratic Phoenix*.

²⁶ Guy Standing, “The Precariat: Why It Needs Deliberative Democracy,” Published in *Open Democracy*, available at <http://www.opendemocracy.net/guy-standing/precariat-why-it-needs-deliberative-democracy>, 27 January 2012.

²⁷ Miguel Martinez Lucio and Steve Walker “The Networked Union? The Internet as a Challenge to Trade Union Identity and Roles,” *Critical Perspectives in International Business* 1 (2/3 2005): 137-154, 145.

modes of action are less protest-based and militant; that is, they involve symbolic actions, festivals, rock concerts, media-directed events, petitions, or civil disobedience. Furthermore, political alliances are not sought and stress is put on the autonomy of organizations. They do not seek political access to further their goals, which is attributed to the lessons previously learnt by the movements.²⁹ As such, the model based on delegation and representation to pursue the precariat's interests may be out of sync with current trends in the strategies chosen by the movements nowadays.

The new type of citizen – an ‘everyday maker’ – is involved in the neighborhood outside the state-defined channels of participation,³⁰ and ‘new politics’ happens outside party-based organizations.³¹ These changes reflect citizens’ skepticism about the state.³² Marion Iris Young argues that activists, motivated by deep democratic values, may actually be reluctant to engage in participatory innovations created by the state, being aware of power asymmetry.³³ The radical democracy model is underpinned by two citizenship norms: their mental liberation in the form of disbelief in an encompassing consensus and the attitude of citizens that disregards the incumbent-defined venue for participation. The leak from Edward Snowden that revealed private data collection by the US National Security Agency provided more evidence of a change in citizens’ attitudes. Direct action instead of trusting in state institutions is an increasingly acceptable form of activism. According to a poll by Time magazine, 28 percent of all Americans and 43 percent of Americans between 18 and 34 years old are against the prosecution of Snowden.³⁴

The withdrawal of citizens from politics and state-defined channels of influence should not be seen as an expression of their ignorance and apathy. Contrary to what Standing suggests, this might not be the result of attention deficit, but rather an informed choice and a result of a learning process. Therefore, deliberation, by which Standing hopes to bring the precariat back into state-channeled participation, will

²⁸ Kevin McDonald, “From Solidarity to Fluidarity: Social Movements Beyond ‘Collective Identity’—The Case of Globalization Conflicts,” *Social Movement Studies* 1(2 2002), 109-128, 116f.

²⁹ Susan Walters, “New Social Movement Politics in France: The Rise of Civic Forms of Mobilization,” *West European Politics* 21 (3 1998): 170-186.

³⁰ Henrik P. Bang and Eva Sorenson, “The Everyday Maker: A New Challenge to Democratic Governance,” *Administrative Theory and Praxis* 21 (September 1999): 325-342.

³¹ Vivian Lowndes and Helen Sullivan, “How Low Can You Go? Rationales and Challenges for Neighborhood Governance,” *Public Administration* 86 (March 2008): 53-74.

³² Norris, *Democratic Phoenix*.

³³ Marion Iris Young, “Activist Challenges to Deliberative Democracy,” in *Debating Deliberative Democracy*, ed. J. S. Fishkin and P. Laslett (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 102-120, 102f.

³⁴ Michael Scherer, “The Geeks Who Leak,” *Time*, 24 June 2013, 20-25, 22.

not necessarily have this effect. Citizens mistrust ideologies and hegemonic projects to be implemented by a government.³⁵ Standing presents an idealized concept of deliberation. While he stresses the importance of dialogue and having time to talk about politics in order to form a political community and incite participation, there is no evidence that discussion about politics has any impact on democracy. Empirical research demonstrates that talking about politics fulfills social functions, which have little to do with the ideal of deliberation. A study on the usage of deliberative talk on politics reveals that the functions associated with this kind of activity (information exchange and persuasion of others) are only one of the motives for undertaking them. The researchers in this study found other motives for pursuing this activity, such as social motives like getting to know each other and seeking common ground. They also conceptualized that talking about politics has a narrative function in expressing one's identity.³⁶ One can see the interaction as a process of building social relations and strengthening ties. Combined with the changing citizenship norms, these factors can result in forms of participation that differ from the 'old' ones.

Specifically, instead of interacting with the state, citizens use non-state channels to pursue their interests. Standing points to three forms of political action, which express the detachment of citizens from the state: atavistic-populist (voting for populist parties), anarchic detachment (political violence), and idealistic-progressive (happenings and protest actions).³⁷ Self-organization, a form of participation omitted in Standing's typology, is becoming an important form of citizenship expression. Self-organization is distinct from protest, be it in the form of protest voting, demonstrating, or disruption. Protest is a form of expression targeted at the incumbents and society. The underlying assumption is that the powers that be will respond to the demands. However, one can in fact observe the emergence of a repertoire of action that is not targeted at the state. The precariat instead of contesting unresponsive state institutions, prefer the self-organized provision of services in order to become autonomous of these institutions.³⁸ Heynen³⁹ argues that the realm of social rights and the welfare state has diminished in recent decades in the US, so social

³⁵ Day, "From Hegemony to Affinity."

³⁶ Pamela Johnston Conover and Donald D Searing, "Studying 'Everyday Political Talk' in the Deliberative System," *Acta Politica* 40 (September 2005): 269-83, 279.

³⁷ Standing, *The Precariat*.

³⁸ Christophe Trombert, "Expertise professionnelle et contre-expertise militante dans l'accès aux droits sociaux: tension à front renversé autour du général et du singulier," *SociologieS, Théories et recherches*, 25 June 2013. URL : <http://sociologies.revues.org/4360>

³⁹ Nik Heynen, "Cooking Up Non-violent Civil-disobedient Direct Action for the Hungry: 'Food Not Bombs' and the Resurgence of Radical Democracy in the US," *Urban Studies* 47(6 2010): 1225–1240.

movements have invented other forms of pursuing their struggles. Instead of trusting that delegation to the state will ensure the provision of public services and redistribution, activists create services themselves. For instance, Food Not Bombs produces and redistributes food. Furthermore, representatives of the recent generation of social movements believe that creating alternatives rather than reforming the system is a better way to bring about change, which reflects the mistrust of and awareness of the danger of cooptation by elitist politics and institutions.⁴⁰ Activists focus on the ‘here and now’, practicing alternative forms of production and organization to the state-based and market-based ones as everyday ‘revolutions.’⁴¹ The old forms of representing class interests are losing importance. In the knowledge economy, class struggle is pursued through creating open source products and peer production.⁴² Peer production is a form of pursuing public interest.⁴³

Basic income and the system of delegation

In this section, I will present the transformations of the structure of the state and market which may result from the introduction of basic income because of its potential impact on citizenship norms. Redistribution imposed by a basic income may lead to the further limitation of state provisions due to lower financial resources. This outflow of financial resources from the state apparatus has three main causes: first, a basic income will need to be financed from resources currently allocated to state functioning and public services provision; second, the costs of labor will increase because workers’ bargaining power will give them opportunities to require higher wages than in the current system; third, the pool of employment and consumption-related taxes will shrink because of the lower number of workforce in employment. It is one of the arguments in favor of a BI that it would lower the incentives to be employed, which would limit the extent of production and change the way production is organized. Instead of formal production, which

⁴⁰ cf. Day, “From Hegemony to Affinity.”

⁴¹ Marco Silvestro and Pascal Lebrun, “La révolution à l’échelle humaine, une radicalité actuelle concrète,” *Argument* 12 (Spring-Summer 2010).

⁴² Richard Barbrook, “Cybercommunism: How the Americans Are Superseding Capitalism in Cyberspace,” *Science as Culture* 9 (1 2000): 5-40; Jakob Rigi, “Peer to Peer Production as the Alternative to Capitalism: A New Communist Horizon,” *Journal of Peer Production* (July 2012); Söderberg, *Hacking Capitalism: The Free and Open Source Software Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

⁴³ Rigi, “Peer to Peer Production.”

tends to be more natural-resources-intensive, the realm of informal production will thrive. This development is particularly attractive to those concerned with environmental protection.⁴⁴

The limits of state provision induce the emergence of privatized strategies such as gated communities, especially in places with low local government spending, which limits the opportunities for citizens' input.⁴⁵ Privately managed communities or gated communities create new exclusions, which mean that the state is no longer a reference point for community identity. New laws that apply only within the community are added to the existing state framework. This development is a challenge to representative democracy.⁴⁶ Against this background, I predict that the forms of doing politics will become more individualized and that citizens will identify with their community in opposition to, rather than as part of, the state. Rather than pursuing their interests through channels linked to delegation democracy or participation in market-based consumption, citizens will instead engage in the direct creation of goods, services, and monitoring functions.

Additionally, one can imagine other cost-inducing practices imposed by the capital to extract gains. The introduction of a basic income does not imply an authoritarian communist system. It is not assumed this reform will be accompanied by any measures challenging the capitalist relations of power. It should be noted that labor exploitation is just one of elements of the capitalist exploitation. The property rights in their current forms make other forms of exploitation possible. Therefore, capital, although limited in its opportunities to exploit labor, would still have influence and be able to extract gains by increasing prices and controlling the means of subsistence. This trend would require counter-organization of the precariat because the state, in its present form, does not seem to be able to constitute a counterforce. Weakened by the redistribution of resources to society in the form of a basic income, the state would need to change its functioning. Facing a weakened state, the precariat would also search for other ways to pursue its interests.

⁴⁴ Philippe Van Parijs, "A Green Case for Basic Income?" in *Basic Income: An Anthology of Contemporary Research*, ed. by Karl Widerquist, Jose A. Noguera, Yannick Vanderborght, Jurgen de Wispelaere, Malden, MA and Oxford, UK: Wiley Blackwell, pp. 269-274. Excerpts from Philippe Van Parijs, "Basic Income in a Green Economy: Why Not and Why? Paper presented at the Second European Green Congress (Stockholm, 28 August 1987). Previously unpublished.

⁴⁵ Zoltan Cséfalvay and Chris Webster, "Gates or No Gates? A Cross-European Enquiry into the Driving Forces behind Gated Communities," *Regional Studies* 46 (June 2012): 293-308.

⁴⁶ Martijn Van Der Steen, Mark van Twist, and Philip Marcel Karre, "When Citizens Take Matters into Their Own Hands: How Privately Managed Communities Challenge Government," *Public Integrity* 13 (Fall 2011): 319-331.

Due to the outflow of resources from the state, the system of delegation will lose relevance because there will be less resources to be decided about by the representative democracy channels.

The structural analysis of power relations shaped by a BI points out that this regime would not be sustainable. Since workforce in employment may feel exploited by those not working, it may mobilize jointly with the capital and the state to abolish a BI. Those who live solely from a BI have no bargaining power because they are not in position to withdraw either labor or capital to pursue their interests.⁴⁷ The latter trend can be already observed in societies, in which the ratio of elderly non-working population to working population is rapidly increasing, such as Germany. The system shows the lack of sufficient resources for elderly care: the services offered by the state and tax-paying providers cannot be paid from pensions. Many citizens use migrant illegal workers to supply these services.⁴⁸

This transformation of power relations will require a new type of active citizenship. Self-organization, peer production, and occupying physical spaces and creating common resources to be independent of capital will gain importance. This tactic may help gaining labor's support for a BI because of the reciprocity established through contributing to its opportunities to lower subsistence costs. So far a BI is considered to be a form of exploitation of the workforce by those who do not work. Trade unions are hesitant to support this project.⁴⁹ It is crucial to establish some form of reciprocity between unemployed on a BI and workers to gain support for the introduction and maintaining of a BI.

Thinking citizenship beyond delegation

Citizens do participate in politics and they do form a political community, but in different ways and at different levels. Citizenship and the public good cannot be thought of only in relation to or in conjunction with the state, but first of all by and for society. New citizenship plays out in self-organized forms of producing services, democratizing access to goods, and producing government functions. We can find the conceptualization of citizenship beyond the logic of delegation in Norris' critical citizen, Young's smart citizen aware of possible instrumentalization by the elites, Lazar's political community against and

⁴⁷ Koen Raes, "Basic Income and Social Power," in *Proceedings of the First International Conference in Basic Income*, ed. by A.G. Miller, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium, 4-6 September 1986, Basic Income European Network, Antwerp, pp. 106-122.

⁴⁸ Harald Henzler and Lothar Späth, *Der Generationen-Pakt. Warum die Alten nicht das Problem, sondern die Lösung sind*, Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2011.

⁴⁹ Yannick Vanderborght, "Why Trade Unions Oppose Basic Income," *Basic Income Studies. An International Journal of Basic Income Research*, 1 (1 2005): 1-20.

despite the state,⁵⁰ and in the participation of the everyday maker. In the text below, I provide examples of active citizenship, performed outside the state and the market, based on self-organization. A basic income would make various projects of collective autonomy and cooperatives possible. Intensified insecurity related to precarious employment can be alleviated by different forms of pooling resources to achieve more independence from the labor market.

Public services parallel to the state

Activists are not protesting or voting for more accessible public services, but rather creating them through self-organization. An initiative by some users of the Brussels or Lille or Paris subway system, who have formed solidarity groups to pool money, which is allocated to pay a fine if someone is caught for not having a valid ticket helps them to minimize their costs of living. However, this does not just involve fraud. Neither is it classical civil disobedience, which would be a form of protest. This type of action shows citizens' capacity for solidarity in action to increase access to public goods (in this case, transport and mobility). They are organized in a form of solidarity insurance company, calling themselves an insurance of fraud makers (*mutuelle des fraudeurs*).⁵¹ Spanish activists opened offices of economic disobedience where they advice people how to avoid paying taxes to redistribute money to better causes.⁵² A similar example of producing better redistribution is Food Not Bombs, a network of collectives worldwide, which cooperate and distribute food for free.

In Germany, where state provisions cannot meet the demands for elderly care and market services are too expensive for most pensioners elderly people started to organize a parallel to state and market elderly care system. A cooperative, Elderly Cooperative Riedlingen (*Seniorengenossenschaft Riedlingen*), has been established in Riedlingen (a village of about nine thousands inhabitants) that enables younger people to 'earn' services' time before they will need them themselves.⁵³ The cooperative was established in 1990 and had 650 members in 2011. 120 meals are prepared every day and distributed to elderly members.

⁵⁰ S Lazar "Citizens Despite the State: Everyday Corruption and Local Politics in El Alto, Bolivia," in D. Haller and C. Shore eds., *Corruption: Anthropological Perspectives*, (pp. 212-228). (London: Pluto Press, 2005).

⁵¹ Le Parisien, "Ils s'organisent pour frauder dans les transports," 3 May 2010, URL: <http://www.leparisien.fr/transports/ils-s-organisent-pour-frauder-dans-les-transports-03-05-2010-907338.php>

⁵² David M. Gross, "Comprehensive Disobedience: Occupying the Sharing Economy in Spain," Shareable April 9, 2014, <http://www.shareable.net/blog/comprehensive-disobedience-occupying-the-sharing-economy-in-spain>

⁵³ Klaus Dörner calls this type of self-organization 'Bürgerhilfesystem.'

The price of the meal is 5.9 Euro. Active members earn 6.15 Euros per hour and they or their heritors can get this in cash. They can also get the time they helped in the form of the same amount of assistance time later. The services are guaranteed because the organization is able to pay for them from its revenues in case there are no volunteers available in the future.⁵⁴

In addition, in Spain, there are over a dozen cooperatives, which not only produce goods but also introduce new concepts of economics and human relations. Established in 2010 in Catalonia, *Cooperativa Integral Catalana* provides its own healthcare, education, currency, food, and housing. The concept has spread to other Spanish regions and to France and Belgium. The cooperative has a center for meetings, workshops, and eating. They cooperate with a farm and prepare meals. Meals at the restaurant cost 5 euros for external guests. Members' needs are met in exchange for their engagement. The cooperative organizes a healthcare system based on prophylactics and self-responsibility. The health of patients is considered to be their responsibility and volunteer doctors help in achieving better results through coaching. Furthermore, in Brazil, there is *Caixa Colectivo*, a collective of 3,000 people, which is engaged in a project of radical sharing to meet their basic needs. This helps the precariat to liberate itself from the need to work.⁵⁵ Other forms of increasing accessibility to services and autonomy from the labor market include sharing platforms such as couchsurfing and bikesurfing. Such actions, focused on producing tools for change directly rather than defending the right to affordable living through legal measures, subscribes to a form of political involvement outside of delegation logic. New forms of providing public services are also described in my other articles.⁵⁶

The example of Integral Cooperative is interesting because of the well-elaborated reflection on the state and the position of this organization in its political environment. This corresponds to the citizenship norms that may further develop after the introduction of a universal basic income. A leaflet presenting Integral Cooperative of Toulouse, a collective inspired by its Catalan counterpart and making use of the

⁵⁴Herbert Henzler and Lothar Späth, *Der Generationen-Pakt. Warum die Alten nicht das Problem, sondern die Lösung sind* (Munich, Carl Hanser Verlag München), 54-56.

⁵⁵ Bentes, "Collaborative Networks," 37.

⁵⁶ Katarzyna Gajewska, "Peer Production and Prosumerism as a Model for the Future Organization of General Interest Services Provision in Developed Countries Examples of Food Services Collectives," *World Future Review* 6(March 2014): 29-39; Katarzyna Gajewska, "Technological Unemployment but Still a Lot of Work: Towards Prosumerist Services of General Interest," *Journal of Evolution and Technology* 24(February 2014): 104-112.

software developed by the latter, starts with the statement on its relationship to the state: ‘We are not against the system. The system does not serve us: we create another one.’⁵⁷ The aim of the Integral Cooperative movement is to create a system that does not subsume the rules of the market controlled by the state. They want to exit the dependence on Euro and use social currency, which will be controlled in democratic way, in contrast to the current monetary system. The governance is based on the self-management and self-organization principles. They reject the principle of competition, individualism and representative democracy, which are the thrust of the current system. Instead, they want to create a system based on cooperation, collectivism, and mutualism.

Direct action against the market to define the terms of production and consumption

Activists build up alternative platforms for consumption to save resources to show that these can work in practice. Reuse consumption choices, as an alternative to buying new products, are believed to bring about change.⁵⁸ Through sharing and peer production, it is possible to minimize participation in the market system.⁵⁹ The Open Source Ecology project is an ambitious initiative of this kind. The founder, motivated by high prices and the programmed obsolescence of agricultural tools and other technological products available on the market, decided to build open source machines. In effect, he managed to produce machines at lower cost than those available on the market. This initiative evolved into a network of activists working on fifty tools required for a local production system. The project of building a set of tools that will enable a community of 12 people to meet their needs by working for two hours a day can be considered as an expression of the new citizenship norms. Instead of making demands on the government to decrease working hours, to pursue research on innovations making this possible, or to provide subsistence, a group of activists is working directly on the solution. The motivation behind this is a mistrust of market providers, who have an interest in producing low-quality products in order to be able to sustain demand. In this case, the activists work beyond state and market logic. The overall motivation is to contribute to the public good and to the community. The aims of minimizing the costs of production,

⁵⁷ The original text on the leaflet of the Coopérative Intégrale Toulousaine (CIT) is the following : ‘Nous ne sommes pas contre le système. Le système ne nous sert pas: nous en créons un autre.’

⁵⁸ Mike Foden, “Everyday Consumption Practices as a Site for Activism? Exploring the Motivations of Grassroots Reuse Groups,” *People, Place & Policy Online* 6 (3 2012): 148-161.

⁵⁹ Christian Siefke, “Beyond Digital Plenty: Building Blocks for Physical Peer Production,” *Journal of Peer Production* (July 2012).

making it accessible to a broader population, and sharing design (open source production) reflect the virtue of this approach in contributing to the public good, which may be distinct from a state's understanding of the public good. This approach also transcends the current market logic. Instead, an open source economy – a collaborative economy that accelerates innovation to solve pressing world issues – is created. The founder of Open Source Ecology explains his motivation as follows:

‘I am convinced that by injecting a little wisdom into our technology, we can tame technology for true human service. I believe that open society and open source economic development is a route to abundance and prosperity for all. I am convinced that until we learn to share, there will not be enough for everybody. Sharing means engaging in open source economic development. Open source economic development is an economic paradigm where everybody has access to best practices, optimized product designs, and access to local production. I believe that one day, open access to the means of economic production may become a favored option over monopoly money - and stimulate much higher levels of innovation that are currently possible.’⁶⁰ In other words, this project is motivated by the wish for systemic change, not only private goals. The peer production of new machines can benefit others in enabling their access to sustainable living. In summary, this project challenges the current economic paradigm.

Governance measures imposed by direct action

In the literature analyzing the functioning of organizations beyond state hierarchy and market logic, new modes of governance are identified, namely, ‘peer-based approaches to work around non-functioning or imperfect state institutions.’ This anarchic, voluntaristic model has been compared to the privatization and new public management turn, which was a response to the governance failures of state hierarchy in the past. Self-organization that complements government functions is exemplified with Safecast, which produced independent information on the radiation level after the nuclear power plant accident at Fukushima in Japan.⁶¹ One of the leaders of Wikileaks, Julian Assange, sees this collaborative platform that facilitates whistleblowing as a means to increase the accountability of public officials and

⁶⁰ Website Open Source Ecology, “Marcin Bio/CV,” http://test.opensourceecology.org/wiki/Marcin_Bio/CV, accessed on 18 July 2013.

⁶¹ Benkler, “Practical Anarchism: Peer Mutualism, Market Power, and the Fallible State,” *Politics and Society* 41(June 2013): 213-251, 235f.

reduce corruption.⁶² In addition, some activists in France switch off shop window lighting to save energy. Other forms of peer-civic action could include: mapping plots for urban farming or other planning reforms, mapping empty flats for squatting or for exposing the politics of housing, garden guerilla, creating expertise on living conditions of the population, such as the level of radiation or water contamination, monitoring spending by government, and peer-producing open source public goods. These examples and trends are not about delegation and expressing views about how the political system should function. They apply direct action, often in opposition to state interests and to the benefit of society.

The development of ‘everyday maker’ citizenship could be further fostered by the needs induced by possible restructuring caused by the introduction of a basic income. Some types of employment, so-called ‘dirty work,’ will require a better hourly wage to motivate people to do them; alternatively, different solutions will need to be found, such as automation or the redistribution of unattractive tasks. Getting rid of the underpaid and unattractive jobs is one of the ethical arguments in favor of a basic income. This may also open up new forms of citizen involvement. One can imagine that the dirty task of segregating and recycling waste could be organized in a different way. An entrepreneur has invented a system of decentralized waste segregation, which takes place at the level of the neighborhood. Waste is deposited at a counter of a small workshop serving 200-300 households, where an employee segregates, cleans, and prepares recyclable material. In this way, a recycling rate of 80 percent can be achieved.⁶³ This type of neighborhood recycling center could also be operated by volunteers. Contributing to better services in the neighborhood may become a more widespread form of citizen participation.

New citizenship ethos for new forms of political participation

These radical democratic forms of political participation correspond both to the production modes and use of labor in the labor market and to citizenship norms at the same time. Upon the introduction of a basic income, these forms may gain in importance. They are also fostered by technological change. Juris explains the new norms and preference towards direct democracy as a result of technological change and

⁶² Giorel Curran and Morgan Gibson, “WikiLeaks, Anarchism and Technologies of Dissent,” *Antipode* 45 (March 2013): 294–314.

⁶³ Artur Lawrenc, “Andrzej Bartoszkiewicz wynalazł bardzo wydajny system segregacji śmieci,” *Gazeta Lubuska*, 4 April 2011.

the Internet.⁶⁴ According to Benkler and Nissenbaum, peer production is based on and will inculcate a new set of virtues, such as self-selection and volunteerism, active participation rather than passive consumption, gift culture, and the will to contribute to the broader community. They consider that the production logic in peer communities will have an influence on civic attitudes and beliefs. This can be explained by an expected effect of cognitive dissonance, which will induce these beliefs to justify the voluntaristic actions and practices of the individuals involved.⁶⁵ The notion of active participation is an important element distinguishing this culture-in-the-making from the present political culture and the model of democracy based on delegation. Both voting and buying are forms of passive involvement. In contrast, directly contributing to the common good, directly producing government functions, and creating lower levels of coordination and governance demand active involvement.

These developments will change the meaning of citizenship and the venue where it plays out. Various forms of collective autonomy and peer production will add another layer to governance by introducing governance mechanisms at the affinity group level. Such organizational forms provide an opportunity to practice prefigurative politics, such as direct democracy. Juris sees the practice of organizing direct democratic modes of decision making within an anti-corporate movement as a way for activists to challenge the system of representative democracy.⁶⁶ Social change can thus be pursued through the reinvention of daily life: ‘The aim of developing these new structures is to slowly make the state and multilateral organizations obsolete.’⁶⁷ Peer production requires creating bottom-up norms, as was the case in the beginning of commons-based peer production.⁶⁸ Participation outside of state-defined channels creates its own institutions, a new democratic layer in the organization of society, or, better said, affinity groups within society: ‘Peer to peer and the commons are about the direct value creation through civil

⁶⁴ Jeffrey S. Juris, “Social Forums and their Margins: Networking Logics and the Cultural Politics of Autonomous Space,” *Ephemera: Theory & Politics in Organization* 5 (2 2005): 253-72.

⁶⁵ Yochai Benkler and Helen Nissenbaum, “Commons-based Peer Production and Virtue” *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 14 (December 2006): 394-419.

⁶⁶ Jeffrey S. Juris, *Networking Futures: The Movements against Corporate Globalization* Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008. p. 295.

⁶⁷ Marianne Maeckelbergh, “Doing is Believing: Prefiguration as Strategic Practice in the Alterglobalization Movement,” *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest*, 10:01 2011, 1-20, p. 14.

⁶⁸ Mathieu O’Neil, “The Sociology of Critique in Wikipedia,” *Critical Studies in Peer Production* 1.2 (2011): 1-11. Available at: http://works.bepress.com/mathieu_oneil/9.

society, and are about new forms of governance and property that apply directly to civil society groups creating this value.’⁶⁹

In the delegation system, the most advanced form of democracy is a deliberation. Although it implies more participation of citizens than in other representative democracy channels, the outcome is the delegation of the execution of the decisions on what should be done. This implies that the executive power has still some leeway to intermediate between collective will and the output. The redistribution in the form of basic income will flatten the intermediary organizational structures in conducting tasks and reduce the opportunities for delegation. Citizenship beyond delegation is much more about doing than deciding what should be done. The delegation system and deliberation seems to be more consistent with patriarchal culture: hierarchical power relations and the delegation of tasks. In contrast, completing little tasks within peer-to-peer projects in a decentralized and horizontal way conforms rather to feminine characteristics. Since what used to be provided by the state will need to be provided by citizens, the relevance of decision making at the state level will decrease and the relevance of decisions to be made at the decentralized level of the self-organized services will increase. The engagement will be less specialized than an input in delegated system because it may involve such activities as decision making within collectives, ensuring the reliability of service providers through reputation ratings or other forms of horizontal monitoring and the work itself. This all will take time from the ‘time gain’ resulting from the security created by a basic income. Those most involved in the organizations will have more power.

Feminist analysis of political participation points to the fact that female-typical social capital enables men to gain power through engagement in representative democracy structures. In the system where the delegation will be less wide-spread form of organizing everyday life, female social capital will gain more importance. Deliberative democracy focuses too much on male-dominated activities and political participation. Other activities need to be recognized as a part of citizenship – the focus on activities related to male social capital makes women's citizenship invisible according to feminist critique of the concept summarized by Lowndes. Females are more represented in lower and less formal political structures.

⁶⁹ Michel Bauwens, (2010) “How Does the Idea of P2P/Commonism Differ from the Socialist Tradition?” P2P Foundation weblog, 30 November. <http://blog.p2pfoundation.net/how-does-the-idea-of-p2p-and-the-commons-differ-from-the-socialist-tradition/2010/11/30>

Lowndes describes the specificity of politics supported by female social capital: “one that is rooted in trust and mutuality and builds on informal community connections.”⁷⁰

Conclusions

This article argued that the introduction of a BI will not restore the system of representative democracy but rather further contribute to a development of a new model of democracy. The forms of active citizenship expression will conform to non-delegation logic. This change can be derived from current trends. Attitudes towards the state and the level of deference among citizens have changed considerably compared with decades ago. As such, members of the precariat may find it more rewarding to engage in change here and now, to which they can contribute spontaneously and according to their availability. Empirical findings confirm that participants in peer production are motivated by the ideal of a common good.⁷¹

The introduction of a BI will generate structural conditions which will make the transformation of citizenship, mainly in the form of wide-spread self-organization, necessary. This involves DIY political participation, outside of the logic of delegation. In this way, redistributive politics is pursued directly, not by demanding but by creating. Taking charge of production by self-organizing democratizes access to goods and services and leads to redistribution within society. A world with a basic income requires active citizens, cooperators, peers, and makers. Otherwise, the market would further dispossess the population. Instead, they would identify with affinity groups. They would not seek politicized solutions, but instead solve practical and technological problems. However, these solutions would have highly political outcomes.

Standing’s proposal to make political participation a compulsory precondition for receiving a basic income seems to be inappropriate in light of the changes in citizenship norms and the awareness of citizens. This would only infantilize and trivialize political participation. One needs to accept the fact that the ‘politics of paradise’ would be based on logic different from that of the previous era of political

⁷⁰ Vivien Lowndes, “Getting On or Getting By? Women, Social Capital and Political Participation,” *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 6(February 2004): 45-64, p. 61.

⁷¹ Benkler and Nissenbaum, “Commons-based Peer Production and Virtue,” 411.

participation. The relations of production are only one of the elements that shape political participation. Seen in relation to the citizenship norms inculcated by the disappointing experiences with the elites, the new forms of political action and collaboration, as well as the new technologies, peer and DIY citizens will produce a different kind of political community and different ways of expressing citizenship. Similarly to the way the system of production is changing, so is citizenship.

Along with problems with the feasibility of making voting or participation a precondition to receiving a basic income,⁷² these forms of participation seem to be out of sync with a new political culture that would be inculcated by new subsistence practices and production. Instead, the state should provide public spaces and infrastructures for the citizens to organize in solidarity cooperatives. In my analysis of housing problems, I propose to add a land access as part of the package. This would provide citizens with possibility to produce their housing and food rather than be mainly dependent on the market provision and related to it speculation.⁷³ In view of the structural contradictions inherent in the state due to its dependence on capital and self-interest, Atkinson's proposal to make a BI conditional on approved participation would undermine the possibility to deepen democracy. The state may use this requirement to channel citizen's energy to projects and activities fulfilling state's interests and inhibiting initiatives contrary to capital's monopoly.

⁷² cf. Jurgen DeWispelaere and Lindsay Stirton, "A Disarmingly Simple Idea? Practical Bottlenecks in Implementing a Universal Basic Income," *International Social Security Review* 65 (April-June 2012): 103–121.

⁷³ Katarzyna Gajewska, "Universal basic income, power relations, and housing problems: the proposal of a complementary land access," *Basic Income UK*, 16 May 2014.