

DRAFT FOR CONSULTATION

An Emancipatory Welfare State:

How basic income might underpin the
development of human potential

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Preface

This paper brings together the thoughts of two different individuals, each with their own style and perspective.

Jim Elder-Woodward is one of the leading pioneers of the disabled people's Independent Living Movement (ILM) in Scotland. He has helped in the establishment of the Glasgow Centre for Independent Living, a user-led service helping disabled people find housing and employment, as well as supporting them to manage their self-directed support systems. He was also a founder-member of Inclusion Scotland, an organisation which brings together local and national groups of disabled; and is presently chair of the Scottish Coalition for Independent Living, a meeting place where the ILM can discuss with politicians and policy-makers strategic developments and issues in the field, such as the integration of health and social care.

Simon Duffy has been working with people with a learning difficulty since 1990 and played a significant role in the development of systems of self-directed support in England and Scotland (Duffy, 2018). He founded Inclusion Glasgow in 1996 and In Control in 2003 and is currently Director of the Centre for Welfare Reform and Secretary to the international cooperative Citizen Network.

Jim and Simon first met in 1996 and have stayed in touch over many years, supporting each other in the battle for social justice and the resistance to the policies of neoliberal austerity. During that time they found they both shared a practical and philosophical interest in the idea of basic income and the possibility that the welfare state could be re-organised around the ideas of empowerment and emancipation.

This paper brings together many diverse threads and ideas; it is still work in progress. But it offers a vision of what might be possible if we start to think differently about what an inclusive society could achieve; if its welfare provisions were built on the philosophy and practice of empowering and emancipating all of its citizens, with the aid of a Universal Basic Income.

Please note that in this paper we use the term 'disabled people' which is the preferred term in the UK, when referring to people with physical, sensory or mental impairments. We also refer to several UK benefits; although we have tried to explain these terms, so that they will be understood by a global audience.

Summary

Basic income offers a radical and progressive reform of current systems of income security. However the position of disabled people, within the trope's philosophy and structure, is often ambiguous and uncertain.

- There is the possibility that a more universal approach may lead to disabled people receiving a lower level of income than in the current system
- Some campaigners for basic income tend to treat disability as an exceptional factor that means disabled people will in some way fall outside the universal system. This may further accentuate the 'otherness' of disabled people within society at large.

This paper is the joint work of one of the leading members of the disabled people's Independent Living Movement in Scotland, Jim Elder-Woodward, and Simon Duffy, an advocate of basic income and Director of the Centre for Welfare Reform. The authors set out to show:

1. The battle for disabled people's human, social and civic rights is best understood as a movement for emancipation.
2. Each and every citizen has the potential for personal growth, therefore the development of such is a useful framework for thinking about how a universal welfare system might be redesigned.
3. However, in today's complex society, no citizen is 'an island unto himself'; we are each inter-dependent upon the other.
4. Moreover the state has an obligation to promote and sustain each citizen's potential and fulfilment, through a commitment to social inclusion, social justice and community support.
5. Basic income's true purpose is to facilitate and sustain the development of people in the way they see best.
6. These ideas reflect deeper wisdom about the human condition, the nature of social inclusion, social justice, welfare and community support systems.
7. The challenge is to develop a universal emancipatory welfare system to develop individual and collective potential, not just for disabled people, but for everyone.

The paper ends for a call to ensure that disabled people are at the heart of thinking and piloting new forms of welfare state and income security.

Introduction

Is basic income a useful concept for disabled people?

This is a controversial question. Many advocates of basic income have tended to treat disability benefits as a marginal case, one which cannot easily be made to fit their concept of basic income. Some critics cite disability as an obvious example of human difference in need, which basic income seems poorly suited to respect (DPAC, 2018).

Indeed, there is the possibility that some disabled people may lose out altogether, if we convert the current social security system into a system of basic income. Their extra needs, and the legitimacy of those needs, may well be forgotten, and their income may be reduced to even more inadequate levels.

These concerns arise, because one of the obvious attractions of basic income is its simplicity. The Basic Income Earth Network defines basic income as follows:

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

BIEN, 2018

At its simplest we might imagine that basic income means every person received the same regular payment. However, this absolute simplicity is not an essential part of the BIEN definition. In our view there is no reason why basic income might not be made to work for non-disabled and disabled people, alike.

More importantly we believe that progressive advocates for basic income and the ILM share a common agenda. Disabled people have been fighting a battle, for decades, for recognition as equal citizens. This means enjoying the same human rights, in particular the same social rights, and being fully respected; but this also means being able to develop, contribute and flourish within an inclusive and supportive society (UPIAS, 1976).

For the disabled people’s Independent Living Movement (ILIS, 2018):

“Independent living means all disabled people having the same freedom, choice, dignity and control as other citizens at home, at work and in the community. It does not necessarily mean living by yourself or fending for yourself. It means rights to practical assistance and support to participate in society and live an ordinary life.”

For disabled people the true enemy is pity and negative prejudices that treat them as somehow ‘other’, lesser beings, who do not deserve the chance to exercise their citizenship and to play their full part in the life of the community.

There is here an important connection to the case for basic income. Advocates of basic income propose that all human beings need and are entitled to an adequate level of economic security - not so they can just survive - but so that they can flourish. The current neoliberal welfare system punishes people on little or no income. While Western economies continue to recover, the gap between the rich and the poor grows exponentially; with the poor facing ever reducing income security. The attitude of the economic elites is that the poor cannot be trusted with economic security. Instead they must be threatened with sanctions and controlled through patronising and largely ineffective work programmes.

What we need is a new emancipatory welfare system, of which basic income and other important reforms are part. Another such reform, which is spreading widely across Europe, is *self-directed support*. Here those discerned to be in need of social care, are given control over their own support systems, rather than receiving standard services organised by the state (Duffy, 2018).

Such emancipatory reforms mean reconsidering the purpose and organising principles of the current welfare state, which are based on post-war assumptions about employment and industrial organisation. But these assumptions no longer apply to today's society. At its worst, this utilitarian model traps disabled people in institutional services or asylums. At its best, most disabled people have found themselves caught in a life of constant intrusion and scrutiny by a welfare system, which is constantly assessing them for work-readiness - offering only a little more to those furthest from the work place.

Some disabled people now try to survive without benefits in order to avoid demeaning and vicious assessment systems, based on the now discredited biopsychosocial model of impairment (Garthwaite, 2014; Saffer, 2017; Shakespeare, et al 2017). Others live in fear of being re-institutionalised, by having the cost of their community support package capped just below the level of that of a care home (Elder-Woodward (2018b).

This raises profound questions about the purpose of the welfare state. Neoliberal governments have confused employment with true social value. Instead of seeing people, per se, as the source of social value and supporting them to develop and to contribute, they have fixated on fitting people into constrained social roles, namely as economic units of GDP. We need to shift to a model that focuses on freeing people to develop in a manner and to the purpose they themselves see fit and feasible. This is the shared goal of the basic income movement and the independent living movement.

In practice, one way might be to identify how we might **add** elements to basic income to reflect some of the extra support people might need in order to flourish. This also raises interesting possibilities about the role of self-assessment and the link between basic income and personal budgets, i.e. the amount of money given to someone to control their own support services. In fact it may be quite possible to imagine pilots for basic income which focus on disabled people as a vanguard group in the

development of an emancipatory welfare state. Jim Elder-Woodward has an alternative proposition, which will be discussed later.

1. The battle for social rights

For disabled people income security is just one of many inter-locking questions about how to ensure they can realise their basic social rights. We still have a long way to go. For instance, the Scottish Government is proud that it provides free basic personal care to those over 65 years old. This means help with washing, dressing, eating, cooking and going to the toilet, within the home. However any 'additional support', such as shopping, or visiting friends; following a hobby or course of education, is classified as social care. And social care is means-tested with a system of hefty 'charges' being applied to recipients.

In practice this means that little, if any, support is provided to the elderly to live a productive life in their latter years. As one old lady said:

"I'd be fully washed and dressed by 8.00 AM then sit there with nothing to do and nowhere to go."

Witcher (2014) p. 22

The disabled people's Independent Living Movement (ILM) has had a long campaign against this discrimination, arguing that social care should not be means-tested (Scotland Against the Care Tax, 2018). However, over the last three years their *Scrap the Care Tax* campaign has been joined by a more populist campaign focusing on *Frank's Law*. This campaign began with a 60 year old celebrity, former footballer, Frank Kopel, who contracted Alzheimer's disease, an impairment more generally associated with old age. However, being younger than 65 years old, Frank Kopel was charged for his support. Outraged by this, his wife, Amanda, persuaded the press to take up this injustice and persuade the Scottish Government to pass a free personal care policy for those under 65 years old.

Mainly in response to this second, populist campaign, the Scottish Government in 2017 agreed to extend the policy of free personal care to those who need support, but who were younger than 65 (from 2019 onwards). After, this decision was taken, civil servants from the Scottish Government met with the ILM to discuss how best to implement such a policy. The civil servants were rather taken aback by the negative reaction of the ILM to this proposed policy change: the civil servants did not understand, nor appreciate, the difference between personal care and social care. The proposal was to end means-testing for personal care, within the home, but social care would remain highly means-tested.

The ILM's ambition is to abolish all *care taxes*, for they all inhibit human rights and equal citizenship - the fundamental goals of the movement. Disabled people fear that abolishing the tax on personal care will only lead to social care becoming even more inaccessible: either through higher eligibility criteria (reducing the numbers eligible) or by increasing the charges on social care (making disabled people poorer). In other words, without a more fundamental change in thinking, it seems

likely that there will be even less support available to help people live independently and participate in society, whether in its economy, culture, civil or family life.

These debates reflect the fact that the welfare state was not designed with citizenship in mind, especially for those of us who are disabled. What can seem a small change in policy to bureaucrats or politicians has wide-ranging consequences for disabled people, and there are no guarantees built into the current system that basic human rights (incorporating social, economic and cultural rights) will be respected (Hunt, 2017). To those in power the idea that benefits to one group of disabled people will be paid for by placing increased costs on another group of disabled people seems entirely natural.

At that meeting, between the Scottish Government and the ILM, a representative from People First Scotland (a group a people with learning difficulties) explained the underlying problem in a nutshell. He stated, the problem with social care in Scotland is that it is built on a deficit model, not one which promotes potential. This may also be true of the implementation of social care in many other parts of the world as well.

Promoting potential, rather than compensating for deficit, is what a truly emancipatory welfare system should be doing.

The current neoliberal welfare state is designed to meet what the hegemony of the state consider to be 'deserving', rather than 'undeserving', 'needs'. In Scotland some needs are acknowledged as universal (health and education) and these are then 'provided for' by services, usually controlled by middle-class able-bodied professionals, free at the point of delivery. Other needs are relative and relevant only to particular 'deserving' and 'needy' groups. These are then provided for by intentionally heavily rationed resources or services. For disabled people their need for some kind of income, for housing, for education, for employment, or for personal assistance is typically treated as a 'special', relative 'need,' rather than just an essential element of the human condition.

The idea of need is stigmatising. In response to need society rations resources on the basis of **severity** or **desert**. For instance, the need for personal care is seen as a more severe need than the need for social care support. The more severe need takes priority and the less severe need is discounted or taxed. Similarly, the need of the older person is seen as more deserving of assistance than the need of the younger person; and so the needs of the younger person are either discounted or taxed. Needs are recognised as demanding some limited attention, but they are also stigmatised and it seems perfectly reasonable for the state to meet only some needs, from amongst many competing needs.

Might the idea of potential help re-orientate our thinking?

After all, everyone has needs and everyone has potential; but potential is not wrapped in the cloth of stigma, that need is. If we saw ourselves as working to develop each other's potential, then perhaps we could break out of the inevitable constraints imposed by a deficit model that focuses on competing needs. It may

seem reasonable to ration resources between competing needs; it seems much less reasonable to decide to limit the development of human potential. We all lose when our human potential is limited.

Certainly something is beginning to change in Scotland (Elder-Woodward, 2018). In 2013 Scotland adopted a system of *self-directed support* (SDS) (Social Care (Self-directed Support) (Scotland) Act 2013). Within this system, disabled people are given the right to shape and control the support they receive around their own conception of their needs (at least needs as identified by the disabled person and acknowledged by the social care management). Someone who is deemed eligible receives, after an assessment, a budget and they can decide how this budget is managed. They can decide between four choices:

1. They can manage their own budget, perhaps employing their own assistants
2. They can engage an agency to either, provide the support they need, for which they pay the fees or manage the support and the budget for them
3. They can ask the local authority, to provide a service for them
4. Or some combination of the above three options

Although this system remains dependent upon the hegemonic definitions of 'deserving need', and heavily means-testing, it is a positive development in response to the demands of the ILM. The agency of the person and their right to shape support around their own life and community is built into the new arrangements. The person is now more free to live a life of meaning and to fulfil their human potential in the way that makes sense to them.

The goal of the disabled people's ILM is emancipation. This is freedom from the constraints imposed by controlling systems: institutions, care homes, hospitals or other care systems (however well intentioned); as well as the freedom to overcome other physical, organisational and cultural barriers within society at large. But it is also the freedom to live a life of meaning and contribution, building on one's own gifts, and aspirations, within the context of personal and societal support to engage with the opportunities and possibilities of community life.

Disabled people have been demanding emancipation, both within their own lives and that of the community, because they have been particularly marginalised and disadvantaged. But these problems are universal and, as we will see, the case for basic income rests on a similar understanding of social inclusion and social justice.

2. The true purpose of basic income

There are many different ways of explaining the idea of basic income but its core concept does not rely on any specification of its purpose; for instance, Annie Miller defines basic income as:

“... a cash payment where assessment and delivery is based on the individual. It is universal for a defined population, is not means-tested, not selective, except by age; and is unconditional.”

Miller (2017) p 18

Historically, while the idea of basic income has taken many forms, the idea of emancipation has been a common thread. The Athenians developed an early form of basic income in order to enable citizens to participate in democratic life (Moore, 1975). Later, in the 16th century, Thomas More made the case for basic income as a way of freeing people from hunger, crime and execution (More, 1963).

In 1795, Thomas Paine, in his pamphlet, *Agrarian Justice*, argued that, originally, land was free and open to everyone. But when landowners claimed land for themselves, they denied others their right to that land. Therefore, the landless should be compensated by the landlords through an inheritance tax; and money, so raised, should be given to those who were without land, at a time of their maturity, in order that they may have a start in life. Additional money would also be available for those who were elderly or disabled.

From the end of the 18th century to the present-day, philosophers and economists around the world have discussed the merits and demerits of basic income and its different nomenclatures:

- Milton Friedman’s *Negative Income Tax*
- John Mead’s *Social Dividend*
- Basic Income Research Group’s *Citizen’s Income*
- Ailsa McKay’s *Citizen’s Basic Income*

Nevertheless, the idea that giving citizens assets (usually in the form of money) in order to develop not only their own wellbeing, but that of their community, through their active participation as equal and responsible citizens in the government and wellbeing of society, is never far from the surface.

Basic income is sometimes contrasted with proposals for *Participation Income*, a system which does presume some kind of conditionality, where the basic income would be conditional upon the fulfilment of some socially recognised contribution to the community (Atkinson, 1996). However, whilst other advocates of basic income (e.g. Miller, 2017) tend to resist the addition of any such conditions (and all the attendant bureaucracy of ensuring compliance) this is not because they don’t wish to

see people develop their potential or make a useful social contribution. It is instead that advocates of basic income are either optimistic about the citizen's ability to make good choices, or pessimistic about the state's ability to make people make good choices.

The fundamental assumption of basic income is that not only should the person get their needs met, but that they can use their own personal agency to define how to meet their own needs. Moreover, this agency means that the resource enables them to build on their own assets (their potential) and to decide for themselves how to use them to assist their social contribution (Prabhakar, 2008). For example, basic income can:

- Free you from debt
- Help you save for the future
- Buy you tools for a job
- Pay for an educational course
- Employ personal assistants (as with self-directed support)

As Paine suggests in his *Agrarian Justice* pamphlet:

“When a young couple begin the world, the difference is exceedingly great whether they begin with nothing or with fifteen pounds apiece. With this aid they could buy a cow, and implements to cultivate a few acres of land; and instead of becoming burdens upon society, which is always the case where children are produced faster than they can be fed, would be put in the way of becoming useful and profitable citizens.”

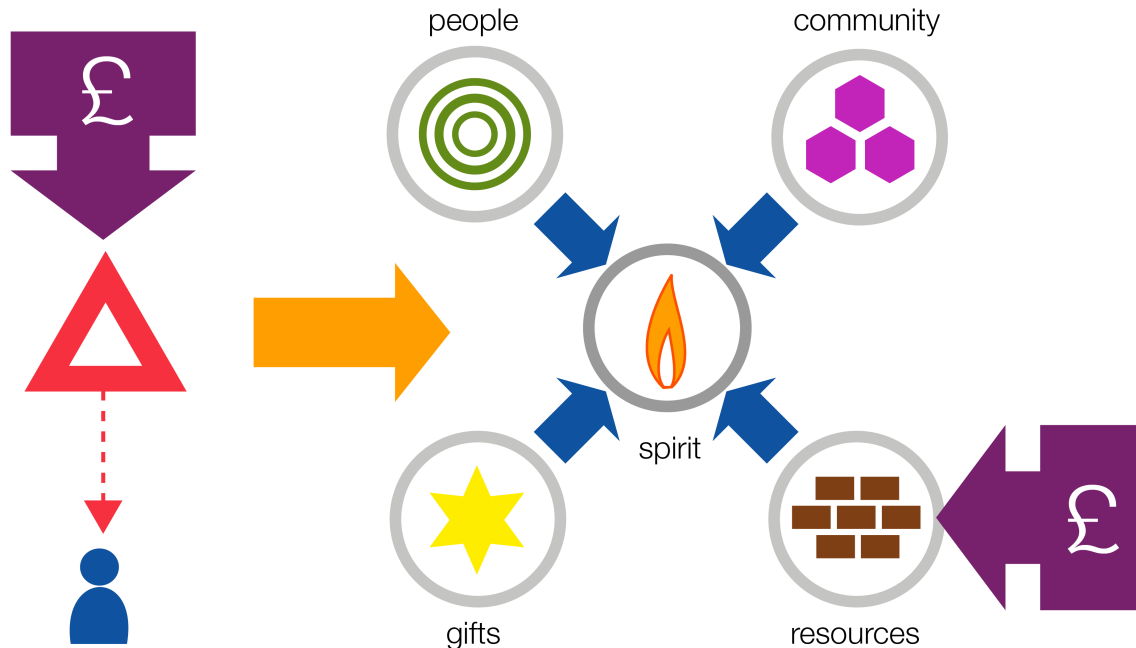
Paine (1795) p16

That is, Paine saw basic income both as an entitlement which reflected the unjust distribution of land and a practical means to enable people's potential to improve their own welfare and contribute to that of society at large.

Interestingly this way of thinking, treating the income as an investment in the person's potential is also found in some of the analyses of self-directed support. Duffy (2013), building on the work of Murray and the economists Hagel and Seely Brown suggests that self-directed support is best seen as resource enhancement that allows the person to make the best of their own real wealth (Murray, 2010; Hagel & Seely Brown, 2005). Personal budgets work best, not when they are treated as simply a means to purchase a fixed service, but instead become a resource to enable the person to build on their gifts, relationships and other assets, in order to engage meaningfully in the life of the community (Duffy, 2013).

From Push Economics...

to Pull Economics



Sources: Push vs. Pull Economics is an idea developed in Hagel J and Seely Brown J (2005) *The Only Sustainable Edge*. Boston, Harvard Business Press; Real Wealth was first defined in Murray P (2010) *A Fair Start*. Sheffield, The Centre for Welfare Reform.

FIGURE 1 HOW PERSONAL BUDGETS WORK BY BUILDING ON CAPACITY

As Figure 1 demonstrates this approach radically changes, not just the locus of decision-making, but the kinds of outcomes that can be achieved. The push economics of traditional service delivery is based on assumption that the state knows best what is required and people must adjust to this prior decision. The pull economics of self-directed support enables people to integrate funding into the fabric of their relationships and community life and enables people to get the best value from those resources by connecting them to their gifts and other assets.

Clearly this kind of account is also similar to work of Sen and Nussbaum. In *Development as Freedom* Sen argues against the view that social justice is merely a matter of redistributing income. Instead he argues that people need a set of capabilities which they can use to enable their own freedom and development (Sen, 1999).

From this perspective the welfare state should not be thought of as a *safety net* which stops people from falling through the cracks of the socio-economic system. Instead the welfare state is a system of shared *social investment* in each other. We can pool our resources in order to ensure that everyone can flourish: recognising that each individual has their own gifts, abilities and needs.

3. An emancipatory welfare state

The ILM in Scotland has been working towards a welfare system which enables the emancipation of disabled people. At the same time advocates of basic income have been working towards a system that would enable universal emancipation. However, as we have seen, the precise meaning and implementation of basic income cannot be taken for granted. For this reason we will argue that we must focus our shared efforts on that which we might think of as an **emancipatory welfare state**.

The ILM in Scotland has been in the vanguard of promoting such a vision. In particular, direct payments or personal budgets to pay for support can be seen as an emancipatory asset provision to enable participation in, and engagement with, society – which is the ultimate goal of **independent living**. The Scottish Government has agreed the above definition of independent living with the ILM in Scotland, i.e. that:

“Independent living means all disabled people having the same freedom, choice, dignity and control as other citizens at home, at work and in the community. It does not necessarily mean living by yourself or fending for yourself. It means rights to practical assistance and support to participate in society and live an ordinary life.”

Independent Living in Scotland, 2018

This follows an agreement between the two parties that such a definition of, and public programme for, independent living is (Scottish Government, 2009):

- **Right for the individual** – allowing freedom from prejudice and discrimination; and participation within society as full, and active, equal citizens
- **Right for public bodies** – putting this agenda at the heart of planning and service delivery; so making them more effective and more efficient at targeting limited resources to needs, reducing spend in the longer term, and meeting their legislative duties
- **Right for the economy** – developing diversity in the economy, making it more innovative and increasing its growth; thereby making it more successful in recognising, attracting and growing talent; and
- **Right for society as a whole** – making it more equal, with greater strength and social cohesion.

The ILM in Scotland has also set out its ambition for Scotland to develop a sustainable, nationwide system of social care support, promoting the principles of independent living (Independent Living in Scotland, 2016). This ambition for a nationwide system should be seen as part of Scotland’s wider national, social and

economic infrastructure. It will protect, promote and ensure human rights and tackle inequalities. It should also facilitate the delivery of a statutory framework of common outcomes, underpinned by clear and consistent rights and entitlements. In this way, social care support will be an instrument of transformative social change; playing a critical role in building and sustaining Scotland's social and economic prosperity.

Scotland has also been more in line with the *UN Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities* than other nations of the United Kingdom. The Scottish Government has agreed a *UNCRPD Delivery Plan* with the movement. At the heart of this plan is a commitment to deliver on *Article 19: 'Living independently and being included in the community'* (United Nations, 2016). This states:

"State Parties to this Convention recognise the equal right of all persons with disabilities to live in the community, with choices equal to others, and shall take effective and appropriate measures to facilitate full enjoyment by persons with disabilities of this right and their full inclusion and participation in the community, including by ensuring that:

- Persons with disabilities have the opportunity to choose their place of residence, where and with whom they live on an equal basis with others, and are not obliged to live in a particular living arrangement;*
- Persons with disabilities have access to a range of in-home, residential and other community support services, including personal assistance necessary to support living and inclusion in the community, and to prevent isolation or segregation from the community;*
- Community services and facilities for the general population are available on an equal basis to persons with disabilities and are responsive to their needs."*

With all of this, one would think Scotland would be ripe for emancipatory welfare provision, but unfortunately, such basic republican inclusive and egalitarian ambitions, and policies have not lead to such.

The problems faced by the ILM are multiple and connected. While there is a general recognition that the welfare state must protect social rights it has also become commonplace to assume that such rights are not absolute, instead they are conditional upon what 'we can afford'. This is problematic, not only because it reduces the importance of having a right, but also because rights have now become identified with tax-funded public services, and this is to rather commodify social rights. Forms of cooperative action, peer support, resource enhancement or wider social change may be more effective than public services at making rights real.

In fact, for disabled people, public services have often been experienced as systems of control, where professionals define how the person's needs are met. Instead of treating people as citizens, with rights, freedom and as a full member of the community, people become recipients of professionally defined 'gifts' (Duffy, 1996).

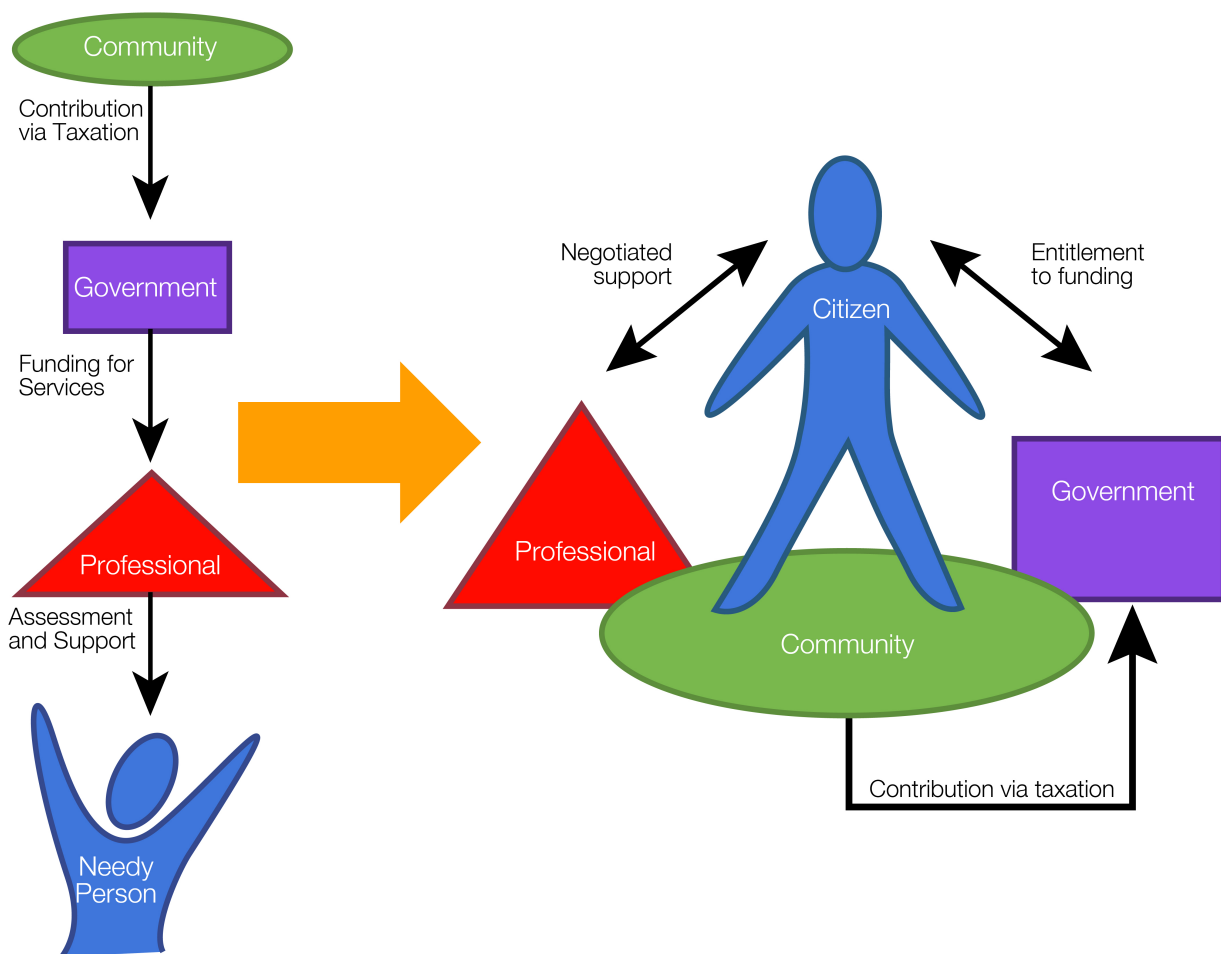


FIGURE 2 PROFESSIONAL GIFT MODEL AND CITIZENSHIP MODEL

The idea of citizenship is critical here for moving away from the current paternalistic model. The idea of citizenship implies, not just that we have rights (including social rights). Citizenship also means that we have responsibilities, and that we are an equal member of the community, someone who can act with freedom and is treated with respect. As Michael Ignatieff says:

“The practice of citizenship is about ensuring everyone the entitlements necessary to the exercise of their liberty. As a political question, welfare is about rights, not caring...”

Ignatieff (1989) p. 72

Furthermore, as Jeremy Waldron state:

“Above all, I think the idea of citizenship should remain at the centre of modern political debates about social and economic arrangements. The

concept of a citizen is that of a person who can hold [their] head high and participate fully and with dignity in the life of [their] society.”

Waldron (1983) p. 308

In other words, a welfare state for citizenship is a welfare state that provides the essential resources required to make our, and each other's, social rights real: to make our, and each other's, citizenship substantive. Instead of treating each other as mere recipients, or consumers of resources we need to start seeing our potential to develop ourselves, and, if we wish, participate in that of our communities.

4. Assessing our own potential

Let us then assume that the goals of the ILM, and of the movement for basic income largely coincide. Let us also assume that both seek the full development of human potential, for everyone. Do we really know what this means? Is potential a realistic and meaningful thing which can be developed? Or is this just nice sounding rhetoric?

For disabled people this issue is particularly sharp because often they are faced by a bleak vision of their own destiny. The typical reaction to the acquisition of impairment is one of tragedy, loss, and inadequacy.

This is vividly described by Alison Kafer, Professor of Feminist Studies, Southwestern University, in Texas. In 1995, she became badly burned; losing her legs and scarring her torso, arms and hands. After 5 months of hospital treatment, her doctor said she could not go to graduate school. She continues in her book, *Feminist, Queer, Crip*:

“What my future did hold, according to my rehabilitation psychologist and my recreation therapist, was long-term psychological therapy. My friends were likely to abandon me, alcoholism and drug addiction loomed on my horizon, and I needed to prepare myself for the futures of pain and isolation brought on by disability. Fellow patients, most of whom were elderly people recovering from strokes or broken hips, saw equally bleak horizons for me. One stopped me in the hallway to recommend suicide, explaining that life in a wheelchair was not a life worth living. His son, he noted offhandedly, knew to ‘let him go’ if he was eventually unable to walk.”

Kafer (2013) p 1

Even if one is not confronted by such overt negativity, disabled people who are constantly being assessed frequently experience such intrusion, negatively. For the emphasis is on what cannot happen, rather than what might happen, if resources were available and motivation developed.

Assessment today, is based on the gruesome humiliating process of privacy invasion and the questioning of merit, as is the case with the present ‘biopsychosocial’ metric of Waddell and Aylward being adopted by the neoliberal UK government.

Instead emancipatory assessment should follow Hannah Arendt’s (1958) concept of natality, of ‘new beginnings in life’; it should look forward to, if not a perfect, certainly a better future. This means moving from an assessment process that focuses on compensation for acknowledged need, to one that enhances individual and group potential. If we are to move to a position where the welfare system enhances such potential, then we need to find a better way to assess and promote

it. As a 'new beginning', emancipatory assessment also builds Paine's concept of basic income as a way of setting people up for a life of citizenship.

But, here's the rub: what is potential?

One area where the idea of human potential has taken grip is in human resource and talent management and the burgeoning industry of management consultancy. For instance, Peter Drucker, the management guru and Professor of Social Science Management at Claremont University in California, points out that in an age when people may flit between employers, or temporary jobs; or be a contract worker, 'employees' are also 'people'.

Drucker, therefore proposes that rather than just leaving the responsibility for developing personal development to the organisation, people, themselves, should be concerned about developing their own potential. In *Managing Oneself*, he writes, as far back as 1999:

"Now, most of us, even those of us with modest endowments, will have to learn to manage ourselves. We will have to learn to develop ourselves. We will have to place ourselves where we can make the greatest contribution. And we will have to stay mentally alert and engaged during a 50-year working life, which means knowing how and when to change the work we do."

Drucker (1999) p 64-65

Another thinker from the world of international management, David Guile, drawing on his business & leadership experience in the hospitality industry, proposes a *Dynamics of Potential* paradigm. This aims at helping people become the best they can be: optimising their talent. It's about enabling the person, or team, to define their purpose, know their strengths, and achieve their goals (Guile, 2017).

If we can think about the disabled person at the heart of Guile's circle, (see figure 3, below) as the 'You' in centre circle, their support, family and friend in the 'Team' circle and society in the outer, 'Organisation' circle; we might see how the model can apply to the disabled person's potential, or that of all of us, in an emancipatory welfare state.

The model involves four kinds of questions – *The Four Ps* – and each set of questions is important in its own right, but also in how they enable the whole effort which underpins success and fulfilment, career and life improvement.



FIGURE 3 THE DYNAMICS OF POTENTIAL

1. Perspective

Questions of perspective are concerned with how well the person know themselves. Are they aware of their strengths and resources? Are they using them to their advantage, to maximise their own performance. Or are they allowing self-limiting beliefs to restrict opportunities and the potential that lies within themselves?

Addressing these sort of questions, Guile believes, will help people gain a clearer perspective of themselves and others, in their ‘team’, or in our case, ‘support system’.

‘Self-knowledge’ is a difficult thing for any one of us to achieve; but through peer counselling and peer-group support (as well as that from other counselling professionals) individuals should gain some power to understand their assets and current abilities; and, as such, this will serve them well.

This is important, especially at times of ‘Nativity’, as Hannah Arendt terms it, at times of new beginnings in life; and possibly new identities. New beginnings are tough for most of us. That is why assessment should not be seen as a discrete and solitary entity. Assessment should be seen as part of the process of consciousness rising; of information giving and interpretation; of discussion and reflection; of counselling and advice.

And, according to Guile, it is through this process of self-knowledge and growth that people can be helped to create a solid foundation to define their purpose in life, effectively: to articulate who they are, where they are now and where they aim to be.

2. Purpose

Questions of purpose are concerned with whether the person has a clear sense of what they want to achieve and what's important to them? Have they defined a set of personal values that can shape and influence their decisions? Have they visualised their future, devised a plan and know how to implement it? And here once more peer and professional advice and counselling is important

Guile believes that having a sense of purpose is fundamental to achieving potential and getting what is wanted out of life, both personally and professionally.

3. Performance

Questions of performance are concerned with getting the best out of people, and their support system. What areas of their lives, or activities, require support and increased focus? How can they continually improve these to create further opportunities?

Enhancing life chances and maximising one's support system leads to greater life fulfilment, or what Maslow calls 'Self-Actualisation' (Maslow, 1943). This is not only beneficial to the individual, but to those around the person, and society as a whole.

4. Progress

Questions of progress help clarify next steps. Is the person in a position of influence and strength to take control of their development and future? How can a supported, learning culture be created to aid the person and his support system to achieve their personal goals?

Guile is of the opinion that progress is essential to achieving goals. Everyone in connection with the person's life and support, as well as the person themselves, must embrace change and continually strive to grow and develop, to maximise their potential and to be ready for the next challenge.

Within this model by Guile, surrounding the *Four Ps of Potential* are three critical 'success factors', Positivity, Balance and Environment, which can influence the outcome of these measures. Within themselves, each factor can be life changing and potentially transform the ability of the person and their support system to achieve the person's goals in life – if they are consistently applied in equal measure. Most importantly, the person and their support system can pro-actively influence all three factors

a) Positivity

A positive frame of mind encourages a can-do attitude in the person and others around them. Positivity motivates, influences and breeds success. The person can choose to be both drained and demotivated by always looking at the glass half empty, at what hasn't gone right, or be energised and upbeat by the positives and the opportunities of the glass half full. Inspirational people look up and forward, drawing on their positive mind-set to encourage and motivate themselves and others around them to success.

b) Balance

Adopting a balanced approach in personal, family and working life creates a strong foundation from which one can take decisive, effective and consistent action. Balance provides stability and influences a more inclusive and rounded approach.

c) Environment

Living environments and cultural surroundings can be very different from person to person. Creating success and fulfilling one's potential can be dependent on a culture that's conducive to the person's values, thinking and preferred living style. Some living environments and cultural surroundings can stifle and make the person question themselves, their own potential and value, while others can be energising, supportive and rewarding. The trick is to find a living environment and cultural surrounding which is right for the person and right to encourage them to influence positively; and make a success of their life, by achieving their aspirations.

Emancipatory assessment in practice

Critics of this approach to an emancipatory assessment process, built on the concept of potential, rather than deficit, may argue that it is too involved and cumbersome; and that most recipients of social care just need passive, subsistent 'caring'. We would argue that such an approach under-values the human condition and leads to the existing system of social care, which provides 15 minutes of support for basic washing and feeding - leaving the person to live a meaningless life; a life awaiting death. Everyone, no matter what their personal circumstances are, should have a purpose in life - even if that purpose seems to others to be insignificant. Emancipatory welfare makes such insignificance, purposeful to that individual citizen; and a life worth living.

Interestingly this kind of approach is mirrored almost exactly by the kind of person-centred planning developed by thinkers and activists like Beth Mount, John O'Brien and Marsha Forrest (O'Brien & Lovett, 1992; O'Brien & Mount 2015). This work, developed alongside people with learning difficulties, has been at the forefront of transforming lives and enabling people with learning difficulties to take their place as full citizens. However, models developed by and with disabled people and their families, often seem to have less weight than business models developed by

management consultants and which often try to simplify human value into seemingly scientific terms.

However, some, like Sven Sommerlatte, Vice President and Head of Human Resources and Talent Management at Sanofi, a global talent and organisational development company in Paris, France, believe there is no real positivist 'science' around assessing 'potential'. For Sommerlatte, within management, potential should be seen as the intrinsic ability someone has to grow (e.g. as a leader, or as an expert, or by expanding their personal experience base).

In many ways, Sommerlatte's concept of potential is very similar to Guile's. However, he believes, it is difficult to boil someone's potential down to simple, and objective metrics. Management consultants, psychologists and sociologists have developed highly sophisticated psychometric tests to make potential more measurable and tangible, but these metrics are far from being reliable and objective; not least, according to Sommerlatte, because someone's potential also depends on their ambition, which, in turn, depends on the personal situation of the person and the support around them; and this, in turn, can vary over time.

For Sommerlatte, potential is not static but dynamic. It is contingent on the ability, however small, to learn. Sommerlatte's model of assessing potential is to consider the person's learning ability in the 'Past', 'Present' and 'Future' (Sommerlatte, 2017b).

- **In the past** - how much has the person learned from past experience which they could use for their future development, i.e. education, work, family, leisure, interests, etc.
- **For the present** - how self-aware is the person; how much do they know about themselves and their situation; how capable are they to meditate, to become introspective, to know what is known as their 'dreams', their 'deep desires'; how do they manage stress and new situations. This is more than just knowing about strengths and weaknesses; and of course, it is related to physical and mental abilities too.
- **And for the future** - what are their aspirations to move not only in a vertical direction, but a horizontal one too? What hobbies, interests and other life experiences, or new horizons, do they want to explore? The significant factor here is, does the person wish to remain static or move on?

For Sommerlatte, 'Potential' is independent of environment and material resources, but he does concede such external factors are necessary conditions to enable the person to develop their full potential (Sommerlatte, 2018). These external factors, such as the social, cultural and economic environment surrounding the person and the social, cultural and economic capital that a person has available, could all influence the maximisation of their "intrinsic" potential and, indeed actualise it fully.

It is obvious that most, people – disabled or not – do not see themselves as high flying international executives, towards which such theories and practices are directed. But it is contested, here, that such an approach, is far more positive than the present system of deficit assessment and investigating whether or not that deficit was severe enough for an intervention to be justified. Considering potential, not only of the individual, but crucially (especially for those with limited cognitive abilities) those supports and support systems around them; and ways to promote such; is a far more inclusive process; especially, when it is couched within a framework of basic income.

It is also obvious that such a process cannot be completed in a single social care assessment, done with ticks and scribbled comments within a couple of hours of a social worker's timesheet. Instead emancipatory assessment and the assessment of potential must take the form of self-assessment. Details discussion of 'self-assessment' cannot be considered within the confines of this paper. Sufficient to say that 'self-assessment' supported by peer, and other, counselling and advice, is coherent with the idea of basic income and of emancipatory welfare.

In outline such an emancipatory assessment would enable the individual to develop learning, self-awareness, visualisation, positivity, and all the other attributes necessary for the growth of potential. This would mean

- self-assessment would be the default position
- self-assessment would be embedded within a strong emancipatory welfare system
- collectives (as well as individuals) would be empowered so that people were supported and mentored by their own peers

By these means self-assessment, together with information provision, interpretation, advice and counselling; alongside an advocacy and appeal system; and with support throughout from the person's collective, as well as elsewhere – all of this would become intrinsic to the development of both individual and group potential. In fact, both would become inter-dependent within a society concerned to maximise the inclusivity and civic participation of all its citizens.

5. The impact of basic income plus

One of the attractions of basic income might be that it helps us shift our thinking about the purpose of the welfare state, and not just for disabled people. Basic income, alongside other measures, may help secure a welfare system that is designed to promote and sustain our full human potential and to enable our full participation in society as equal citizens.

It can do this if it is universal, unconditional and (critically) adequate.

However, it may be worth, for the sake of this argument, setting out what we take to be the relevant elements of basic income in more detail here.

In fact, we suggest that the category of 'unconditionality' should be broken down into a further 3 sub-categories, giving us 5 critical elements:

1. **Universal** - everyone is entitled to it; therefore there is no stigma in getting it. Basic income reinforces our equal (participative) citizenship.
2. **No means-testing (unconditionality A)** - whatever our income we do not lose our basic income. Taxation still exists, but it ends the super-taxation for those on lowest incomes.
3. **No family dependency (unconditionality B)** - whatever our living situation we are entitled to basic income. There will be no loss of income for families, however they are formed, and no disrespectful monitoring of our family's circumstances.
4. **No sanctions (unconditionality C)** - whatever our behaviour, within the limits of the law, we are entitled to it. We can do paid work or fulfil our own sense of purpose by caring, creating, civic contribution or democratic involvement.
5. **Adequacy** - it is enough to pursue a life of quality and, if wanted, meaningful contribution. None of this implies we cannot vary the basic income to reflect need.

In practice basic income could be the foundation for a new system of social welfare for all, including disabled people, creating a shared and universal base, but also enabling additional opportunities for individual and group potential to be addressed, by elements of income, based on either:

- (a) **Extra costs** to achieve the same freedoms as those suggested by Sen (1999, 2010) or
- (b) A common **scale of accessibility** to achieve potential, goals, rights, both individual and group; thereby avoiding the stigmatisation of separateness.

The first approach (a) is proposed by Simon Duffy. This distinguishes a universal basic income (which everyone will get - although perhaps changing with age) from **Basic Income Plus** - one shared basic income, plus some additional payments to

reflect the cost of meeting the same ‘freedoms’, as detailed by Sen, as non-disabled people (see Figure 4). Within this model, there seems to be 3 kinds of legitimate extra payments (each of which could vary in size):

- **Extra costs of disability** - It is more expensive for people with disabilities to engage in society on an equal basis and so an extra payment to reflect the need for aids, adaptations, mobility or other costs could be estimated. In the UK the currently Personal Independence Payment (PIP) is supposed to define this cost.
- **Loss of earning** - Across the whole population it is probable that people with disabilities will tend to earn less than people without disabilities, so there is also an argument for simply redressing the balance with a payment that reflects that probability. In the UK the Employment and Support Allowance (ESA) performs this function by offering a higher payment than Job Seekers Allowance (JSA).
- **Support costs** - Some people with disabilities need additional help and support and this could be converted into a budget which they can control. For instance, local authorities in England and Scotland are expected to provide personal budgets which enable the person with disabilities to organise their own support

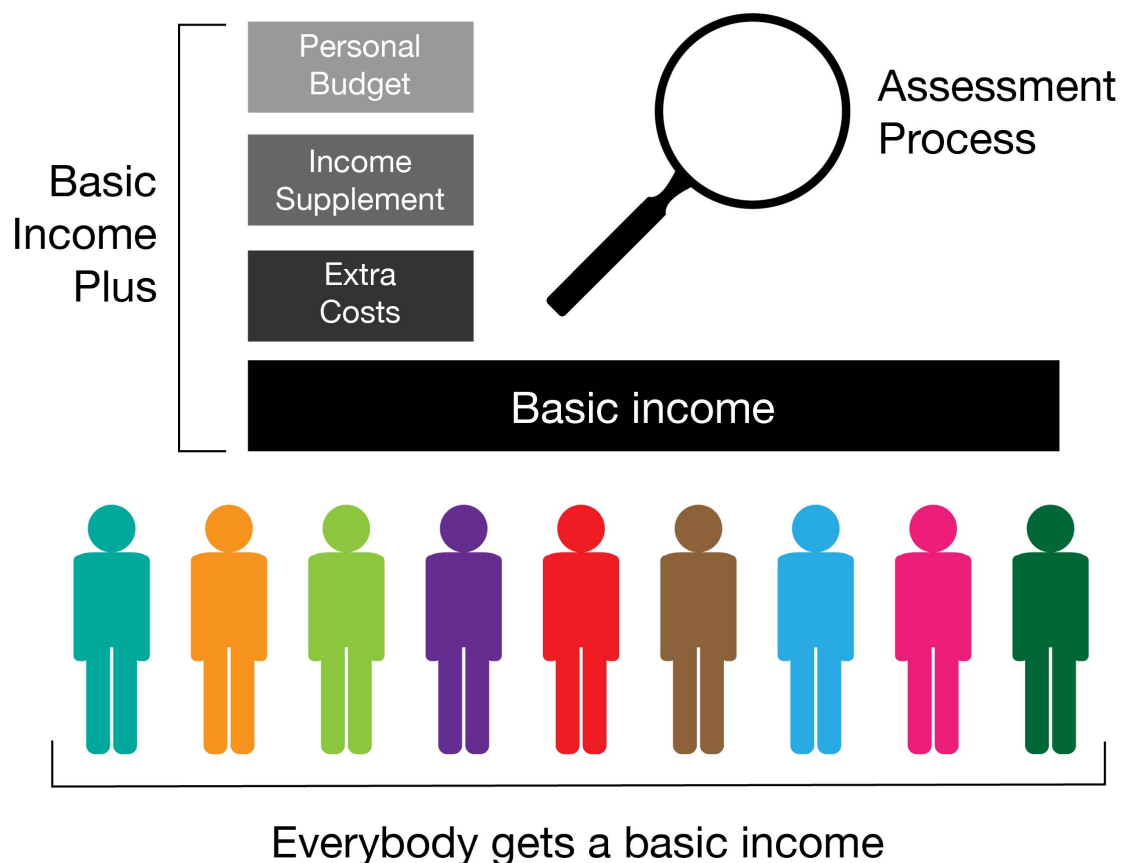


FIGURE 4 HOW BASIC INCOME PLUS MIGHT WORK

Jim Elder-Woodward is looking at the second approach (b) for defining the additional element of 'basic income plus' and a discussion of the assessment of such additions is provided by Jim Elder-Woodward in an addendum to this paper (see below). Both authors welcome ideas and thoughts in response to these approaches.

The benefits of basic income plus

The obvious advantages of basic income for disabled and non-disabled people alike is that it creates an income that everyone gets and it takes away the stigma and extreme-means-testing built into the current neoliberal system:

- People can do paid **work**, a lot, a little or none at all - and the state no longer would be in the business of questioning, punishing and shaming people on the basis of their work behaviours.
- People are free to **contribute** to community and family life in many different ways - caring, creating, or contributing as a citizen - and this would be recognised and validated rather than, as it is today, being undervalued or even forbidden by workfare regimes.
- People can **save**, keep more of their first earnings, and are not punished by losing most of their income when they start to work.
- People can form a **family**, without fear of losing a large part of their income if they choose to live together with someone else; but they are also free to leave a family that has become dysfunctional or violent.
- Everybody will get a basic income, it's normal and there is **no stigma** associated with getting it. Much of the shame and stigma associated with benefits and poverty will reduce in the same way as no one is stigmatised for using the National Health Service (NHS) in the UK.

The fear of basic income for disabled people

However there are at least two risks in such a system:

1. The basic income might be so low that it will keep most disabled people in poverty and cut-off from community social and civic life.
2. The extra costs faced by disabled people will be underestimated, thereby prohibiting participation as an equal.

These risks are reasonable and real. Given the horrific policies pursued by the current neoliberal UK Government towards disabled people we cannot be naïve about any policy (UNCRPD, 2016). But perhaps there are solutions to these problems.

To begin with it is worth noticing that, in developed countries, most benefit systems still try to separate people without work (and without an income) into two camps:

1. Those who are deemed to be **able to work** - but currently are not in work - in mean-spirited times this group becomes the 'undeserving' poor, and:
2. Those who are administratively deemed to be **unable to work** - including some severely impaired people – become the 'deserving poor'.

Benefit systems are then designed to give one kind of (lower) benefit to the first group and a different (higher) benefit to the second group.

Does this kind of approach to work and benefits really benefit disabled people?

There are several reasons why this seems unlikely:

This system divides the poor into two disadvantaged groups, according to their utilitarian social value as economic units within the GDP of the country. Their 'deservedness' of the extent of state intervention is based on the administrative decision as to whether or not they can, or cannot become self-reliant within the labour market. It is a 'divide and rule' policy which leaves both groups weaker and unable to come together to seek social justice.

It may seem better to be in the 'deserving' group - but once such a group is defined, then all the mechanism of intrusive assessment, demeaning control and besmirched stigma also impact on this 'deserving' group. Many disabled people find they:

- Are 'not biopsychosocially impaired enough', or
- Fear that they will be arbitrarily and administratively reassessed as 'work-ready', (to meet organisational set quotas) or
- Worry that others will see them as scroungers (Akers, 2016).

This whole way of thinking is bad for society, and it's particularly bad for disabled people (Saffer, 2017).

Disabled people contribute to society in many different ways - some find paid work and work as effectively, or more effectively, than non-disabled people. But others contribute in other ways: through part-time work, by work that has been designed just for them, by caring, by the work of citizenship, through creativity or just by their very presence. The idea that paid work (employment) defines social value is very damaging for people, per se, but particularly for people with intellectual disabilities or people with a chronic illness. Employment should not be treated as the peak form of social value.

Conclusion

Basic income offers a way out of the current mess and confusion of a welfare system that fails to recognise human potential. We each get what we need, we each contribute as best we can. Basic income is a policy that goes hand-in-hand with a reevaluation of familial, economic, social and civic contribution and it could make it easier for people to thrive within such contribution. It is also a policy which is universal and in which every citizen will have a stake. It could unite groups that are currently divided and help them to pressurise society for a fairer and more inclusive society; especially for those who are the poorest and most marginalised.

The most important thing in all these considerations is to remember that basic income is not a 'thing'. It is an emerging social innovation; and if it starts to make headway it will become part of the social, economic and political system. It can then become a useful tool for disabled people because it will help bring **unity** with other groups; it will help reduce stigma; and it will help us move away from our dangerous fixation on 'employment' as the only source of virtue and wellbeing.

But 'it' will not do so **automatically** – disabled people will need to play a key role in advocating for and shaping such a policy if it is really going to advance their interests. Basic income will only really work well if we see a shift in power in the UK, and other neoliberal countries, and the establishment of democratic, constitutional and judicial systems to protect human rights. Basic income or basic income plus will not solve these problems on its own - but it may offer us the spine for a new kind of welfare state - an emancipatory welfare state.

The ILM shares a common interest with the movement for basic income, both seek a reform of the basic structures of society to ensure that every individual is equipped with the means to develop their own potential and to build communities of equal citizenship.

In fact Basic Income Plus might be a good place to start in the piloting of basic income, generally. Options for disability-specific pilot programmes might include:

1. **End the use of sanctions and enforced workfare programmes for all disabled people** - If this was tested in a specific area then outcomes could be compared between disabled people who were still being sanctioned and forced into Government defined work programmes and those who were free to make their own plans with their own support.
2. **End means-testing on all disability benefits** - Many disabled people receive benefits which are subject to multiple forms of means-testing (income, savings and family circumstances). Such means-testing could be switched off and instead an interim period could be established, whereby existing benefits were treated as a form of 'plus' within basic income philosophy. This would be particularly straightforward for people with impairments that are unlikely to

change. Again, if this policy was tested in a specific area then comparisons could be made between people still within the poverty trap and those freed from it.

- 3. Start by testing the creation of a new basic income plus benefit with disabled people** - If politicians are nervous about implementing basic income then designing a basic income plus system and introducing it with disabled people might be a feasible strategy for growing public support.

However, **the involvement of disabled people and their organisations** is an absolute requirement, whatever direction such a pilot project or programme might take.

Addendum: Assessing the 'Plus' in UBI+

This additional section of the paper is by Dr Jim Elder-Woodward alone and its copyright is his alone.

Introduction

Social policy has often been constructed and implemented by people who have little experience of its impact as a service user. Nevertheless, there has been a growing interest in greater public, patient and service user involvement in social policy as both political activity and academic discipline.

Since the rise of new right, neoliberal managerialism, in policy formation and delivery, such alien policies and procedures have marginalised, stigmatised and disempowered many disabled people

Basic income provides a new platform to construct a societal system to secure (participative) social and civic citizenship for all; and one which is still under discussion. This should allow consideration to enable service users, such as disabled people, and their supporters, in its development and implementation. A basic income based on the principles of developing personal potential and social citizenship has been suggested. The issue is: how to 'assess' both tropes on a more equitable and less stigmatising manner.

Within the section of the paper discussing the fifth element of Basic Income, i.e. Adequacy, two approaches were proposed. These were:

- (a) 'Extra costs' to achieve the same freedoms as those suggested by Sen (1999, 2010) or
- (b) A common scale of 'accessibility' to achieve potential, goals, rights, both individual and group; thereby avoiding the stigmatisation of separateness.

These will now be discussed in turn

Approach (a) Adding up the 'extra costs'

Assessing for such additions, of 'extra costs', can either be done on an individual basis (as is done when assessing for self-directed support) or on an ordinal scale, such as 'moderate' and 'severe' impairments (as is done for state benefits, such as the UK's Personal Independence Payments).

Within approach (a) to calculate the 'plus' in 'basic income plus', it might be best to take the ordinal scale. To do this one might consider available meta-data on the cost of living with a disability.

For example, approach (a) is quite similar to the Nobel Winning Economist, Amartya Sen's, capability approach to social justice. Sen (2010) has distinguished disabled people's 'income handicap' from their 'conversion handicap'.

1. The first is a measurement of disabled people's earned income.
2. The second is a measurement of how much a disabled person has to spend 'to be and to do' the same as a non-disabled person

Taking a poverty cut-off line at 60% of the UK's national median income, his PhD student, Weibke Kuklys (2005), found that 17.9% of individuals in Britain lived in families with below-poverty line income. But, for families with a disabled member, the proportion of those living in below-poverty-line income is 23.1%.

This gap of about 5% points is said to reflect, largely, the difficulty that disabled people (and their relations) have in earning a decent income.

However, when calculating the "conversion handicap", assessed by the extra income that disabled people need to ameliorate the disadvantages of disability, for families with one or more disabled members, as many as 47.4% are shown by Kuklys to be living on below-poverty-line income.

This is more than two and half times larger than the share of below-poverty-line families (17.9%) for the population as a whole. Thus there is an immense difference between looking only at what Sen calls 'income handicap' and paying attention both to it and disabled people's extra costs in leading a minimally decent life with the same income. This, according to Sen, is because disability directly diminishes the person's capabilities, in terms of opportunities to exercise the functioning of being and doing the same as a non-disabled person.

Unfortunately, just after her PhD was published Kuklys died, so her mathematical theorems were not followed up to allow others to 'operationalise' these findings such that a practitioner can assess the 'conversion handicap' of an individual, or sub-group. However, in a more up to date work, Cullinan et al. (2011) studied the cost of disability in Ireland. This work was based on the standard of living (SoL) approach to estimating the cost of disability as developed in Berthoud et al. (1993) and Zaidi and Burchardt (2005).

Cullinan et al. (2011) extended their estimation strategy by using panel data, which allowed control for dynamics of disability and income along with unobserved heterogeneity, using an econometric modelling approach similar to that followed in Gannon (2005) and Contoyannis et al. (2004). In doing so they provided, for the first time, estimates of the long-term economic cost of disability.

In a nutshell, they found that the estimated long-term cost of disability is similar for households with members who are severely and somewhat limited by their disabilities at 32.7% and 30.3% of average weekly income respectively. This translates to 140.50 euros and 143.86 euros per week on average (2011 figures).

In contrast, in the short-term, there is a large difference for households with members who are severely or somewhat limited. These rates are 37.3% and 20.3% of average weekly income respectively; which translates to 160.26 euros and 96.38 euros per week on average. This reflects the difficulties in transferring from the state of non-disability, to that of disability

If we look at today's average weekly earnings in the UK of £516, and using the average of the long-term figures of Cullinan et al (31.5%) then the average disabled person must have £678.54 per week to meet their costs of disability – a difference of £162.54 from the average weekly earnings of £516 (Trading Economics, 2018).

Another even more modest figure might be achieved by basing the difference on minimum wage structures. The minimum wage in England is £7.38, per hour, but the minimum living wage in Scotland is £8.75 per hour. Both are required minimum payments for labour in the respective countries. If we take the lower English rate, this means the lowest paid worker, working a 32hr average week, would earn £236.16 per week (Trading Economics, 2018).

Again, using the average of the long-term figures of Cullinan et al (31.5%) then the average disabled person must have £310.55 per week to meet their costs of disability – a difference of £74.39 from the English minimum weekly wage of £236.16.

Nevertheless, a report published this year by Scope, an English charity for disabled people (Touchet and Patel, 2018) has estimated the extra costs of disability per week to be £142.50 on top of existing welfare provision of £145.20, to meet such extra costs; bringing the total required weekly cost to £287.70. However, other interesting figures can be found in this report, e.g. for 1 in 5 disabled people, extra costs amount to over £1,000 per month.

Also after housing costs, disabled people on average spend 49 per cent of their income on disability-related costs. Such extra costs mean that disabled people's money doesn't go as far: £100 for a non-disabled person is equivalent to just £67 for a disabled person – here the difference is around 33%, a figure close to that of Cullinan et al.

This wide range in the findings amongst these and other studies of the extra costs of disability rests on the differences in study design, conceptual definitions of extra costs and population characteristics (Tibble, 2005). Several studies found that type of activity limitation has at least a minor effect on the amount of extra costs; higher costs are associated with locomotion, eating, drinking and personal care limitations.

Finally, severity of impairment might be more important than type. In addition, Martin and White (1988) conclude that extra costs not only depends on levels of earned income, but on geographic location, which impacts on price and availability of goods and services.

To conclude, from such meta-data it would suggest that an average 'plus' within a general 'Basic income plus' formulation is difficult to pin down. Ultimately, the amount will be dependent upon political outlook and decision. Nevertheless such general dictums do not resolve everything, for an 'average', or ordinal, figure will not meet everyone's situation.

Approach (b) A 360 degree assessment process

Approach (b) to satisfy the element of 'Adequacy' within this paper is now briefly outlined. However, it must be realised that this is still 'work-in-progress'.

It differs from approach (a) as it does not merely consider how to 'fit the person' to the status quo of society; but how to look at the situation of the person and the status quo in the round (in a 360 degree manor) so that changes within both might improve the well-being of the other.

It also follows the argument laid out in the paper that assessment should not be seen as a discrete and solitary task; "entire to itself", to quote the poet John Donne. It is, or should be, part of a 'new beginning', of opportunity and challenge; of achieving that which is, or should be 'achievable'; of being supported in an inclusive society, the essence of which is social justice for each and every one of its citizens. Guile's conception of assessing potential may reflect John Donne's *Ode*, in which he states: "Only he who knows Himself, knows more".

*But we know ourselves least; mere outward shows
Our minds so store,
That our souls no more than our eyes disclose
But form and colour. Only he who knows
Himself, knows more.*

But it is here contested to know yourself is not enough. You need to know your community and what supports that can provide which will enable and empower you 'to do and to be' that which you want to do and be.

Approach (b) follows Jenni Mays (2016) conclusion that the basic income model constitutes a transformative strategy within the discourse on social citizenship.

In terms of income provision, it is based on distributive justice and egalitarianism. Disabled people marginalised at the lower end of income distribution can receive some form of support and achieve socio-economic independence based on egalitarianism, rather than disability categorisations.

As Raventós (2007) states, there are no stigmatising, or disabling distinctions, generated under a Basic Income model. According to Mays, this aligns with the call from disability theorists (such as Gibilisco 2003) for non-disabling models of social security (income support). It also facilitates social citizenship discourse and language to transform constructions of disability in relation to social citizenship, rather than categorisations of 'ableness' as a condition of citizenship.

Approach (b) also helps us to understand the way a basic income, as a transformative strategy, redresses one aspect of disablism in relation to social security policy. The approach is based on the following postulations:

- The empowerment of the individual disabled person will not be achieved fully, until their **collective** is empowered (Mladenov, 2012)
- Instead of individual social rights, the creation of modern (Nordic) social security schemes was legitimised by the need to secure the material well-being of **all segments of the population equally** (Kotkas, 2017)
- If we look at promoting **potential**, instead of meeting deficits of the individual or group then social welfare policy should adopt the human geography concept of 'accessibility' (Moseley, 1979). Here, the distance between the individual or group and a service or provision (or, by adoption, personal objective/goal: or even, a human/civic right) is measured according to how 'get-at-able' they may be.

This alternative approach, which Jim Elder-Woodward terms reverse assessment, looks at assisting the development and achievement of potential on some kind of universal metric – thereby reducing the stigma of 'additionality'.

It is suggested here that instead of assessing the deficits of any one individual, such a metric of 'accessibility' might assess what is required to make those chosen goals/outcomes/rights more achievable, i.e. more 'accessible'. This would be compatible with the social model of disability.

For example, in a comparison between the questions posed by the UK's *Office of Population Censuses and Surveys* (OPCS) in 1986 and his proposed alternatives based on the social model of disabled, Oliver (1992) showed how illuminating the difference could be (see Table 1).

Obviously, some of these alternative questions, set by Oliver, may not be conducive to assessing potential, but they do allow us some insight into assessing the barriers, confronting the individual in their efforts to realise their potential, and what resources are needed to overcome them.

It is understood that in assessing potential, there may still remain some requirement to assess the will and capacity of the individual to capitalise resources, but at least the concept of reverse assessment enables a 360 degree assessment process to take place. In any case, in the brave new world of basic income facilitating growth of potential, it is suggested that a universal metric of accessibility to services/ opportunities, may well make such an assessment process more achievable.

Originally, Moseley's work was in the field of human geography, and basically relates to the spatial relationships between people and services/ opportunities (particularly within rural communities) But, according to Farrington and Farrington (2005), accessibility is:

“No longer solely a transport, or rural, geographer’s way of expressing an ideological goal, or merely shorthand for a research paradigm, it has gained acceptance as a policy goal. Established in the 1960s and 70s as an important idea in understanding human experience and life chances, the accessibility discourse has entered UK policy debates about social exclusion and social justice.”

Farrington and Farrington (2005) define accessibility as: ‘The ability of people to reach and engage in opportunities and activities’. ‘Reach’ implies spatial separation, and therefore mobility and transport use, but two things should be recognised: spatial separation is only one form of separation.

For Farrington and Farrington, other forms of separation include age, gender, ethnicity, and income, and disability. However, for Jim Elder-Woodward, separation isn’t the result of age, gender, ethnicity, income or disability but the barriers set up by society which separate such cohorts from achieving their personal goals and social citizenship. Nevertheless, both agree that spatial as with other dimensions of separation may be overcome by means other than physical movement.

In principle, the idea of approach (b) is that greater social justice for disabled people, within a basic income welfare structure, cannot be achieved without support for their greater social inclusion. This requires that, like others, disabled people have to have access to a range of activities and positions regarded as typical of their society. Therefore, greater social inclusion requires greater accessibility to those activities and positions – as in Sen’s capabilities of ‘doing and being’. This often implies not just physical mobility and transport use, but mobility in terms of journeying through issues and problems of life itself.

A ‘nested framework’ showing how ‘accessibility’ relates to ‘social inclusion’, and thereby ‘social justice’ is proposed by Farrington and Farrington (2005), and it is suggested that some might be learned by applying such a framework to this wider proposal of studying access to personal goal-setting and social citizenship.

Existing survey question	Social model question
Can you tell me what is wrong with you?	Can you tell me what is wrong with society?
What complaint causes your difficulty in holding, gripping or turning things?	What defects in the design of everyday equipment like jars, bottles and tins cause you difficulty in holding, gripping or turning them?
Are your difficulties in understanding people mainly due to a hearing problem?	Are your difficulties in understanding people mainly due to their inability to communicate with you?
Do you have a scar, blemish or deformity which limits your daily activities?	Do other people's reactions to any scar, blemish or deformity you may have limit your daily activities?
Have you attended a special school because of a long-term health problem or disability?	Have you attended a special school because of your education authority's policy of sending people with your health problem or disability to such places?
Does your health problem/disability mean that you need to live with relatives or someone else who can help look after you?	Are community services so poor that you need to rely on relatives or someone else to provide you with the right level of personal assistance?
Did you move here because of your health problem/disability?	What inadequacies in your housing caused you to move here?
How difficult is it for you to get about your immediate neighbourhood on your own?	What are the environmental constraints which make it difficult for you to get about in your immediate neighbourhood?
Does your health problem/disability prevent you from going out as often or as far as you would like?	Are there any transport or financial problems which prevent you from going out as often or as far as you would like?
Does your health problem/disability make it difficult for you to travel by bus?	Do poorly-designed buses make it difficult for someone with your health problem/disability to use them?
Does your health problem/disability affect your work in any way at present?	Do you have problems at work because of the physical environment or the attitudes of others?

TABLE 1 OLIVER'S ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (OLIVER, 1992)

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