Green Party
Universal Basic Income Policy

October 2019
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Appendix 1 - Rates per week of universal basic income to be achieved when this model fully
1. Summary & Key Points

The Green Party considers that sustainable economic and welfare policies are the best and most effective manner in which to achieve social justice into the future, for Ireland and all nations. In conjunction with our international Green Party colleagues we are working towards the introduction of a circular economy that places a higher value on our nation’s resources, seeks to avoid damaging our communities environmentally and aims to reimagine our existing market systems as more nuanced than a relentless increase in consumption and industrial growth. The equitable and respectful treatment of all members of our society is a cornerstone of this philosophy. We want a community which recognises the value of caring, of community activism and comity as well as the right of all people to fulfil their basic economic needs. The Green Party’s Welfare policy places dignity, equality and justice at the centre of our policy proposals.

- The Green Party believes that the current system of social payments must be revised to support recipients to maximise their educational, social and employment opportunities. This requires an approach that can respond to different stages of life and provide security of income and other benefits to Irish families.

- The Green Party proposes to introduce a system of Universal Basic Income\(^1\) for all residents of Ireland by 2024. This payment, in conjunction with a scheme of top-up payments where appropriate, will cover the majority of current Welfare payments and will aim to provide recipients with a basic living wage lifting a significant proportion of the current 15.7% of the population estimated to be ‘at risk of living in poverty’ out of that state.\(^2\)

- The Universal Basic Income System will operate for each recipient from birth or at the point of residency in Ireland. The rate is variable from 0-26 years of age and fixed for adults undergoing a compulsory review every 5 years.

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1 Universal Basic Income is defined as ‘an amount payable to the person who is a permanent resident of the state which enables the person to lead a frugal but dignified lifestyle’.

2 https://www.cso.ie/multiquicktables/quickTables.aspx?id=sia12_sia20_1
2. Policy

2.1 Introduction

The Green Party’s vision for Ireland has always been one of social justice and equity. We believe that we must operate within a model where the social, economic and environmental elements of our society work in harmony for the advantage and betterment of every resident. We seek to underpin these aims by proposing policies that are ambitious in the medium to long term while offering practicable and meaningful solutions in the short term.

2.2 Vision Statement

2.2.1 Equality is a Benefit for All

At the core of green politics is the sincere belief that a fair and sustainable society, where everyone strives together to improve the quality of living while maintaining respect for other communities and the environment, is a mutually beneficial aim. Whether you are experiencing a phase of unemployment, caring for a child or an elderly parent or enjoy a secure family income, fairness and respect should be afforded to all. We believe that Ireland must move towards a circular economy i.e. a regenerative system in which resource input and waste, emissions, and energy leakage are minimised by slowing, closing, and narrowing energy and material loops. Universal Basic Income is part of the evolution of this system.

2.2.2 Sustainable Principles are an Economic Opportunity

Ireland must begin the process of decoupling social function from employment; part of this process is the introduction of a Universal Basic Income for all. This will promote levels of engagement with employment and recognise some previously ignored forms of caring and volunteer work for the first time.

A system of Universal Basic Income represents a significant realignment of our current economic perspectives domestically. It will require the development of new working strategies for the implementation of welfare provision and the securing of tax revenue.

Providing a social safety net and a fairer distribution of our nation's wealth is a worthwhile and ambitious undertaking which should form part of a community centred, caring and circular economy that places the long-term and future wellbeing of residents
at its core.

During the interim period any universal basic income paid will have the effect of reducing the state benefits also being paid to the recipient by the same amount. However should the recipient stop receiving state benefits, the universal basic income will continue to be paid and be treated as taxable income by the recipient.

2.2.3 Taxation

It should be clear to the reader that Universal Basic Income is not ‘free money’. It is the recipient’s just minimum share of the common wealth of the state, and should be treated by the recipient as income and is taxed accordingly by the state.

2.3 Policy Details

2.3.1 Working towards Universal Basic Income

Artificial intelligence will continue to eliminate what is regarded as traditional paid work, while at the same time introducing new roles\(^3\). The resulting structure of employment within the state is one where workers, some in desperation as the volume of paid work decreases, may be forced to enter into contracts with low levels of job security. On the other hand, for those without work the Green Party believes the current system of welfare payments in Ireland is neither an equitable nor effective means to protect citizens and residents from poverty and financial hardship\(^4\). The Green Party is concerned also about the stigmatisation of payments that are means tested and specifically aimed at ‘out of work’ individuals. Finally, housing, food and fuel poverty in the state, in conjunction with rates of child poverty, are increasing\(^5\).

As universal benefits have been proven to be the most effective means by which to lower rates of poverty and ensure that all members of the community enjoy a decent quality of life\(^6\), the Green Party proposes to address the above inequalities with the implementation of a model for a Universal Basic Income to all.

In our model all income tax payers will have a tax free allowance which is the equivalent to their Universal Basic Income amount. In our model every income tax payer will gain


\(^5\) http://www.irishtimes.com/news/social-affairs/the-economy-is-growing-and-so-is-poverty-1.2077675

from the introduction of Universal Basic Income. And in our model, because we remove the 20% tax rate we ensure that those on lower incomes gain considerably while those on higher incomes gain only marginally. (see ‘Table – Before and After Incomes’ on page 15).

2.3.2 What is Universal Basic Income?

Universal Basic Income (UBI) operates as a standard payment to every individual that is resident in the state without reference to their means or their ability/availability for employment. It is non-means tested and does not increase or decrease as someone’s income changes. The Universal Basic Income would replace a number of social welfare payments and be a new way of providing a social safety net. It will be treated as income for the purposes of calculating tax and for means testing for housing and other benefits. The concept of Universal Basic Income aligns strongly with Green Party principles of sustainable development where the right to a humane and appropriate standard of living is untethered from relentless growth in consumer production. The Green Party in Ireland believe that a Universal Basic Income should be proposed as part of the European Union’s rights of citizenship and that the state and the EU must work towards its adoption on a global level.

2.4 Who Qualifies?

The Universal Basic Income would qualify as a Family Benefits under EU Regulations payment. As with other similar payments the benefit is targeted primarily at those persons who are habitually resident in the state. These include:

- Irish nationals resident in the state (and those returning emigrants nationals who can prove intent of habitual residence as per the current HRC1 form)
- UK nationals from the Common Travel Area (CTA)
- EEA nationals who are considered to be resident in the state
- Non-EEA nationals with immigration permission that allows them to legally reside and work in the State. A person with permission to reside will have the appropriate immigration stamp in their passport and a Certificate of Registration

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1 Clark, Charles M.A. and J. Healy (1997), Pathways to a Basic Income, Dublin: CORI
issued by the Garda National Immigration Bureau (GNIB), an IRP Irish Residence Permit Card

- Asylum seekers who are awaiting a determination from the International Protection office from the date they enter the Asylum system
- Asylum seekers who have been granted permission to remain.

As it is the intention of the UBI payment to replace the current Children’s Allowance with Children’s Income at a fixed rate the current exemptions on EEA/EU and non EEA nationals would apply. The Children’s Income would be payable from birth. 9

The payment of Universal Basic Income will require a comprehensive database of qualifying individuals, contact details and payment options. The rate of UBI is based on a calibration between economic realities and nationwide poverty levels which will require regular review and adjustment. As a result we propose the creation of a Universal Basic Income Board to optimise the rate levels on a five year basis. We propose that a number of societal stakeholders would work with the government of the day to agree any adjustments to the rate of UBI.

2.5 Levels of Payment for Universal Basic Income

The Green Party proposes to pay a Universal Basic Income to all legal, permanent residents of the state. Minors under the age of eighteen will receive a universal child allowance payment (see next section) and those reaching retirement age will automatically move to the Universal Basic Income Pension payment as outlined in our Pensions Policy. As the aim of a UBI is to lift the greatest proportion of the populace out of poverty it is assumed that current levels of welfare payments are not sufficient to do so or do not represent a fair redistribution of national income to achieve lower levels of poverty within the state. 10 The Green Party believes that the UBI should be benchmarked to the most recent data on poverty rates and minimum disposable incomes with an ongoing review process that resets rates on a five year basis. 11

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poverty levels by the EU, which uses the median income of a given country to consider relative wealth, taken as an average over that five year period, forms the basis of the Universal Basic Income payment.

'People or households are considered to be at risk of poverty when their income is less than a particular threshold. In the EU, the threshold has been set at 60% of the median income (midpoint in the scale of the highest to the lowest of all incomes in Ireland). Between 2008 and 2013 median disposable income for an individual dropped from €20,758 to €17,551 but began to increase again in 2014 to €18,210 per annum. This means that the 60% at risk of poverty threshold dropped from €12,455 in 2008 to €10,926 in 2014.'

As an illustrative example of the work the UBI Board may undertake: with an inclusive rate of inflation set at 2.4% (the 2015 rate) the Universal Basic Income per individual is set at €11,188.22. In this particular instance that would suggest this suggests a weekly income of €215.15. This rate is a sample calculation only.

2.6 Phasing In Change (by Piloting)

The Green Party believes that the payment of a Universal Basic Income is an ethical and pragmatic move towards social justice within the island of Ireland. However we are also cognisant of the ambitious nature of this undertaking which represents an unprecedented reform to our current Welfare strategies. With that in mind we propose that our costed model below be trialled with the cost of the rates of universal basic income paid being no more than the funding raised to pay for it.

The Green Party proposes to introduce a trial study of UBI. Similar to the roll out of broadband in Ennis in the 1990s, we would pick a discrete area of Ireland (for example Achill Island (population 2,700) for a 2 year period. The long term administration of UBI will require an independent commission or board to oversee and update payment rates. The current policy explores some fiscal strategies for the long term rate of Universal Basic Income but these should be considered relative to the changing economic environment and the difficulty of forecasting budgetary realities for 2024.

2.7 Additional Information

- Carer's Allowance - the Social Justice Ireland model for UBI includes a top up payment to allow carers allowance at a similar rate to what is currently received. Please refer to our Disability Policy for our proposals to alter and increase the Carer's Allowance for those caring for profoundly disabled individuals. In the long term the upper rate of UBI will cover basic living standards for all other individuals and the standard weekly carer's allowance payment will be adapted as a top up payment while the monthly Domiciliary Care Allowance will be increased to equalise to 10% above current received payments. The Green Party are committed to working with Carers and those in receipt of payments such as the Blind Pension to optimise outcomes for recipients.

- Pensions - An additional period may be required to bring the current state and public service pension system into line with UBI payments. The challenge of assimilating both contributory and non-contributory pensions is explored fully in our pension’s policy. Free Travel schemes are not impacted by the implementation of UBI.

- Method of Payment - the Universal Basic Income will be paid into recipients in a similar manner to current means tested benefits with utilization of personal bank accounts, post office accounts and digital means of payments. Defrauding the welfare state will reduce due to the abolition of means tested requirement.

- The provision of a single payment system will provide significant savings in the administration of welfare allowances within the state due to the reduction in means testing requirements.

2.8 Children’s Universal Basic Income and Child Poverty

In the long term the Green Party believes that citizens under the age of eighteen, in full time education, will be brought into the Universal Basic Income net at the Children's rate and will therefore remove the requirement for a stand-alone Child Benefit. The Children's UBI would be distributed on a monthly basis to all children.

Child poverty rates have dramatically increased since 2008 and the Government has
now committed to lifting 97,000 children out of consistent poverty by 2020 as part of the Better Outcomes, Brighter Futures framework. Children living in one parent families are twice as likely to live in poverty and they live in the most socially excluded families in Ireland. Recent reforms of the One-Parent Family Payment (OFP), increased taxes and the economic downturn have resulted in more one-parent families being unemployed and higher rates of child poverty in these families.\(^{13}\) In our model of Universal Basic Income all Child Dependant allowances will continue.

One of the most important impacts of Universal Basic Income is to facilitate parents in choosing childcare options that work for them and offer the best outcomes for their children. We believe this system will allow those caring for dependents within the home to be valued and facilitated by their communities and wider society.\(^{14}\)

It should be noted that Universal Basic Income will be most effective and beneficial to the public where appropriate and affordable support services are made available. It is important that UBI is introduced in conjunction with a reduction in the cost of childcare and an improvement in access and quality of healthcare.

(See also Green Party’s Food Policy\(^{15}\))

2.9 Jobseekers Allowance and Back to Work Schemes

One of the key criticisms of UBI is that it may prove a disincentive to work. We believe that removing means testing from the receipt of Universal Basic Income will reduce the impact of the so called ‘benefits’ trap.\(^{16}\) Red tape and bureaucratic errors can result in a practical and substantial disadvantage to single parents and the unemployed returning to work. The fear of losing your payments and entitlements is a very real one for those living on low incomes. As it is not means tested UBI cannot be sanctioned or withdrawn for changes in income.

In the long term the introduction of UBI will end the compulsory requirement for interaction with national employment schemes.


\(^{16}\) http://www.eapn.ie/pdfs/traps.pdf
2.10 Deciding the Rates (The Universal Basic Income Board)

We propose that a representative group review basic income rates each year and make recommendations to the minister for Finance in advance of the budget. As a general rule of thumb, basic income rates will be adjusted in line with the CSO consumer price index and rather than be adjusted annually be done every 5 years.

3. Costs of Universal Basic Income (from other models)

Social Justice Ireland has published its costed version of Universal Basic Income which can be accessed here.


At its most simplistic the cost to the state of a system of Universal Basic Income may be calculated by calculating the annual rates of the payment by the number of residents who qualify to receive it. These numbers may be drawn from CSO figures and the most recent census data. Eligible recipients include all those who are legally resident in the state for more than 2 years. In an optimised system Universal Basic Income will result in the discontinuation of a number of current welfare payments (and almost all means tested entitlements) and will represent a significant saving in the administration of the social welfare system.

While we recognise the efforts made by Social Justice Ireland with their costed model, we believe its funding mechanism (extra income taxes) is a disincentive to work and does not recognise the emergence of the GIG economy nor the threat that Artificial Intelligence poses to the ‘9 to 5’ work environment. Therefore we propose an alternative below which is funded mainly by capital taxes, but also carbon taxes and taxes on speculation.

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19 From discussions with SJI, we understand that they are not wed to their financing model but rather than suggest new taxes have based their financing on increasing income taxes only as they believe this will be simpler to implement.
4. Potential Model and Its Implementation

4.1 Method of Distribution

Universal Basic Income, by definition, is to be paid to every legal resident of the state. Therefore its introduction will require a database of all residents consisting of resident name, PPS number (to ensure one payment per resident) and bank account details for lodgement of the UBI amount (or address where a cheque can be sent).

Since the introduction of a carbon tax\(^\text{20}\) distribution to all citizens requires the same database, it would seem logical to implement the carbon tax distribution system and then piggy back the universal basic income system on the carbon tax distribution system.

Both payments can be made by the social welfare system (who as social welfare payments decrease with the introduction of universal basic income) should have the capacity to do so since other payments the social welfare system make will decrease as universal basic income replaces them.

4.2 Step by step introduction

The financing of Universal Basic Income will take time to implement – we propose over a 5 year period to 2024. As with the carbon tax, all funds raised specifically to finance Universal Basic Income should be distributed in the year in which they are raised. The amounts distributed each year should increase until the target Universal Basic Income amount is reached. This target amount is as per Appendix 1.

4.3 Cost of Universal Basic Income in Ireland for this implementation

To pay every resident in Ireland the basic income as per the rates proposed will amount to a figure of about €6.5 billion euro per annum (see appendix 2 below).

4.4. Funding of Universal Basic Income in Ireland for this implementation

This €6.5bn can be generated from new taxes.

Here is a selection of the taxes which could be employed:

\(^{20}\) See Green Party Carbon Tax Policy (still to be written) which proposes a Universal Carbon Income
A. Pension Funds – while these were taxed @ 0.6% per annum for 4 years to 2014, and yielded €700m p.a.\textsuperscript{21} We propose these be reintroduced and be taxed at 0.6% or more to yield about €1bn per annum.

B. A 5% Site Value Tax will raise about €5bn\textsuperscript{22}

C. A 0.15% speculative (Robin Hood/Tobin) transaction tax (betting, share trades, currency trades) could raise €1bn\textsuperscript{23}

D. A 4% increase in stamp duty for property trades which are not of the principal private residence could raise €400m\textsuperscript{24}

The above taxes/savings in total add to in the region of €11.4bn – i.e. more than enough as much as is needed to fund Universal Basic Income.

4.5 Frequently Asked Questions

Question: Is UBI taxable income?

Answer: Yes. In our model each taxpayer has a tax free allowance which is equal to the UBI amount. Any income in excess of this amount is taxed.

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Question: I am 70 years old and getting a contributory old age pension of €248.30 but my basic income is only €203, does that mean I will lose €45.30 per week

Answer: No, as the state knows your PPS number and your age your basic income will be supplemented by a second payment of €45.30 per week

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Question: I receive other benefits from the state, will I lose these under the basic income system

Answer: any benefits you currently receive will be retained under the same terms and conditions. You should note that basic income will be taken into account as taxable income when you are being assessed for social benefits which involve means testing.

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\textsuperscript{22} Please refer to Ronan Lyons paper (http://www.ronanlyons.com/tag/site-value-tax/) states that a 10% site value tax will raise €10bn (replacing the current local property tax which raised €482m in 2018) (https://www.irishexaminer.com/breakingnews/ireland/heres-how-much-money-was-raised-through-local-property-tax-in-2018-896046.html)

\textsuperscript{23} http://www.robinhoodtax.ie/

\textsuperscript{24} http://budget.gov.ie/Budgets/2018/Documents/Budget_2018_Tax_Policy_Changes.pdf
Question: I am a civil servant and worked as a part time teacher and my pension is less that the contributory old age pension, what will I be paid as my pension?

Answer: The minimum pension you will receive is the UBI amount i.e. €203 above. If your entitlements are more than €203 then €203 of that entitlement will be counted as your UBI payments.

For clarity, in the model we are proposing, it is not intended to decrease the cumulative pensions (PRSI and public service) which are paid by the state. What is intended is that the UBI amount will replace some of the cumulative pension currently being paid and where the cumulative pension does not exceed the UBI amount to increase that cumulative pension so that it equals the UBI amount.

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Question: I am currently unemployed and would like to earn money. What will happen to my UBI if I start work and get a part time job?

Answer: Your UBI is paid whether you are employed or not. As long as the total payment you receive when added to your UBI payment is less than the tax free allowance to which you are entitled, you will not pay any tax. Should you receive benefits which are linked then your income may be re-examined in light of your increased income.

***

Question: I am currently paying income tax at 20% up to the €35,500 threshold and then 40% thereafter. Surely I will have to pay more tax if the 20% band is abolished when UBI is being paid.

Answer: The effect of the abolishment of tax credits, the 20% tax rate and the introduction of a tax free allowance equal to UBI, is to ensure (a) all Taxpayers\textsuperscript{25} benefit by the introduction of UBI (b) those who earn least will benefit most. (See below)

\textbf{TABLE - BEFORE AND AFTER INCOMES}

\textsuperscript{25} Note that new taxes will be introduced which will affect those with wealth (i.e. land) or use fossil fuels (even if only for the production of goods and services). Therefore while net take home above may be higher when UBI is introduced, the taxpayer may not necessarily be better off due to these new taxes.
### Appendix 1 - Rates per week of universal basic income to be achieved when this model fully implemented

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Current Situation Before UBI Introduced</th>
<th>Proposed After UBI Introduced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Earnings</td>
<td>Tax @ 40%</td>
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<td>€</td>
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<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>200000</td>
<td>65800</td>
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<tr>
<td>275000</td>
<td>95800</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Children under 18 years old: €32.31
| Adults over 18 years old and under 21 years old | €112.70 |
| Adults aged over 21 and under 25 years old     | €157.80 |
| Adults over 26 years old                       | €203.00 |

When UBI is introduced, current UBI type payments will be abolished such as Old Age Pension, Unemployment Benefit, Children’s Allowance and Maternity Benefit. [Note that (a) difference between the current rates for these benefits and UBI will be made up by further payment by the state, for example if a woman of 30 years old qualifies for maternity benefit of €235 per week, but her basic income is €203, then the state will pay her a further €32 per week.) And (b) other welfare benefits (e.g. medical card) will not change and be subject to the same terms and conditions as currently.]

Most importantly,

(a) If an unemployed person should return to work then UBI will not be reduced, i.e. there is no means testing of UBI.

(b) UBI for all adults of the same age is equal.

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26 Note that any current state benefit (e.g. old age pension) will still be paid, but since UBI is also being paid then the old age pension supplement will be the equivalent between the current old age pension and the UBI amount, presently €45.30 per week, so that the old age pensioner still receives the €248.30 amount.
### Appendix 2 – Approximate cost of universal basic income in Ireland using approx. 2019 population figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Population (Note 1)</th>
<th>UBI Rate per week (€)</th>
<th>Cost less offsets (€m)</th>
<th>Estimated Net Cost per annum (€m)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>over 67</td>
<td>Note 2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>203.00</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Universal Basic Income:**
- over 26 and under 67: 51 (2,499,000) 203.00 26,379
- over 21 and under 26: 5 (245,000) 157.60 2,010
- over 18 and under 21: 4 (190,000) 112.70 1,149

**Employed persons clawback**
- Tax Credits (Personal, PAYE, etc) Note 3 -8,244
- Tax Clawback Note 4 -7,938

**Social welfare payments replaced** Note 5 -6,034 6,423

**Universal Basic Income:**
- Under 18: 26 (1,372,000) 32.31 2,305
- Child Benefit clawback Note 5 -2,305 0

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**Net estimated exchequer cost**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>100</th>
<th>6,513</th>
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</thead>
</table>

**Notes**

1. For population figures, see [www.populationof.net/ireland](https://www.populationof.net/ireland/)

2. All those over 67 will be in receipt of retirement benefits from the State in excess of the proposed UBI. €100m is an estimate to cover inadequate Non-Contributory Pension and currently excluded persons.

3. The UBI would at least replace the current personal, PAYE and Earned income tax credits. UBI will become the tax free allowance.

4. All income in excess of UBI would be liable to tax @ 40%. We have taken Revenue figures regarding the annual income of taxpayers and identified 1.134m people who have income of more than 35,000, these all will now pay 7.938bn in tax (which is less than the benefit they have received by UBI).

5. The UBI would render many existing welfare payments obsolete and substantially simplify the administration of the current system. The clawback is estimated using the Chapter 9 of the Budget 2019 Expenditure Allocations.

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27 [https://www.populationof.net/ireland/](https://www.populationof.net/ireland/)