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**Whatever happened to North-South ?**

## **The Construction of the Right to Income**

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Theme: Economic Trends and Political, Social and Cultural Changes  
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Panel: Political, Economic and Social Trends in Comparative Perspective  
Chair: Lúcio Rennó, UnB – Brazil.

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Chair: Sônia Míriam Draibe, UNICAMP – Brazil.

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## **Abstract:**

Since the middle 70's, with the Welfare State and work crisis, some new ideas and experiences of income transfer programs have emerged and developed in Europe and Latin America. This paper proposes to analyze the context of increasing of such ideas, as well as the political ideological debate synthesized by the distinction between Minimum Income and Basic Income. Focusing on the political-theoretical analysis, the paper discusses how different propositions deal with questions like: citizenship rights and foundation, conditionality, poverty, coverage (universal or restricted), political participation, among others. The conclusion is that an enrichment of Basic Income proposal, linked to a progressive project of society, should conduce to a new or renewed Welfare State, where employment could be not essential. Through the analysis of some effectively implemented policies, based on the comparison among experiences of income transfer programs implemented in Brazil, the paper intends to show how Basic Income and Minimum Income have been in dispute both at the public decision arena and at the social imaginary. It is possible to verify differences not just related to the institutional design, but rather to the ideas, values and conceptions which support each policy. So, the contributions of Brazilian experiences indicate the importance of the emerging countries to the debate about Welfare State reform and, more than that, to the creation of a new right: the right to income.

## **Introduction**

In this work I would like to deal with an important point about the Basic Income discussion which has, according to my point of view, not yet been sufficiently emphasized: to assure a Basic Income as a citizenship right implies in the construction of a new right in this beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century – the right to income. To defend a Basic Income is not the same of defending the right to income – at least not at the discursive sphere. So, I think that those ones who advocate for the Basic Income right still have a political triumph in their hands to expand the legitimacy of its implementation: besides all the benefits<sup>1</sup> they have

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<sup>1</sup> According to Suplicy, the main fervor advocate of the Basic Income in Brazil and, maybe, in the world, some of the benefits of such a kind of policy may be synthesized as follows: it is the counterpart to the common perception according to which everybody should have the right of sharing the nation's wealth; it is a way to eliminate bureaucracy required by some policies to verify the beneficiaries' accomplishment of counterpart obligations; it eliminates dependence and, maybe the most important, it allows people to say "no" to degrading and humiliating job opportunities (SUPLICY, 2008), or, remembering the Esping Andersen's "decommodification" conception (ESPING ANDERSEN, 19907), it allows people – at least in some measure – to live without having to sell its labor strength in the work market.

already mentioned about it, the construction of the Right to Income is a strong one that could be explored by them, since it carries a novelty with social legitimacy and appeal: the deepening of citizenship. In other and maybe clearer words, I mean the discussion (the political one) could change its focus: from income to right, or from Basic INCOME to the RIGHT to Income. Perhaps it is just a change of words, a puzzle, but I believe words have strength, content and being reason – the political discussion change may turn the Basic Income policies implementation around the world and, then, the combat to social inequalities easier, as it mobilizes the powerful rights' language, or the citizenship equalizing weight, directed to everybody (not just to poor people).

The idea of this article came to me almost like an intuition and may be quite stupid. After ten years studying income transfer policies I cannot precise when and how I realized I had always been talking about a SOCIAL POLICY and trying to connect it with citizenship or, in other words, trying to evaluate its effects on the citizenship, but I had never changed my focus from the policy to the CITIZENSHIP, or from the income transfer policies to the right to income, even despite my greatest interest in understanding policies meanings (or the Politics of public policies) more than in strictly evaluating some policies.

So, this paper suggests a political position, besides of trying to present a possibly alternative analytical proposition on the Basic Income – I mean to think on it more over the citizenship side than over the policy one. The Basic Income is the way to find (or to assure) the right to income, just as the Bolsa Família Program (PBF) in Brazil may be the way to guarantee people the right to a worthy life, or to the social welfare, exactly through the same right to income these ones should require. To think about “income” like a “right” is still frightening, anyway. After all, income is associated with wage; more than that, with hard work and its recompense. But I will try to purpose in the paper below that we are nearer, in the way to the construction of a new right, to the horizon of the right to income. I will also try to clear how this right may be helpful to eliminate inequalities and unfairness at the both sides: socio-economic and cultural-symbolic one.

In the first part of this paper I will try to conduce with a discussion about citizenship, social rights and social policies in historical, theoretical and comparative terms and to situate in such a scheme the right to income, as well as the income transfer policies. In the second part I will present a kind of political-ideological classification among income transfer policies, based on their relations with work (employment), income, rights and citizenship, as well as on the welfare states classical models. In the third and last part I will bring challenges, as well as evidences and contributions of the recent Brazilian federal income transfer policy, called “Bolsa Família”, to the construction of the right to income. I finish arguing that the creation of the right to income, besides of deepening citizenship

through the rights' set enlargement, is also important for the rethink and reformulation of its conception and substantive content or base. To assure the right to income, unlinked from the employment remuneration – or from the work recompense, in better words – may reinforce the equal citizenship *status* and also the redistribution and recognition dimensions of fairness, embodied in it, against the job/employment and remuneration unequal hierarchy, as well as the distinctive principle of the “poor policies”. The right to income envisages a changing perspective for a new society, from whose citizenship foundation may not be work.

### **Citizenship, Social Rights and Social Policies**

How does a social policy arise? How does a social right take place? It is not my intention here to give strength to the functionalist-evolutionary supposition according to which there is a better unique way to arrive in a maybe “full welfare state” (if it existed). A number of researches, especially the comparative ones, have already shown the interference of cultural and political historical characteristics among countries to explain different paths followed by each one in their social protection system building<sup>2</sup>. Even so, I cannot go ahead dealing with social policies and rights without making use of Marshall's studies.

His most known book, *Citizenship, Social Class and Status* (MARSHALL, 1967) presents a historical analysis over the citizenship rights construction in England: starting with the civil ones, in the XVIII century, the basis for all those others, followed by the political rights, in the XIX century, and then by the social ones, in the XX century, as a result of the workers' political participation rising allowed by the last ones. It is a much known argumentation, which has given place to debates and comparisons. In Brazil, for example, to quote only two important authors, Carvalho (2002) and Santos (1979) have shown how the citizenship and social protection system building trajectories followed different ways from the England ones.

Santos proposed the “regulated citizenship” conception to design the restricting aspect of the citizenship in Brazil since the 1930's, which included almost only the urban workers (needed for the industrial capitalist development), as they had their occupations recognized by the State and were members of the official trade unions too (SANTOS, 1979). They won social benefits in an exception political context, especially during the Vargas mandatory dictatorial period (1937-45). Carvalho also underlined the strong link

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<sup>2</sup> Esping Andersen, 1990; Skocpol et all, 1985.

between citizenship and State in Brazil, conceiving the “statezenship” notion to highlight the strength of the state side of citizenship in Brazil, in comparison with its social side. He also paid attention to the inversions of the citizenship trajectory followed in Brazil, in comparison with the England steps signaled by Marshall: social rights acquisition advanced before some important political rights, and even more quickly in the dictatorial periods (1937-45 and 1964-85) than in the democratic ones (CARVALHO, 2002). Both Santos and Carvalho argumentations demonstrate there is not a unique path to the citizenship construction and mine the supposition that some rights are the necessary basis for other ones (civil=> political=> social), even if Brazilian citizenship is not a model to be followed; but its construction course may be helpful to think on it. Therefore, such arguments give support to imagine the possible contributions from the south hemisphere to think about the north one, as none of them should follow the same steps, but each step may stimulate thoughts. This is the proposition of this paper, about citizenship and social policies.

So, I want to turn to Marshall again to explore another aspect about the social rights and policies relation exposed by him that I think it is important to the purposes of this paper. This point focuses on the changing mentalities about poverty and needs across the time, and is found in Marshall’s less known work, *Social Policy* (1965). He starts the book with the Victorian era legacy, inside the competitive capitalist development context in the United Kingdom (1837-1901). It is important to notice that since the industrial revolution (XVIII century) and different from some other East countries, there has not else been in England a *status* distinction that could be considered as plausible justification for poverty. Even so, Marshall wrote that poverty was seen by the Victorians more like a social fact than like a social problem. In other words, poor people had always been, are and will be present. So, how to deal with them? “Their permanently need was traditionally alleviated by their families, churches and neighborhoods. Public functionaries should intervene only in supplementary instance, in order to coordinate and to offer some special kinds of services” (MARSHALL, 1965: 19). During a long time poverty had been seen as a private problem, and so as a social fact, not a social problem. When and why has it become a social problem, requiring public intervention and the emergency of social policies? Such step is strengthening related to the advance of citizenship and to its mentality supports: “indigence was a status that affected not just a part but the entire individual’s life. (...) The indigents formed a separated group of second class citizens, private from the most important rights of citizenship”. They lost their personal reputation (the depriving indigence stigma), their personal freedom (as they had to be confined in assistant houses) and their political freedom (as they could not vote) (MARSHALL, 1965: 20). But while these problems had

been restricted to the miserable indigent sub-group of people, they had been considered a less important problem. The interesting moments described by Marshall, when poverty reaches workers largely, following depressions in the last fourth of XIX century, and again after the two world wars, in the XX century, is decisive for citizenship and social policies. They mark a change of idea about poverty: it was not a problem related to weak moral individual but to a system defect, which had turned the “good men” workers into stigmatized poor people, because of the unemployment. So, poverty could not be still considered as a peripheral problem, as it also achieved the central motor of the capitalist system: the workers.

“The shock [caused by the end of the XIX century depression] generated a new action in relation to the social problems. According to the traditional orthodoxy, the fundamental cause for the social misery should be found in people or in victims’ individual circumstances, generally attributed to moral weakness. There was a considerable resistance to the acceptance of impersonal social causes, because it implied in the recognition of a defect inherent to the system. The shock caused by the mass unemployment contributed to break such resistance, because it was evident that those unemployed at the Trafalgar Square did not constitute a group of weak, idle and laze individuals, but the product of an impersonal phenomenon called ‘unemployment’, a new word that had recently become part of the vocabulary” (MARSHALL, 1965: 29)<sup>3</sup>.

At this point we should remember the central place the citizenship category occupies in the liberal thought, as a capitalist foundation. A generic definition would establish it as the belonging or participation in given community, or the quality of membership of such a community (BARBALET, 1989). It inserts an equal *status* to unequal individuals, who are divided in classes, the antagonist relation that Marshall himself realized between the citizenship equality and the class inequality, living together in constant tension inside capitalist societies. Based on liberal presumptions, poor people **need help**, because of their missing of merit or effort, an almost acceptable justification for their sub-citizenship or peripheral situation in the society. Workers, on the other side, are seen as autonomous individuals, who can walk with their own legs and hence do not need help. Therefore, the unemployment challenges capitalist public administration to give responses to bad social conditions that reached a great part of population, who could not be conceived as laze, since they are the development motor. In synthesis, **citizens are workers**; the

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<sup>3</sup> Free translation made by myself from the Portuguese version. Sorry for the mistakes.

social rights emerged for them (and also depended on them for their guarantee, through social policies financial support). Just as Telles (1992, 1997) properly argued, there is a break between workers and poor people. We could say it is a sub-break, which divides society one time else, after bourgeois and workers, between the last ones and the poor.

The aspect I would like to highlight about this discussion is that there are different remedies, or policies, for different problems and social groups. The origin of some policies is related to diverse goals. Assistance policies, like the England Poor Law (XIX century) – and also like Brazilian Minimum Income experiences (century XXI!) – are emergent remedies or ways to combat social needs, misery, indigence and hungry. **Assistance policies are help for needed**, not for citizens. The constitution of social policies as a social protection system, on the other hand, may be seen as a way to guarantee social rights, firstly delivered to workers and just after to everybody (if not always concretely, at least in importance). I mean a distinction between workers and poor remains through different policies. The building of modern social protection systems may be analyzed as a way to rights' affirmation, an important step in the citizenship constitution, but they performs such a role in order to save workers life conditions. Work is base for citizenship as well as for social policies. While income transfer policies are taken as an assistant policy for poor people, they will remain like a non-citizens' policy. But if taken as a universal and unconditional policy, as an income right guarantying policy, they may acquire another meaning, like a citizens' policy. This is one of the bases of Minimum Income and Basic Income policies difference, which embodies or symbolizes a dilemma for the future of social protection systems and societies, examined ahead.

It becomes necessary a clearance at this point. Social protections systems do not have all the same characteristics, as my previous argumentation could make think. This is why some welfare states classification studies (Titmuss and Esping Andersen's most famous) have gotten importance. In the next section a synthesis about the conservative, liberal and social-democratic models elaborated by Esping Andersen (1990) will be exposed. For now it is enough to make clear that universal rights citizenship guarantying policies are not a common feature of all social protection systems. This kind of policies, however, may be a way, just like citizenship, for effectively rupturing with dual society, as they do not deliver benefit for poor, stigmatizing them, but for everybody.

In order to synthesize this section argumentation, it is worth to remember that the equal citizenship *status* which emerged with capitalism development turned poverty to a social fact with individual sources, since everybody had same conditions to overpass it. So the first assistant policies emerged as a way to help poor people, to cover their needs together with private help. These policies have not been seen as State obligation and



responsibility. They have hence and contradictorily attested the poor people sub-citizenship. Another is the case when poverty turns to be seen as a social problem reaching a great part of population. To keep workers welfare conditions has become a State obligation and responsibility (as many times unemployment was not their fault). As observed Marshall:

“In 1906 [in England], the issue was not else about knowing if State was the responsible for the mass welfare in spite of just for indigents’ aid. This was a pacific point and, after all, the mass had already right to vote. The problem consisted in deciding about the degree and, moreover, about the means by which the State would accomplish its responsibility. At this point the agreement finished and it started the political conflict” (MARSHALL, 1965: 36)<sup>4</sup>.

Then we have social rights birth. Extended to everybody, not like a help, but like State obligation, they undo in some way the citizenship initial contradiction, minimizing poor’s sub-citizenship. The second wage of social policies (supposing the first or embryonic one has been the assistant ones for poor people), as in England as in Brazil, were delivered to workers and kept the distinctive principle which hierarchically separated then and poor people, who could still be stigmatized as idle, laze. But when social rights are established not as workers’ rights, rather as everybody’s rights, we may see an enlargement and deepening of citizenship, even because its formal feature gains substance. In spite of social classes’ inequalities, produced by the system, citizenship can assure social welfare for everybody, correcting system’s failures and guaranteeing everybody’s more equal belonging to a nation or society. This is a progressive welfare state’ key base, which has a transformative horizon because of that. Income right construction is another step at this direction.

Social rights’ substance brings a new dynamic and practical feature for citizenship: since it is never done and may be enriched with new rights, it has a fight dimension (WIENER, 1992, DAGNINO, 1994). Especially because guaranteeing social rights depends on social policies implementation. Income transfer policies, like the Brazilian PBF, may be government actions, more or less institutionalized; it is the right to income which brings them validity and endurance. This is another reason by which I defend the right to income institutionalization. Social policies are not the end, but the means to achieve and concretize social rights. Therefore, it is the right to income institutionalization which can change income transfer policies sense, from Minimum Income, as a poor policy, to Basic Income, as an unconditional and universal citizenship income right guaranteeing policy.

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<sup>4</sup> Free translation made by myself from the Portuguese version. Sorry for the mistakes.



## **The Theoretical and Political-Ideological Debate on Income Transfer Policies<sup>5</sup>**

Although the idea of transferring money to people is not new, it has increased since the 1970's, because of the welfare state crisis that began in such period. Since then, the idea has developed in two different ways: the Minimum Income, as originally formulated, and the Basic Income, a most recent and progressive proposal. Before arguing about the differences between the two models, it is necessary to remember that such distinction is based on different views and interpretations regarding to the crisis. Moreover, what is in debate is the future of the society, according to different normative and political-ideological projects. That is why such discussion is so important.

### **Conservative Minimum Income**

Milton Friedmann is the emblematic representative of the conservative side. He believes that the State institution is ruined. For him, the individual freedom is the reason for the existence of the social organization. The State intervention in the market free-game is considered always coercive. It should be applied just in very special situations. He sees the State, because of its welfare inclination, as the main responsible for the crisis. In substitution to the coexistence between economic policy and social policy, which prevailed during the glorious ages of the capitalism, he proposes the subordination of the social policy to the interest of an orthodox economic policy. According to his point of view, the state distribution of income, goods, benefits and services is a danger for the individual freedom and interests; it also inhibits a desirable private activity and competition. So, in the Friedmann's view, the State action, in the social field, should be restricted to the "public charity", preferably just as a complementation to the private charity (DRAIBE e HENRIQUE, 1988: 73-75). In the current neoliberal propositions, such ideas appear as recommendation for social policies focalization, decentralization and privatization (MORAES, 2001: 86).

In view of such conceptions, it is not strange to notice that Friedmann has been one of the first and most important defenders of the negative income tax creation. His proposal previews the substitution of the modern welfare states by this redistribution mechanism. Based on a meritocratic justice principle, the minimum income, in Friedmann's version, should be delivered exclusively to the poorest people, the "looser" who have been incapable of winning in the work market competition. Because of this loser incapacity situation, poor people need some aid to survive. But the state help should be restricted to the misery attenuation, even as a way of stopping mass discontent. Derived from

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<sup>5</sup> This part was already developed in other works (JUSTO, 2007, 2008).

conservative moral principle, the minimum income, for Friedmann, should attend just the “minimum social”, or, in other words, guarantee only the least amount of conditions required to people survive. Such minimum is established normally in nutritional terms, in spite of being socially given. The reason for that is the vision according to which an amount relatively high – above some ceiling limit – would be factor of work disincentive – what should be definitely avoided. Thus, seeing the work market competition together with the structural unemployment as healthy – despite its cruelty – Friedmann proposes a minimum income complementary to the wage and to the private charity. It is seen as just a palliative mechanism to keep things as they are (SILVA E SILVA, 1997; JUSTO, 2003).

### Progressive Basic Income

On the other side of the ideological spectrum is the Basic Income proposal, as formulated by Philippe Van Parijs, its main supporter. The Basic Income is a progressive idea, based on the Paine’s model of welfare state and on the equity ethical fundament (VAN PARIJS, 1994b). For some authors, the Basic Income would be at the same time a way to the overcome and to the improvement of the welfare state. Noguera (2000), for example, sees it as a fourth model in the Esping-Andersen (1990, 1991) welfare state classification. Van Parijs (1994a) sees it as capitalist way to the communism.

### Basic Income and Welfare Regimes

Welfare regime	Principle	Level of protection (coverage of basic needs)	Level of redistribution	Weight of means-tested benefits	Employment-dependency degree (based on contributions)	Main beneficiaries (units)	Weight of the private sector
<b>Liberal - anglosaxon</b>	Assistance, solidarity	No	Medium	High	Low	Those in need or not able to work (households)	High
<b>Conservative -continental</b>	Insurance	It depends on the previous contribution	Low	Medium	High	Employed people (households)	Medium
<b>Social-democratic</b>	Moderate egalitarianism	Yes	High	Low	Medium	All, because of full employment (households and individuals)	Low
<b>Basic Income (BI)</b>	Radical egalitarianism	Yes	Very high	Non-existing	Non-existing	All (individuals)	Any

Source: Noguera (2000), based on Esping-Andersen (1990) and Van Parijs (1994).

It is possible to notice, in the table above, that the Basic Income is seen, according to Noguera's point of view, as a new model of welfare state, resulted of the maturing of the most successful experiences of welfare states – the social-democratic ones. Anchored in the radical egalitarianism as principle and on the citizenship *status*, the Basic Income model does not differentiate people to receive the benefits and, thus, eliminates the stigmatizing character of the benefits based on means-test. The main characteristic of the Basic Income consists, however, in the elimination of the people's dependency in relation to the market.

Because of that, a welfare state model centered on the Basic Income proposal would be, so, the most capable of really turning concrete the Esping- Andersen (1991:102) notion of individuals de-commodification, which is reached when they become capable again of sustaining themselves without depending on the market (without having to sell their labor strength in exchange for a wage and without having to submit to the job contract). Individuals de-commodification is also obtained through the guarantee of services like rights, in an universal and unconditional way.

According to Van Parijs (1994a), a basic income should be distributed as a right, independent of any need, and in an unconditional way, e.g., not supposing any restriction to people's conduct nor to the money's use by them. The right of every people to share the common good and wealth is a justification to the money's distribution. For Van Parijs, the goal to be aimed through the Basic Income policy implementation is the promotion of a free and fair society, which supposes the satisfaction of three conditions: security (the existence of a guaranteed solid rights structure), property of itself (allowed and guaranteed by the rights structure) and the *leximin* opportunity (the rights structure should allow every people to have the greatest possible opportunity of doing whatever they want); this last condition supposes not just the formal/abstract rights existence, but also the guarantee of the means to turn the rights effective. To attend such condition, Van Parijs foresees the need of transferring to people the highest possible basic income (Van Parijs, 1992, 1994a; Fonseca, 2000). It is possible to recognize that this criterion is not based on elementary needs satisfaction, as the minimum income is.

Another element to be considered in the Basic Income is the implicit idea of unlink with work. In other words, the Basic Income project is not founded on the "full-employment" as strategy to overcome the crisis, but on the State redistribution of the socially produced income and wealth among people, independently of work. For Josué Silva (1998), the guarantee of a basic income for everybody as a right, independently of their insertion in the work market, operates an important rethinking on the traditional notion of citizenship, which is founded on the work. The Basic Income oversees to a new version

of citizenship, which does not require the work as its substrata (Justo, 2007). Moreover, the Basic Income idea has given origin to the fight for a new right: the right to income.

### **Nor Minimum nor Basic Income: the Left Dilemma**

There is also a set of authors who defends an intermediate conception of income transfer policy, nor the Minimum Income as proposed by Friedmann, nor the Basic Income from Van Parijs. Linked to a left slope, authors like Andre Gorz (1992, 1994), Guy Aznar (1994, 1998) and Yoland Bresson agree with the idea of a workers' minimum income distribution as a complementation to the wages and a compensation for the labor time reduction. Part of a larger project, whose main goal is to reach a "free-time society", its implementation should come with labor time reduction and job vacancies redistribution. Different from the Friedmann proposal, such minimum income should not be substitutive, but complementary to the other social policies. It is not seen as a poor people's income, just to pacify them, but on the contrary as a way to reinsert the Politics in the social policies.

However, the minimum income proposed by these authors is not a right, unconditional and universal, as it is the Basic Income. The problem, for them, is the possibility of rising of a dual society, stimulated by a Basic Income implementation: the (well) employed people's group versus the useless' one. The view according to which the work is fundamental to the full citizenship and to the social cohesion is the justification for the minimum income restricted delivery to workers. The relationship between work right and income right defended by these authors against the Basic Income is although dangerous: it can give impulsion to workfare practices, as reported by some researchers about the social policies tendencies in Europe (STANDING, 1998; CHRISTENSEN, 2000; JANSON, 2000; KILDAL, 2000).

### **Political Enrichment of Basic Income Project**

One of the critics addressed by the left to the Basic Income proposal refers to its liberal origin. In spite of that, the recent intense debate on the theme in the entire world has enriched the Basic Income proposal as a socio-political project. As noticed above, it can be seen as a fourth model of welfare state and even a capitalist way to the socialism. The important point to highlight is the idea of changing society that unifies defenders of the Basic Income.

The welfare states were built on two binomial believes: the compatibility between economic growth and social priorities satisfaction (through the full employment guaranteed by the state action) and the association between rights and duties, one as the counterpart of the other, like the work/wage relationship. Both pacts/believes have broken since the

1970's, when it started the welfare state crisis and, at the same time, the changes in the "work's world" or in the "salaried society".

According to Pierre Rosanvallon (1997), the contract between State and individuals, consolidated by the welfare state, implied in the reinforcement of the organic solidarity and in the weakening of the mechanic solidarity. So, when the state was not able anymore of giving the social support for everybody who needed it, people did not have who to ask help for, because of the des-socialization. That is why Rosanvallon proposes, as an exit to the crisis, the individuals reinsertion in collective solidarity nets. The first step in such direction consists, according to him, in the job time reduction, in order to extend the free-time.

The income transfer implementation is considered an important way to go with and to turn effective the job time reduction. Several authors agree with this idea: besides Rosanvallon, Robert Castel (2003), Guy Aznar (1988, 1994), Yoland Bresson, André Gorz (1986, 1988, 1992, and 1994) and Alain Caillé (2002). While some of them support the idea of a minimum income for workers, based on the belief that work is essential for the systemic integration, Gorz abandoned such vision. Since 1997, he passed to believe that work cannot perform currently the great integrator function anymore. Differently from Rosanvallon, who criticizes the weakening of the mechanic solidarity caused by the welfare state, Gorz used to deny the Basic Income proposal due to the possibility that a person, receiving the monetary benefit without working, became definitely excluded from the system and society. In other words, he used to emphasize the need of the belonging not just through the mechanic solidarity, but also through the organic solidarity, via work market participation. However, as he passed to believe that such integration is nowadays an illusion, he adopted a different position.

Gorz changed his mind and turned to criticize the contractual notion on which is based the welfare state and the economic-instrumental rationality subjacent to it. So, he argues that the full employment strategy is not defensible anymore, since it is tributary of the work ethic and of the industrial economic thinking according to which the salaried work, full time, is seen as the main way of social integration – a supposition that does not sustain anymore. For him, the free-time is the new central category in the contemporary societies. Therefore, the fight to be faced is for the time self management (SILVA, 2002). The progressive reduction of the work time with productive goal should conduce, gradually, to a free-time society, where the cultural and social spheres should surmount the economic one. In such meaning, Gorz passed to agree with Rosanvallon, advocating for people's dedication to communitarian, cultural, political and no-paid activities, which would improve the micro-social ties, the mechanic solidarity. Finally, he proposes the unconditional Basic Income and the job time reduction as fundamental steps toward a non-

utilitarian society; these measures are important part of his new utopist free-time society project.

It is possible to recognize that the unconditional character of the Basic Income is very consistent with such a project, since it breaks not just the rights-duties binomial notion, as the income-work one. So, the Basic Income implementation can contribute to the construction of a new citizenship conception, which may abdicate of work as its base. (SILVA, 1998). It can, at the same time, launch new light on the way we are used to see the exclusion, abandoning the insertion or not in the work market as the main criterion for social belonging.

Gorz's criticism to the utilitarian and instrumental economic reason that prevails in the contemporary societies matches also with Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon's (1994) argumentation about the need of overcoming the contract and charity ideologies dilemma, which would be replaced by non-contractual reciprocity social forms, like solidarity and interdependence.

Besides, the "gift" notion has also been remembered as alternative to the equivalent exchange in which is based the workfare and even the wage social practices. To recuperate and foment the gift idea and practice implies in reinforcing the social pact and mechanic solidarity. Inside gift's theory, exchange is taken not in utilitarian, but in solidarity terms, not as a way, but as the end of the social relations (JUSTO, 2002). For Alain Caillé (2002), "gift" means Politics (against the utilitarianism) and it should be exerted through the association, which means participative democracy. The Basic Income is also seen, in his argumentation, as a strategy to root the gift culture in the society.

Thus, the Basic Income proposal has been enriched as a political-cultural project for changing society. The main points related to it are the job time reduction, the overcoming of the contractual notion of equivalent exchange and also the overcoming of the utilitarian economic reason that sustain it, and the build of a free-time society, where people can recuperate micro-social solidarity ties and dedicate to political and cultural activities.

Through the discussion presented above, it is possible to resume, in the following table, the main characteristics, similarities and distinctions among the three models of income transfer policies in debate today:

<b>Model</b>	<b>Liberal Minimum Income</b>	<b>Left Minimum Income</b>	<b>Progressive Basic Income</b>
<b>Characteristics</b>			
<b>Beneficiaries</b>	Restricted: Poor people	Restricted: workers	Universal: everybody
<b>Income right?</b>	No	No	Yes
<b>Unconditional?</b>	No	No	Yes
<b>Linked to work?</b>	Yes	Yes	No
<b>Citizenship based on</b>	Work	Work	?
<b>Incentive to the political participation?</b>	No	Yes	Yes
<b>Society Horizon</b>	Maintenance	?	Transformation

### **The Brazilian Bolsa Família Program and the Way to the Construction of the Right to Income**

The Bolsa Família Program (PBF) was created in January 2004, as a process of unification of four other Brazilian federal income transfer programs which preceded it. It attends currently more than twelve millions of families in the national territory and gives them monetary values that start from R\$ 22,00 to R\$ 200,00 (approximately from US\$ 13 to US\$ 118). It is a means-tested program, destined to poor and extremely poor families, whose per capita income does not overcome the limit of R\$ 140,00 (US\$ 82, considering the exchange relation: 1 US\$ = 1,7 R\$). It is also a conditioned income transfer policy, since it is required from beneficiaries the control of children frequency to school and health centers, among others<sup>6</sup>. Thus, given such features, the PBF must be classified as a Minimum Income kind of program. So, why should I use it as a helpful example to think about the construction of the right to income? Because of the increasing legitimacy process the program has gained after six year since its creation by law and after sixteen years since

<sup>6</sup> Information available at the site: <http://www.mds.gov.br/bolsafamilia> .



the first municipal income transfer programs experiences were implemented. But in fact the dilemma between Basic and Minimum Income is not yet defined. At the same time, the creation of the right to income is a bet in which I have faith for the future.

Poverty has been for centuries a problem never solved in Brazil, which besides has occupied with other countries the first places in the world social inequalities ranking. Then, the first income transfer programs initiatives, experimented in municipalities since 1995, had a clear goal of trying to diminish poverty and misery. They represented anyway an advance in relation to assistant traditional practices, used to give families “food hamper” to satiate their hunger. In other words, at least the help measures to satisfy needs had started to change, even if in the end of the XX century. The same values and ideas that supported the initial local programs were transposed in some measures to the “School Fellowship” federal program, the main PBF precedent created in 2001 (JUSTO, 2002; SILVA E SILVA, YAZBEK & GIOVANNI, 2004).

In addition to that, the Brazilian work market fragility, where approximately a half of the workers is not formally registered, aggravated poverty situation due to the unemployment crisis of 1990's (JUSTO, 2002). Then, it is not surprising the income transfer policies first experiences had poverty and inequalities as their main target. The problem, explained earlier, is that, with such a goal, these programs try to combat inequalities based on dual references: workers-citizens x poor-subcitizens. In other words, with distinctive – or unequal – policy principles they keep the power substrate on which inequalities sustain. Nancy Fraser properly criticizes this kind of “remedies” both at the recognition as at the redistribution spheres of fair, considered “affirmatives” in contrast with the “transformative” ones (FRASER, 1995).

An earlier evaluation about municipalities' income transfer programs detected this dilemma between Basic and Minimum Income referential models and concluded that the political-ideological debate about Minimum Income and Basic Income occur both at the theoretical level, as at the practical level, in the municipalities where income transfer programs have been implemented. In Brazil, the comparative analysis about the programs from Campinas, Jundiaí, Santo André and Santos, all them in the state of São Paulo, verified programs differences not just in their institutional design, but rather in the ideas, values and conceptions which support each policy. Among other variables, the local programs bureaucrats' normative perceptions about the unconditional and universal character of the programs – passed through their work practices – may illustrate such a dispute (JUSTO, 2007, 2008).

While programs technicians from the cities of Jundiaí and Santos tended to agree with the conception according to which programs should be focused on poorest people and,

in some measure, on families that can win poverty with just a push – and should not be extended to families that could become state dependents –, those technicians from the Campinas and Santo André programs defended, on the contrary, programs enlargement so that they could cover as many families as possible. The horizon they look at is that one of a universal basic income, a right for everybody. In the same direction, while policy makers from Campinas and Santo André tended to defend the income transfer program benefit as an unconditional right, and so to not agree with counterparts' requests, those ones from Jundiaí and Santo André advocated exactly the opposite: that counterparts were the programs core, what turned the perspective of envisaging the monetary benefit like a right impracticable for them (JUSTO, 2007, 2008).

Which of such tendencies have earned strength in Brazilian national scenario? A recent evaluation made about the PBF in the city of Campinas verified that beneficiaries tended to see the monetary benefit as an “aid” or “help” to face bad life conditions (PIRES, 2009). This date should prove the maintenance or prevalence of some general perception that PBF is not a right's guaranteeing policy but a poor's program – what in fact it is. On the other hand, in the federal level, the regulation of the Social Assistance Unique System, similar to the Health Unique System, as well as the Social Assistance National Policy implementation, during the Lula's president mandate, imply in the social assistant right affirmation. It is an important step in the way to assuring rights and making citizenship deeper, including the income right creation.

Josué Silva more than one time criticized the conditioned feature of the PBF, since it is a block for the right's guaranteeing policy assertion. It also refreshes the contractual exchange, symbolized for the wage, which supports undesirable workfare practices (SILVA, 1998, 2009). In spite of that, new changes in the PBF operation and administration have moderated the punitive control over beneficiaries' counterparts' consecution that used to restrict people's freedom. Counterparts have been passed to be taken more as guardian mechanisms of welfare, which deserves attention and not punishment from the public services and authorities. According to this view, just in last instance a benefit should be canceled due to counterparts' compliment fail<sup>7</sup>. Beneficiaries' health and educational obligations should work more as supplementary actions in order to assure welfare conditions and State protection to poor people. It is a way to reinforce citizenship. Such a vision about social services reflects probably an advance of progressive ideas among social assistant professionals – those ones observed in the local transfer income programs in the cities of Campinas and Santo André which demonstrate the importance of professional field ideas

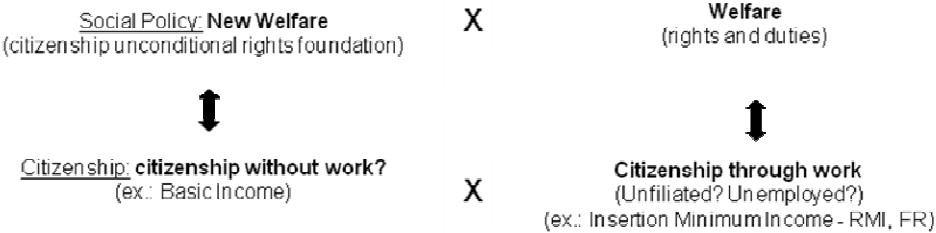
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<sup>7</sup> Information available at the site: <http://www.mds.gov.br/bolsafamilia> .

and values to give policies sense and direction. Together with such progressive ideas advance the right to income may go on.

The last point I want to pay attention is that the PBF's law promulgation occurred exactly in the next day after to the Basic Income Law approval in Brazil (both in January 2004). Such a sequence is not casual. In spite of Silva's criticisms about the Lula's intention of weakening the Basic Income proposal (SILVA, 2009) – and even considering that contrasting with his partisan friend, senator Suplicy, the greatest Basic Income advocate in Brazil, the ex-president really has a different view about the relations between work and income, since Lula affirmed in the PBF sanction ceremony that “each one only would be a full citizen when he or she has a dignity job” – it is clear the connection between PBF creation and Basic Income approval: the first one is the way to find the last one, as the social policies are the way to concretize social rights. The Bolsa Família program may thus be the way to the construction of the legitimate right to income.

Finally, it is convenient to remember that at the same way the construction of the right to income is an incognita, the future of the citizenship without work is too. These are some challenges for the future, which I tried to schematize in a former work (JUSTO, 2003, 2007):



**Final Words**

To guarantee the right to income, universal public policies may not be necessary, since many people obtain their income through the wage paid in exchange for their labor, or through other sources. As Lavinás (2000) observed previously, focalized policies can reinforce universal principles. That is why I defend the Right to Income as the main political idea to be mobilized, more than the Basic Income one. The importance of the Basic Income proposition has been to enhance the Right to Income value as a way to enrich citizenship. Rights guaranteeing policies are an instrument to change society duality, in benefit of the citizenship equal status concretization. This would mean a break with salaried work and its supposed equivalent exchange, in benefit of solidarity relations in maybe renewed societies.

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