

Institution: University of York		
Unit of Assessment: 19 - Politics and International Studies		
Title of case study: Placing Universal Basic Income on the Agenda of Global and National Health Governance		
Period when the underpinning research was undertaken: 2006-2020		
Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:		
Name(s):	Role(s) (e.g. job title):	Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:
Louise Haagh	Professor	2001-present
Period when the claimed impact occurred: 2015-2020		
Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? No		
1. Summary of the impact (indicative maximum 100 words)		
<p>In a global context of rising insecurities and inequalities, Professor Louise Haagh's 'Foundation model' of Universal Basic Income (UBI) - as a source of health equity and well-being - has informed debate, changed policy thinking, and shaped the agenda of individuals and organisations involved in health governance reform at the global and national levels. Haagh's 'Foundation model' of UBI, which takes on board wider welfare concerns, has had impact in three main areas. Firstly, within the World Health Organisation's (WHO) pre- and post-Covid policy agendas and workstreams, leading to changes in top-level global policy and strategy. Secondly, underpinning the policy and agenda of the new WHO Department of Socio-Economic Determinants of Health by influencing its global health equity strategy. Thirdly, Haagh's work has had considerable impact on national policy thinking among actors who seek to develop and promote governance reform involving UBI, particularly in Denmark and Guernsey.</p>		
2. Underpinning research (indicative maximum 500 words)		
<p>Haagh's research reveals the critical importance of economic security for good health governance. Focusing on the importance of UBI to health, economic and social security, her research challenges the dominant view that UBI is simply a form of income maintenance and welfare reform. Haagh's research makes a distinct case for UBI serving as a guaranteed, life-long, and unconditional form of income security [E]. Within this conception of UBI as income security, UBI acts as an independent 'foundation' for other needs-based and contributory systems [E]. In contrast to stand-alone income protection schemes, the 'Foundation model' provides individuals with a deep sense of security, which is conducive to health, well-being, self-actualisation, and health equity [B][E]. Its impact, however, is dependent on the extent to which UBI is embedded within global and national governance systems, via employment, welfare and education [D][E][F].</p> <p>This novel approach to UBI contrasts sharply with conventional wisdom, that portrays UBI as reactive to automation, poverty-targeting, and the simplifying of welfare systems. The 'Foundation model' proposes instead a system that integrates step-wise reform to, eventually, encompass systems of contribution based on life-long approaches to education and occupational life, alongside universal services, social insurance, and the promotion of stable employment. The work clearly demonstrates the wider importance of UBI underpinning welfare provision [C][D][F], in order to produce the positive effect that certainty and regularity of provision have on individuals' mental states and wider well-being [B][D][E].</p> <p>The evidence base that underpins the 'Foundation model' includes both funded surveys and comparative analyses of welfare systems. Specifically:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Micro-level survey research in Brazil showed that basic income security has significant direct effects on individuals' intrinsic motivation to work. It fosters a sense of economic stability and control over work, which results in higher levels of work enjoyment and interest in learning. UBI becomes a source of individuals' well-being and health equity [B]. 		

2. Macro-level comparative institutional analysis demonstrated that the introduction of UBI cannot in itself overcome poverty and inequality. Rather its effect is also dependent on the extent to which it can be embedded within a wider structure of welfare and health governance reform that promotes human development and well-being in areas such as education, training, employment and social security [E][F]. Comparative analysis of OECD countries showed that an effective UBI system must be built on a strong education, taxation and social spending system [C]. Partial reform risks exacerbating existing inequalities and labour market rigidities [A] and undermining anti-poverty and health policies, resulting in growing employment insecurity [D][F].

The 'Foundation model' sheds new light on established socio-economic determinants of health approaches and proposes a new analytical paradigm whereby UBI serves as a lever to promote better health governance. Haagh's research demonstrates that multiple sources of economic stability (e.g. schooling, stable employment) combined with UBI are jointly able to improve well-being and avoid poverty traps. In addition, UBI has the ability to 'convert' how other systems and agents of public policy function, including by changing how social workers and employers at the local level view their role in implementing work and health standards [F].

3. References to the research (indicative maximum of six references)

[A] (2006) Haagh, L. 'Equality and Income Security in Market Economies: What's Wrong with Insurance?' *Social Policy & Administration* 40(4) pp.385-424. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9515.2006.00496.x>

[B] (2011) Haagh, L. 'Working Life, Well-Being and Welfare Reform: Motivation and Institutions Revisited', *World Development* 39(3) pp. 450-573
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2010.08.014>

[C] (2011) Haagh, L. 'Basic Income, Social Democracy and Control over Time', *Policy and Politics* 39(1) pp.41-66 <https://doi.org/10.1332/030557311X546316>

[D] (2019) Haagh, L. 'Public State Ownership within Varieties of Capitalism: Regulatory Foundations for Welfare and Freedom' *International Journal of Public Policy* 15 (1/2) pp.153-186
<https://doi.org/10.1504/IJPP.2019.099056>

[E] (2019) Haagh, L. *The Case for Basic Income*, Cambridge: Polity ISBN-10: 1509522956

[F] (2019) Haagh, L. 'The Developmental Social Contract and Basic Income in Denmark' *Social Policy and Society* 18(2) pp. 301-317 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746418000301>

Evidence of quality: All outputs are published in leading peer-reviewed journals and/or academic presses, with [B] and [C] submitted to REF2014 and [E] to REF2021.

The underpinning research has been funded by a number of grants including GBP30,000 from York's ESRC Impact Acceleration Accounts, GBP90,000 from the British Academy, and GBP10,000 from the Nuffield Foundation

4. Details of the impact (indicative maximum 750 words)

Haagh's ground-breaking research and her leadership position in the global network of UBI researchers (Basic Income Earth Network-BIEN; elected co-chair since 2014 and chair since 2016) has turned the 'Foundation model' into one of the leading approaches within both global and national UBI debates. As a global thought leader on UBI reform, Haagh has been approached by over 20 civil society organisations, charities and think-tanks, which have invited her to share her research, provide expert analysis and engage in robust dialogue. She has given evidence to the UK Parliament's Work and Pensions Committee (2017) and the United Nations Development Programme (2020), and has presented her work to the UK Labour party and the Fabian Society. Her extensive media involvement includes: one-on-one interviews with BBC Radio Four's prestigious 'Money Box' and BBC News' 'In the Balance' programmes; pick-up within high-quality international news outlets, such as *Reuters*, *La Repubblica*, *O Estado do São Paulo*, *the Herald*, *the New Scientist*, and *Nature*; and prime time appearances on the largest Danish national TV and radio current affairs programmes (*DR1* and *TV2*) [1]. Through leading the 'BIEN

conversations' UBI discussion series as a policy response to Covid-19, Haagh has become a leading figure in the mainstreaming of UBI. As detailed below, Haagh's leading role in public debate has led to specific policy change. Her extensive international knowledge exchange activities and media involvement has influenced policy debate, changed policy thinking, and set the agenda of global and national health governance at a time when new approaches to welfare are being considered.

(1) Shaping the WHO's global health equity strategy

Haagh's "*leading role in shaping the debate and research*" on UBI led to the WHO's European Office for Investment for Health and Development commissioning her to inform, shape and develop the WHO's global strategy on health equity [2]. Haagh's research directly enabled the WHO's European Office to reflect on its institutional failings and its current lack of recognition of the adverse effects of the paucity of income security provision on health equity [2]. Haagh's 'Foundation model' [C][D][F] has fundamentally reshaped how the WHO understands the relationship between health inequalities and income security. As the Head of the WHO's European Office for Investment for Health and Development notes, this has "*made a real difference to thinking and planning public health governance globally [...] at times of strategic policy change in the WHO*" [2].

Haagh's keynote at the prestigious European Health Forum at *Gastein* (October 2017), attended by over 500 delegates including ministers of health and senior experts from the public and private sector, served as a springboard for "*discussion among health advocates and experts within the WHO*" [2]. Due to her distinctive focus on "*income security governance reforms as part of contemporary welfare state transformation*" [A][C][E], she was invited to join the WHO Scientific Advisory Expert Group (SAGE) [2]. Her advisory role led to an influential contribution to the WHO European Health Equity Status Report Initiative (HESRi) - the regional instrument to support the Horizon 2020 goal to reduce health inequalities [2][3]. Haagh also wrote a technical report on "UBI policies and their potential for addressing health inequities" [2][4a], which was a key input to the high-level WHO conference on Health Equity, hosted by the Government of Slovenia (11-13 June 2019, Ljubljana). Together, these led to the recommendation that Haagh's 'Foundation model' be adopted by the WHO [2][4b]. Thereafter, she presented her core findings to an audience of European health ministry officials and policymakers. The Head of the WHO's European Office confirms that "*Recommendations 12, 13, & 15 of the Ljubljana Declaration [...] incorporate the recommendations of the Haagh-Roehregger report in the area of providing new models of financial protection*" in order to ensure economic and social well-being for current and future generations. This was "*adopted by acclamation by participants of 33 countries, international organisations and civil society representatives*" [2][4a][5].

The ensuing 1st WHO HESRi report (September 2019) [4b] directly draws upon Haagh's 'Foundation model' [E][F][4a] arguing that "*Robust, multilevel, inclusive income security systems – with an unconditional tier at the base and supplemented by state-supported contributory schemes – have the highest effect in terms of reducing health inequities*" [4b]. This is the first WHO report to place the income dimensions of health so strongly at the centre of its recommendations. It was confirmed that "*the HESRi has had a direct impact in policy formulation with the WHO*" [2], and it was included in the WHO's 2019 Regional Committee resolution as an instrument that will inform "*progress towards health equity through creating the conditions that are essential for a healthy, prosperous life in Europe*" [6].

The Head of the WHO European Office for Investment for Health and Development confirmed that the WHO adopted Haagh's recommendation of a three tier 'Foundation model' of UBI when setting out concrete steps to implement reforms to income security systems. She noted that the findings from Haagh's research were championed "*in order to provoke new thinking on health equity governance, based on [her] outstanding performance in policy workshops and technical input, together with relevance of her research and vision*", and moreover her "*work on alternative designs of social protection from a well-being and policy coherence impact perspective adds a distinctly new dimension to the SDH [social determinants of health] agenda now being taken forward within*

the WHO, with member states, and other development actors". She further confirmed that *"the recommendations attending to the design of unconditional and stable instruments of financial security in relation to improving health equity, on pages 67, 114, 115 and 120 [of the HESRi report] are built directly on Prof. Haagh's work"* [2][3b].

Haagh was the only SAGE member selected to lead discussions at a strategy meeting of the newly-established WHO Department of Socio-Economic Determinants of Health (September 2019) where she recommended shaping the new department's work around a 'Good Governance for Health' agenda [3]. The Head of the WHO Global Commission on the Social Determinants of Health referred to Haagh's work and recommendations as *"brilliant"*, and affirmed that recommendations based on her research will form part of the Commission's policies and that: *"Professor Haagh's work on a Foundation model and its systemic pathways has provided a concrete health equity solution in response[s] to member states' queries about a WHO position on financial protection and into the specifics of the role of elements and transitions into UBI in relation to health and wellbeing"* [2].

The critical importance of her findings for post-Covid-19 global health governance is already beginning to shape WHO's strategy and policy. Her research is feeding into WHO's New European Programme of Work which will be used as a tool to support how member states respond to and recover from Covid-19, and protect against future health emergencies. In November 2020 she was co-author with the Head of Inclusive Growth, Mansour Ndiaye, of a UNDP position paper on Basic Income and the implications for post-Covid development, first introduced at the UNDP Global Social Protection Summit [7a]. This paper incorporated much of the WHO report [7b].

(2) Developing UBI strategies in national level policy

Haagh's work has been influential in terms of developing UBI policy in particular states:

Denmark: Haagh has worked with the Danish party *Alternativet*. She addressed their 2017 convention of 300 delegates where she advocated a new approach to UBI based on her 'Foundation model' [E]. This led to *Alternativet* adopting her approach on the same day as official party policy. The party's social affairs spokesman described Haagh's formal speech and leadership as *"highly effective"* in the adoption of basic income as party policy [8]. *Alternativet* is the first Danish party to do so. Haagh subsequently became a special advisor to the party and played a leading role in fostering inter-party dialogue (for example with *Enhedslisten*, the left-centre party currently supporting the Government) and involving the union movement and other civic actors, setting the basic income agenda in Denmark and preparing the ground for legislative reform.

Guernsey: Haagh's focus on the health, well-being and welfare governance perspective on UBI [A][B] underpinned the 'Journey to 100' campaign for longevity of the Guernsey-based *Dandelion Foundation* in 2017. The foundation's mission is to use Small Island Nation States as incubators for future models of governance. The Foundation's founder noted that Haagh's model changed their thinking and allowed them to understand that UBI is a platform for wider system transformation. He described her approach as *"unique and... developmental and relational, which in turn brings in a community angle... that is often missing in UBI perspectives"*. It was also stated that lawyers and doctors who were in the audience *"changed their perception of their own practice... [and] her visit helped shape our work, and... helped change the way we approach and do things now"* [9]. The President of the Policy and Resources Committee of Guernsey (Chief Minister) is considering including UBI in the agenda of an overall governance reform plan, *"a twenty year vision that Guernsey should become one of the healthiest and happiest places in the world... The stars may be aligned for a once in a generation opportunity"* [10].

5. Sources to corroborate the impact (indicative maximum of 10 references)

[1] Evidence of media engagement and reach; invitation from [UK Work and Pensions Select Committee](#); invitation from Policy Network (Labour party think-tank).

- [2] **Testimonials** from the Head of the WHO European Office for Investment for Health and Development (23 September 2019, 29 July 2019 & 10 January 2019)
- [3] Invitation and background information for the strategic session on 'Welfare state innovation: universal basic income and services' (strategy consultation of newly formed Dept of Socio-Economic Determinants of Health) WHO, Geneva (12-13 September 2019)
- [4] (a) WHO (2019) '[Universal Basic Income policies and their potential for addressing health inequities](#)'; (b) WHO (2019) '[Healthy, prosperous lives for all: the European Health Equity Status report](#) (HESRi)' (pp. xxvii; 63)
- [5] WHO (2019) The Ljubljana Statement on Health Equity (13 June)
- [6] WHO (2019) '[Resolution: Accelerating progress towards healthy, prosperous lives for all, increasing equity in health and leaving no one behind in the WHO European Region](#)' (17 September 2019)
- [7] (a) Round-table participant in [UNDP Global Social Protection Summit, Panel: Transitioning out of emergency transfers: what's next for UBI?](#) (6 October 2020); (b) WHO (2020) '[Strengthening and adjusting public health measures throughout the COVID-19 transition phases: Policy considerations for the WHO European Region](#)' (24 April)
- [8] **Testimonial** from Social Affairs Spokesman, the Alternativet party, 13 December 2018
- [9] **Testimonial** from Co-founder, the Dandelion Foundation, 4 August 2019
- [10] Emails from President of the Policy and Resources Committee of Guernsey, 9/12 October 2019