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How did the Austrian public attitude change towards  
universal basic income, due to the COVID-19 virus, since the  
2016 European Social Survey?

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Even Odysseus found his way home.

## Statutory Declaration

I hereby declare to have written this master's thesis entitled "*How did the Austrian public attitude change towards universal basic income, due to the COVID-19 virus, since the 2016 European Social Survey?*" on my own, without having used other references and resources than the ones quoted. Thoughts from other resources having been integrated directly or indirectly into this thesis have been indicated as such. This thesis or parts of it have not yet been published or used in academic assessments.

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## Abstract English

This paper analyses how the Austrian public's attitude has changed since 2016 and if the current coronavirus affected their opinion. To answer this question, the European Social Survey Round 8 questionnaire has been compared with the Corona Panel Wave 5 survey thorough a multiple linear regression analysis based on influencing factors determined by academic literature. Results showed a trivial effect of unemployment increasing the support for universal basic income. Outcomes also revealed that political preference, retirement, age, gender, social workers & military personal decreases support. Finally, the model predicted that as time passes there is a decline for the support of the idea of basic income. This study revealed, that to this point the coronavirus had no direct effect on the public belief of the Austrian population concerning universal basic income.

## Abstract German

Diese Thesis analysiert, wie sich die Einstellung der österreichischen Öffentlichkeit zum bedingungslosen Grundeinkommen seit 2016 verändert hat, und ob sie von der COVID-19-Pandemie beeinflusst wurde. Zu diesem Zweck wurden Daten der Europäischen Sozialerhebung mit jenen des Corona-Panels im Rahmen einer multiplen linearen Regressionsanalyse verglichen, wobei der Einfluss möglicher Faktoren getestet wurde. Die Ergebnisse zeigten einen trivialen Effekt der Arbeitslosigkeit, der die Unterstützung für das bedingungslose Grundeinkommen erhöht. Die Ergebnisse zeigten auch, dass jede Art von politischen Präferenzen, sowie Ruhestand, Alter, Geschlecht, Sozialarbeit und Militärdienst die Unterstützung verringern. Schließlich sagte das Modell voraus, dass die Unterstützung für die Idee des Grundeinkommens im Laufe der Zeit abnehmen wird. Die Resultate dieser Studie deuten darauf hin, dass das Coronavirus bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt keine direkte Auswirkung auf die öffentliche Meinung der österreichischen Bevölkerung bezüglich des universellen Grundeinkommens hatte.

## Key Words

Key Words: universal basic income, Austria, welfare system, coronavirus, public attitude

Schlagwörter: bedingungsloses Grundeinkommen, Österreich, Sozialsystem, Coronavirus, öffentliche Meinung

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## List of Abbreviations

EU – European Union

BI – Basic Income

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

UBI- Universal Basic Income

ESS – European Social Survey

ksoe - Katholische Sozialakademie Österreichs

SPÖ - Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs

ÖVP - Österreichische Volkspartei

BIEN – Basic Income European Network

KPÖ - Kommunistische Partei Österreichs

Attac - Association pour une taxation des transactions financières pour l'aide aux citoyens

GRÜNE - Die Grünen – Die Grüne Alternative

NEOS - Das Neue Österreich und Liberales Forum

ÖGB – Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund

ASVG - Allgemeines Sozialversicherungsgesetz

ALMP - Active Labour Market Policies

EU – SILC - European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions

VIF - Variance Inflation Factor

ANOVA – Analysis of Variance

M – Mean

SD – Standard Deviation

B - Unstandardized beta

$\beta$  - Standardized beta

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## Introduction

The purpose of this study is to reveal if the attitude of the people living in Austria has changed towards universal basic income since the 2016 European Social Survey results. Due to the increased economic instability caused by the COVID-SARS 2 virus and, that the latest available data about the topic appeared four years ago, this study expects significant changes compared to the results of the Corona Panel Wave 5 survey. Moreover, the research expects that due to the social effects of the virus, i.e. the exponential rise in the unemployment rate which increases the need for public services and growing economic insecurity, will turn a notably high number of citizens towards a UBI scheme. This can result in a significant increase in the acceptance support level for the idea in Austria.

This research aims to examine, if the population of a strong welfare system like the current in place for Austria, will be supporting the idea of UBI under the current conditions. It is suspected that the results will show differences compared to current academic findings. As the economic instability and unemployment rate is rising in Austria, the study expects a sudden exponential increase in the support of a basic income plan since it is viewed as one of the solutions for these problems.

Further objectives of the research are to sketch what has changed since 2016 in the trends of the public opinion and where these changes are originated from. As it will be shown in the research, supporters of UBI are believed to be from both the left and right side of the political palette. A further objective of the thesis is to outline the factors affecting the likeness of a basic income idea, based on political views, the level of education, age, gender, satisfaction with the government and financial stability of the Austrian population. These predictors will be used to test the hypothesis developed within this research;

*With increasing unemployment and decreasing economic stability caused by the pandemic in 2020, public support for UBI is increasing in Austria.*

Possible results will help social scientists and politicians to monitor social changes and needs within society. Besides, it serves for the future possible implementation of such a plan by providing additional information on how the support for such a plan develops over time.

At last, this will be the first study to compare and analyse the European Social Survey Round 8 data with the Corona Panel Wave 5 results about the Austrian public's opinion concerning universal basic income.

## Structure of the paper

Followed by a short introductory section, this essay consists of two major parts, a literature review, and an analysis. Within this section, the current situation and challenges caused by the coronavirus will be explored combined with the already existing problems of the Austrian welfare system.

The first major part is structured into three smaller branches, the welfare state, universal basic income, and the relationship between these two concepts. Firstly, the concept of a modern welfare state is going to be explored with a special focus on Austria, including related definitions and problems. Secondly, the topic of universal basic income is going to be introduced and its viability is going to be discussed. As for the last section, these two ideas are going to be merged, it will be argued that basic income has the attributes to aid the problems of the Austrian welfare system and at last the current public opinion will be presented and analysed for Austria. Based on the data available from the literature the hypothesis for the thesis will be formed, which later will be tested in the second part.

The second part of the research consists of four subsections, methodology, analysis, results, and discussion. As for the methodology part, the data selected from the two different surveys will be explained in detail. This will be followed by the presentation of the research method used, the multiple linear regression analysis. Moreover, the different variables chosen for the model, based on the survey datasets, will be revealed. At last, the statistical and mathematical methods used for the data harmonization and analysis will be explained. In the analysis section, it will be proved that the model is adequate for the research via specific statistical analyses like the normal P-Plot of Regression Standardized Residuals. Followed by this, within the results section the regression will be checked if it provides significant values, how much the constructed model can explain the changes, and at last how and which variables contribute to these changes. In the last part, it will be discussed if the hypothesis has been proved and the research question will be answered how the Austrian public attitude has changed about universal basic income, due to the COVID-SARS2 virus, since the 2016 European Social Survey results.

### Challenges of the European Welfare Systems

It is important to see the economic and social problems already were existing in Europe before the happenings of the COVID – SARS 2 virus. This pandemic is most likely to strengthen the effect of these deficiencies and probably open new problems for the European welfare states. This will be later elaborated for the special case of Austria where the social safety net was hit by an enormously high number of unemployment applicants just in a couple of days. As European countries share some common social problems which are also valid for Austria, this study finds it is essential to shortly discuss the most relevant issues as it was influencing public opinion about welfare states even before the coronavirus.

In general, the Western type of welfare systems are considered to maintain poverty, unemployment rate, to be expensive and punishing towards applicants (Jordan, 2011); (Reed & Lansley, 2016). Werding and Konrad (2012) identified three major problems in the modern welfare system of European countries. Firstly, labour market performance and labour market policy trend change. Secondly, governments must prepare for the demographic changes which are happening in Europe currently. The growing pressure of the aging population on the social protection schemes and public finances can be concerned as one of the main challenges of the welfare state. Thirdly, the risks and opportunities involved in extended international migration must be considered. Still, up to today, there are concerns that large inflows of unskilled migrants can expand the unemployment rate in the workers class who are generally covered by the welfare state. This may overload the receiving countries social protection systems. (Werding & Konrad, 2012)

The latest GDP data shows that throughout Europe there is a significant difference between certain countries and regions. While English speaking territories and east-central European countries remain the growth engine of the European Union (EU) with an impressive 2-4% growth rate, other territories like the North, Baltic and Southern regions tend to have low average growth around 1.2-1.6 % (Sage & Diamond, 2017). This means that the developed part of Europe is facing an economic slowdown.

Likewise, the deteriorating labour market is considered as one of the most relevant social issues. In more details, an increasing unemployment rate can be detected in four countries, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Austria, combined with weak employment growth from north-western countries. Moreover, while the opportunities and living standards of older generations are highly protected, for the youth there is a decline for future wellbeing. Youth unemployment remains the highest compared to any other age groups within the continent. Similarly, in several EU member states youth unemployment remains extremely high, also causing a long haul, structural problem for these countries. (Sage & Diamond, 2017)

There is a growing risk of poverty for the regions facing youth unemployment, while in the east-central, Baltic and English-speaking areas there is a decreasing trend to it. As well as there is an increasing trend of poverty in Nordic countries and in continental Europe. (Sage & Diamond, 2017)

Sage and Diamond (2017) claim that contrary to the fact that there is economic stability in the EU, the recent developments show a pessimistic future for increasing inequality and poverty. Furthermore, there are high health inequalities in western Europe in developed states like Belgium, Germany or Finland. (Sage & Diamond, 2017)

### Challenges of the Austrian Welfare System

As it was stated previously, long before the current situation the Austrian social system was also facing several challenges. As in the case of the EU, the Austrian welfare system is also facing similar challenges to those of the EU. Within this chapter, these hardships specified for Austria will be explored.

The population of Austria is showing a growing trend from 8.3 million in 2010 to 8.8 million in 2019 (Eurostat, 2020c). This trend is estimated to continue throughout the coming periods, by 2030 the country is expected to have 9.1 million inhabitants and almost 9.3 million by 2040 (Eurostat, 2020d). The population structure has changed drastically in recent years, identified Österle and Heitzmann (2016). They claim that the pace of change is quickening, while in 2010, 15% of the total population was below 15 years of age, in 2019, less than ten years ago this proportion decreased to 14,5%. In contrast, the share of the population above 65 has increased from 17.7% in 2010 to 18.9% in 2019 (Eurostat, 2020b).

The fertility rate of 1.47 as of 2018 is still way below the EU average of 1.56 yet it is showing a growing trend compared to the previous periods; 1.36 in 2000 and 1.44 in 2010 (Eurostat, 2020a). An increasing life expectancy at birth can be observed for both men and women. According to the data of Eurostat (2020f) for men life expectancy was 79.4 years in 2018 which shows a growth of almost 2 years when compared to the data of 2010 (77.8 years). As for women, a small increase can be traced too, in 2018 life expectancy at birth reached 84.1 years compared to the 83.5 years in 2010.

The conclusion can be drawn that due to the low fertility rate, the increasing life expectancy at birth and growing elderly group, Austria has an ageing population. This is to an extent level compensated by the positive migration balance. According to the findings of Österle and Heitzmann (2016) and Statistik Austria (2019b), this demographic change will continue to deepen in the future reaching its peak between 2020 and 2035.

These facts lead to the next point where the financial sustainability of the Austrian welfare state is questioned. These concerns are usually related to the pension system and, to the healthcare sector. As will be seen later, these are the two major institutions of the welfare state which accounts for about 75% of social expenditure. The above-mentioned demographic changes leave concerns about the current pension system in place. As for the healthcare system, in recent years an increase in costs can be detected due to the system's complexity of actor relationships and a lack of integrity within the inpatient and outpatient care system. (Österle & Heitzmann, 2016)

Family policies and the family benefit distribution system was also under a lot of pressure in recent years. Österle and Heitzmann (2016) argue that the way financial support is distributed should be improved and the money spent in this area could be invested more efficiently.

Several researchers agree, that significant changes in the Austrian welfare system are needed. There is a difference between researchers about the degree change should be implemented for the system. On one hand, it is argued that incremental policy changes are not enough, the organizational structure should be adjusted in larger steps and as soon as possible, otherwise, it can undermine the welfare

system's sustainability on the long term. On the other hand, it has been proven that the system is very wide-spread and complex, other academics tend to suggest, that changes in the system could only be done in small steps, or it would undermine the trust of the population in the system which is a core value when aiming for sustainability. (Österle & Heitzmann, 2016)

It will be seen later in this study, that the universal basic income can be considered as one of the possible solutions for the mentioned problems of the Austrian welfare system, but it is uncertain if the population is ready for such a radical change.

Austria has adapted relatively well to new challenges concerning, labour market performance and labour market policies until recently (Kai, 2017). Until 2019, a 3.1% unemployment rate was reported. It has to be noted that this rate has been below five per cent for the last 30 years and is being among one of the lowest ones within the EU countries (Eurostat, 2020e). Moreover, this rate could be maintained even during the 2007/08 economic and financial crises. This relative success has been related to the growing priority given to active labour market policies (ALMP) since the beginning of the 1990s. (Kai, 2017)

Furthermore, unlike other countries, Austria has been particularly successful in keeping youth unemployment at a low level next to Germany and Denmark (Sage & Diamond, 2017). It is partly the effect of ALMP in place and the dual education system of the country. The government offers training guarantee (*Ausbildungsgarantie*) for young people and further education at vocational training schools (*Berufsschulen*). (Kai, 2017) However, all this has changed due to the coronavirus. The immediate effects on employment will be presented in the next part, thus giving a reason why there could be an increase for a universal basic income scheme in Austria.

To sum up, what has been written so far, before the coronavirus hit the country, it was already facing several problems in the fields of its too expensive pension system, overcomplicated & complex healthcare system and poorly targeted family policies. The areas where the Austrian welfare system was performing outstandingly good was the labour market, which was significantly affected by the current social crisis, which will be discussed in the next chapter. This could lead to a change in the public likeness of the current welfare system as a whole, thus providing ground to analyse how the support has changed since 2016 for universal basic income.

### The Current Situation in Austria

The COVID-SARS2 virus has radically altered life as we used to know it everywhere in the world, including Austria. It is a clear fact, that the pandemic concerns every citizen, people are affected by it in many ways. Several got seriously ill or had to face death in their families. Many others are diligently completing paid work, housework and childcare duties. For an overwhelming number of people, the coronavirus means job loss, and increasing economic instability i.e. financial stress. Families with kids face new obstacles concerning home-schooling. In a nutshell, the nation finds itself in a situation unlike any other since the end of World War II. (Corona Panel Project, 2020) Could this mean that there is an extreme change in public attitude as well?

As the lockdown is still in place there is only a few reliable information available about the immediate effects of the virus on the economy and society. The available data and estimations will be discussed below.

Werner, Klien, and Kügler (2020) in their most recent study predicts a decline by 3,4% of the total Austrian economy. According to their analysis, the two most negatively affected sectors are tourism & gastronomy and the construction sector. Originally, a high number of seasonal contractors and freelancers work in these fields, who are the first people to get laid off. These assumptions forecast an economic downturn in the upcoming year, which has already resulted in increased economic instability. (Werner et al., 2020)

According to the Public Employment Service of Austria, since the beginning of the curfew, from 16th of March until 29th of March the number of unemployed people has increased by 179.000 cases, the majority of these coming from the tourism and construction sectors. (APA, 2020. 03. 30) According to the Austrian newspaper Die Presse (2020. 04. 01), the unemployment rate hit a historically high level of 12,2%, which was last observed in 1946. This put sudden and extreme pressure on the Austrian welfare system. The question arises; if the current system can solve these hardships or is there a need for a new system, for a universal basic income plan?

It can be seen that the immediate effects of the spread of the virus are job loss & unemployment and economic insecurity. In the following chapters, it will be discussed what these terms exactly mean for the welfare system and it will be measured if they can be driving factors for the implementation of UBI in Austria.

### Job Loss and Unemployment

Job loss can be described as an indication of involuntary separation that happens when labourer is fired or laid off, where layoffs occur because of downsizing, restructuring, closing plants, or relocating.

Unemployment can be a potential consequence of losing one's job, yet it must be pointed out, that losing one's job is not the same as unemployment. It can be claimed that the period of unemployment is accompanied by losing one's job most of the times. (Brand, 2015) It must be noted, unemployment is not always originated by job loss. Furthermore, job loss is generally a unique event, whereas unemployment is considered as a state, with a greater intermixture of instigation and duration. (Kletzer, 1998)

Several pieces of research have shown that economic distress combined with the attribution of job loss due to one's shortcomings and the marking of a layoff results in a strained relation with colleagues, friends, and family members. This can cause for the laid-off workers lower self-esteem, anxiety, and depressive symptoms. (Leana & Feldman, 1992), (Miller & Hoppe, 1994) Further research done by Newman (1988) showed that losing one's job not only rattles the income flow yet it disrupts the individuals' status, time structure, demonstration of competence & skill, and structure of relations which can be characterised as societal stigma, creating a sense of anxiety, insecurity, and shame.

Other studies have found out that there is a strong link between employment, career stability, and the frequency of social involvement (Jahoda, 1933) (Wilensky, 1961). Another analysis done by Brand and Burgard (2008) finds that displaced workers have seriously lower probabilities of getting involved in various modes of social participation like community groups, charitable organizations, or informal social meetings.

As it was stated earlier having a job is more than simply a source of income for the individual. It is a fundamental social role and a source of identity. Within this study, it will be measured that in the current mass job loss caused by the COVID-19 virus these displaced workers are more open and supportive for new ideas like the universal basic income, thus answering the question "How did the Austrian public attitude change towards universal basic income, due to the COVID-19 virus, since the 2016 European Social Survey?"

### Economic (In)security

According to Hacker et al. (2014), most of the available research adopts a general and implicit definition of economic security: *"the degree to which individuals are protected against hardship-causing economic losses."* (Hacker et al., 2014, p.7)

This assumption is based on two fundamental findings. Firstly, individuals fear extensive economic losses. Secondly, when individuals experience these losses without any buffer like insurance, they

suffer hardship, especially if those losses occur unusually. (Hacker et al., 2014)(Heim & Kauffman, 2009; Nichols, 2008)(Graham & Pettinato, 2002)(Hacker, Rehm, & Schlesinger, 2013)

Research suggests that economic insecurity can be related to three basic features of human cognition and market dynamics. Firstly, the behavioural trait of loss aversion, which simply means that individuals tend to be more sensitive to losses in their economic standing than to increases. (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979); (Fellner & Sutter, 2009) Secondly, the difficulty that people have to face with is when assessing relevant economic emergencies, which distorts individuals to promptly assess and safeguard against the risks they are exposed to. Thirdly, the incomplete aspect of many private insurance markets for insuring against those happenings, as well as the strong differences in personal and familiar capacities for private risk buffering, based on wealth adequacy, credit access, and the character of social networks. (Kahneman, Knetsch, & Thaler, 1991); (Winkelmann & Winkelmann, 1998); (Agell, 1999); (Ligon & Schechter, 2003) However, this last point is US-based; it can be applied to European countries as well, in the sense that the government acts as the body that ensures the citizens.

The COVID-19 virus can be identified both as an economic emergency for which individuals were not prepared, as well as an incomplete character of insurance companies and governments. This study will focus on great details on these last two features because they are the current driving factors for increasing economic instability. This growing economic instability has the potential to be one of the driving factors for increased public support for universal basic income.

## The Welfare State

In this chapter, the universe of welfare states will be introduced for the research. Briefly, the terms welfare state and social systems will be defined. Afterwards, this will be narrowed down to the analysis of the Esping's conservative welfare state model which characteristic and structure will be explained in detail. Based on its attributions the Austrian welfare system will be allocated in one of these welfare regimes types because it is important to see in which sociological environment it has to analyse it in detail and correctly. At last, the specific attributions of the Austrian welfare state will be explored, with its current and future challenges concerning the welfare state. It is inevitable to consider the unique institutional settings where a UBI scheme is wished to be implemented and to identify the social, economic and political problems which need to be solved. This chapter aims to give an overview of the Austrian welfare system, thus bring the research one step closer and to shed light on public attitudes behaviour to basic income, thus helping to answer the question 'How did the Austrian public's attitude change towards universal basic income, due to the COVID-19 virus, since the 2016 European Social Survey?'

Generally, the welfare state can be explained commonly as a system created by the state which purpose is to universally protect the health and well-being of its citizens, with special focus on those on the edge of poverty or in need of social assistance. Means of benefits include the distribution of grants, pensions, and other services. (Lexico Dictionaries, n.d.) work of 'Citizenship and Social Class: And Other Essays', Marshall(1950) described the core idea of the welfare state as social citizenship constitute, a special mixture of three key elements; capitalism, welfare and democracy where citizenship means universal access to certain civil, political and social rights. As for Lister and Pia (2008), it is considered to be an institution, or a combination of several institutions, best practices and policies. Kenton(2019) further includes economic and social well-being of citizens in the welfare systems. As he further explains, the welfare state is founded based on an equal opportunity, distribution of wealth and responsibility for its citizens. (Kenton, 2019)Lister and Pia(2008)(Lister & Pia, 2008)

As states promote a different type of social services to a different extent, based on their characteristics Esping-Andersen (1990) has divided the welfare systems into three different categories, liberal, conservative and social democratic regimes.

He describes the first group, the liberal regime, as it is characterized by means-tested support, simple universal transfer and prudent social insurance plan. It has rigorous entitlement rules with only modest benefits. The state can stimulate the market passively, by granting a minimum level of welfare plan, or actively, by sponsoring private welfare plans. In other words, the 'liberal' state favours lower levels of state intervention, allowing market-forces to create and maintain a level of social security, to which the state implements modest adjustments and redistributions. (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Isakjee, 2017)

The second regime type, the 'post-industrial' structure, neglects the use of private insurance or any fringe benefits provided by the market, the dominant factor is the rights provided by the state (Esping-Andersen, 1990). This system provides more generous benefits based on the fundamentals of insurance contributions (Isakjee, 2017). However, it must be noted that social insurance within this scheme ignores housewives and promotes motherhood. Moreover, the state will only intervene when the household is not able to service its members appropriately. (Esping-Andersen, 1990)

The third and last regime type, the so-called 'social democratic' can be described as the system where universalism, de-commodification of social rights are the most far-reaching. Here equality is not only promoted for minimum needs, contrary the objective is to reach equality on the highest levels. The market is completely excluded, the state is claimed to be the most interventionist under this type, providing benefits for all in generous quantities (Isakjee, 2017).

Austria is considered as the typical example of a conservative welfare scheme; thus, this research will observe UBI within this institutional dimension. In more details, benefits are only available to those who are labour market participants, rather than based on citizenship, or proven needs, contrary to the social-democratic or liberal regime types. Status preservation via earnings-related transfer payments, a lack of social services and the protection of the male breadwinner model are unique parts of the Austrian social security system. This has a strong stratification effect in the areas of gender and occupational status. The social insurance provided by the state excludes non-working wives, family benefits encourage motherhood. Family services like day-care are generally underdeveloped. Social protection is differentiated by occupational classes. (Obinger & Tálos, 2010) Endowments are based on status and earnings rather than distributive ambitions. (Unger & Heitzmann, 2003) With few exceptions, social insurance-related benefits are financed entirely through social security contributions. Social assistance is considered as a social safety net of the last resort based on subsidiarity and tied to a means-test. (Obinger & Tálos, 2010)

All in all, it can be said that this study will measure the effect of the COVID-SARS 2 and UBI for the conservative welfare type, which means any results from this study will be valid only within this regime, effects for liberal or universal regimes could significantly vary. In the following chapters, the Austrian social protection model will be presented in detail, thus outlaying the basis of the welfare system, which will be followed by the examination of the unique characteristics of the social protection system.

### Brief Characterisation of the Social System

According to Obinger and Tálos (2006), Austria is considered to have developed an exceptional social security system which is employment-related and based on the fundamental concept of position perseverance of the breadwinner, which aligns with characteristics stated in the previous chapter by Unger and Heitzmann (2003).

The basis of the Austrian model can be originated back to the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century when the first cornerstones of social insurance like accident insurance (1887), health insurance (1888) and old-age pensions for white-collar workers (1906) were introduced in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (Obinger & Tálos, 2010). It followed the path that Bismarck's laid out for the German Empire as a solution for the growing workers' social class (Kai, 2017). The elementary public

intervention in social relations, the organizational principles, the source of financing, and the structural build-up of the welfare system was laid down at this point in history which later marked the path of development of the welfare system of the 20th century (Hofmeister, 1981; Tálos, 1982).

After the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy, throughout the 1920s significant social policy arrangements were introduced, this era marks the implementation of unemployment insurance, the 8-hour working day and the expansion of the pension insurance to a broader variety of people in the labour market (Tálos, 1982).

This evolution had been interrupted during the period of the so-called Austrofascism (1934–1938) and with the annexation and control of Austria by National Socialist Germany (1938-1945). The rehabilitation of the Austrian welfare system after 1945 was mostly based on the social security trends from the turn of the century. (Kai, 2017)

1955 marks the implementation of the General Social Security Act (“Allgemeines Sozialversicherungsgesetz” or ASVG), the first complete and wide-ranging Austrian social security system. It was followed by numerous supplements to increase coverage for citizens, expand individual provisions and a financial basis for it, paid by employers, workers and the state. (Obinger & Tálos, 2006)

As of today, Social security services like pensions, unemployment, health care and disability largely cover Austria’s 8.8 million population. Estimated 4.1 million citizens are in the labour force, about two-thirds of the population between the years of 15 and 64, while the unemployment rate during normal economic conditions stays below five per cent which is one of the lowest within the EU. About 2.4 million citizens are receiving one or several types of pensions, including for instance about 196,000 people below old-age pension age with a disability pension. (Kai, 2017) (Statistik Austria, 2019a)

Employment status up today remains the main eligibility factor for individual and social security, however, the new trend of atypical employment such as short-term contracts and part-time work has challenged the traditional model of welfare state development of Austria. (Österle & Heitzmann, 2016)

It is important to see the development of the Austrian welfare state throughout history because it shows that the system is capable of major changes which in the end do not harm it, yet rather increase the competitiveness against new challenges.

### Specificities for Austria

As stated earlier, the Austrian welfare state is generally characterized by a corporatist approach to social security that indulges availability through actively participating in the labour market. The main objective is to secure a living standard for the individual based on his or her social contribution as an employer or employee. There is a changing trend in the single-breadwinner concept to reach higher participation in the labour market by women. However certain social security allowances are eligible only to those who are married, like health insurance for family members or pension. (Kai, 2017)

It can be claimed that the amount spent on social expenditure in Austria is lower than in the Nordic welfare states or France, yet significantly higher than in the Central Eastern European area. Historically viewed, social expenditure has been on a stable level since the middle of the '90s (28,8% of GDP in 1995 and 26,3% of GDP in 2018), except for the last economic crisis from 2008 when it reached its peak point of 30,7%. (OECD, 2019; Österle & Heitzmann, 2016) Recent reports of the OECD (2019) claims that approximately the whole population is covered by health insurance, and families are supported by provisions (family and childcare allowances or subsidies for transport) from the federal Family Burden Compensation Fund (Familienlastenausgleichsfonds or FLAF). With around 26% of GDP total public spending on social security, Austria is ranked among the top ten among the OECD countries in public spending were the average of about 20% for 2018 (OECD, 2019).

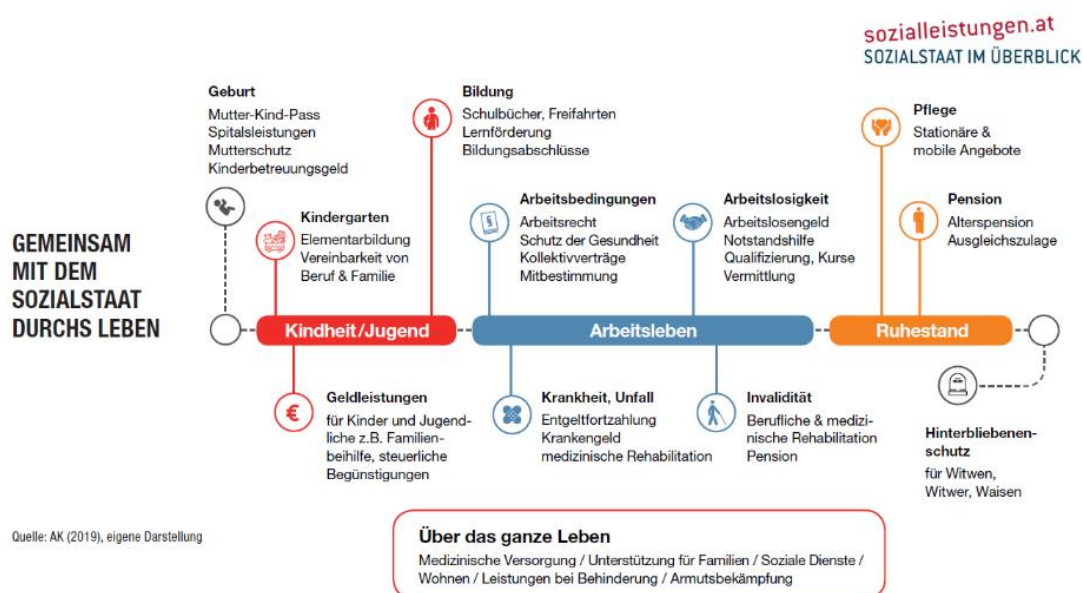


Figure 1 - Services of the Austrian Welfare State

Source: (Arbeiterkammer, 2019)

The expenditure structure of the welfare system can be viewed as follows. Pensions account is approximately half of the total social protection expenditure, one of the highest levels within EU member states. This large share and demographic changes discussed previously suggests the revision of the pension system for a containment consideration. Healthcare services count around a quarter of total social expenditure, which makes it the second-largest policy field, for cost revision. The rest of the areas make up the rest of the social expenditures like services for families and children (10% of total spending), followed by disability and unemployment. Last but not least, housing and social support account is less than 1,5% of the total expenditure. (Österle & Heitzmann, 2016)

Throughout the past decades, several changes have been implemented in the distribution of responsibilities between the federal state and the provinces due to changes in society in the areas of family structures, demographics, economic crises and new social hardships. Moreover, certain changes in political structures and the traditional Austrian model of social partnership as well as joining to the European Union have helped the state to adapt to the previously explained “conservative” Austrian welfare regime in every aspect of social policies. (Kai, 2017)

On the figure above the current structure of the Austrian welfare state can be seen. These can be grouped into three main parts, the support for families and children needs-oriented coverage and pension policies. In the next part, these areas of welfare services will be explored with a special focus on labour market policies due to its relevance to the study. Certain special characteristics of the system are summarized here;

Pension policies are based on pay-as-you-go principle regulated by the Generation Contract (*Generationsvertrag*), which states that men above the working age of 65 and women above 60 are entitled to pension by the state. Private pension funds and insurance companies are negligible within Austria. It is expected that, if the current system is not updated there will be a decline in the actual pension amount received by elderly which would increase the need for other types of subsidies. (Kai, 2017)

Family benefits are one of the most significant not insurance-based supports in Austria. It has been characterized by high expenditure and generous in cash benefits. This aligns with the previous findings that the country has a conservative type of welfare system, thus in-kind benefits and childcare facilities

are kept on a minimum level. (Österle & Heitzmann, 2016) Further research conducted by Schlager (2014) found out that the system still supports the separation of gender roles keeping the male as the jobholder and leaving the female partner as caretakers.

Health policies cover almost the complete population and offer a wide range of services paid by the social insurance for lower-income groups. This insurance also provides universal coverage for family members. Free choice of insurance providers and unlimited access to healthcare are elementary principles of the system which is financed by the general income tax. Policies are formed by the federal state in cooperation with regional agencies which lead to the decentralization of responsibilities and less coordination. (Kai, 2017)

Passive components of labour market policies, unlike in Germany with the Hartz- reforms, did not go through major changes in Austria. Support for the unemployed consists of two-tier cash-based support. Firstly, the unemployment benefit (*Arbeitslosengeld*) is provided which is an insurance-based benefit. Secondly, unemployment assistance (*Notstandshilfe*) is granted when the unemployment benefit is expired, which is also an insurance-based but means-tested benefit. Even if unemployment assistance is considered to be a means-tested transfer, it is still perceived as a citizen's right rather than a charity by the Austrian public's opinion. (Österle & Heitzmann, 2016)

In this chapter, it has been summarized what services does to Austrian welfare system provide to for families and the unemployed, provide a safety net against falling below the poverty line and help the citizens through their lifetime. However, it can be seen, that the system was not specifically prepared for such a scenario like the current one caused by the coronavirus, so it is debatable if it can fight it efficiently.

## Universal Basic Income

Throughout the recent decades' discussions concerning the desirability and feasibility of universal basic income has evolved into a serious proposal. As more and more scholars, social activists, social associations and political parties are getting involved with the topic, basic income cannot be seen any more as a radical solution for the problems of today's societies. In more details, there is an increasing acknowledgement of the positive effects that can add value to the debate on welfare reform and employment regulation. It is also important to point out, that the idea of a universal basic income has changed a lot throughout the years. As more and more professionals expand the discussion, the fundamental definition of universal basic income as a payment granted to each individual, without means test or any other perquisites, no longer enhances the distinctive policies developed within the field of basic income research and beyond. (Wispelaere & Stirton, 2004)

To be able to fully understand the support for universal basic income, where the term is originated from must be understood first. In this chapter, the guaranteed national income is going to be introduced with its three most commonly occurring types; universal basic income, negative income tax (NIT) and wage supplements. Throughout the chapter, the universal basic income will be analysed in detail to be able to understand how a positive public attitude can be developed to it.

The term guaranteed national income which is the collective phrase for a wide range of approaches, like wage supplements, tax credits or cash grants. The basic concept of a national guaranteed income can be described as the followings; it is cash-based support without any or few requirements for eligibility. The primary objective is to grant a fundamental level of payment for every member of society regardless of social status. (Tanner, 2015)

Universal Basic Income: The whole population is entitled to receive a certain amount of money in cash

every month from the state, independently of their income level (Misztal, 2018). This topic will be described in more details in the following chapters.

**Negative Income Tax:** Under a negative income tax scheme, participants who earn below a certain income level would receive a proportion of cash to achieve this minimum level. As for people who earn above this threshold, they would pay in proportionally higher taxes depending on how far away from this minimum level they are, thus balancing out income levels. (Tondani, 2009) This type of scheme could be combined with the current existing progressive income tax system. There would be no eligibility criteria to receive this support, however, this system adjusts so the benefits zero out as income levels rise. (Tanner, 2015)

**Wage Supplements:** The idea behind this is that the government would provide a supplement for those people who are below the target minimum wage level. It is additional support for the workers who are participating in low paid jobs. It can be immediately seen that this type of support is not universal, only those are eligible who are employed and are below a certain income level. As in the case of NIT, this system could be also adjusted to the existing tax systems and could be distributed in the same form. (Tanner, 2015)

It is important to see that exists a variety of income schemes which are frequently confused due to their similarities yet, in reality, have fundamental differences when taken a closer look at. As people from both the “European Social Survey Round 8” and “Corona Panel Wave 5” were asked about universal basic income especially, for the sake of this research this type of support will be analysed in detail in the rest of this chapter.

## History

The idea of an unconditional or universal basic income can be traced back to three historical roots. Firstly, the concept of minimum income appeared at the beginning of the 16th century. Johannes Ludovicus Vives viewed this as the creator of the idea of a guaranteed minimum income, due to his thorough work of *De Subventionel Pauperum* (On the Assistance to the Poor) in 1526, where he lays out and develops valid reasoning for this idea, based on both theological and pragmatic knowledge. To be more exact, in his work exposes that the municipal government should take care of and grant minimum livelihood to all its habitats, based on the effective exercise of morally required charity. The main aim of this scheme was to catch up with the lower classes of society to the rest. (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017)

Secondly, at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Thomas Paine introduces the notions of ‘basic endowment’. He argues that a sum of cash should be given to every person reaching adulthood and a basic pension should be set up as a person reaches the age of 50, regardless to which social group the person belongs to. (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017)

Thirdly, at the rise of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the concept of basic income emerges. This is concluded by the work of Charles Fourier who argues in his work of *‘La Fausse Industrie’* (1836) that when the fundamental natural rights of a person being harmed (hunting, fishing, fruit picking and cattle grazing) then the society owns to these individuals a compensation in the form of accommodation and aliment three times a day. (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017)

These ideas were combined in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, thus creating new definitions like “social dividend”, “state bonus” or “national dividend”. This period can also be divided into three sections. The first part of this period where basic income theory gained more importance; can be summarized by the revolutionary work of Russell and Millner who introduced universal income schemes to aid people in poverty. (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017)

As Russell (1918) states; *“...that a certain small income, sufficient for necessities, should be secured to all, whether they work or not, and that a larger income – as much larger as might be warranted by the total amount of commodities produced – should be given to those who are willing to engage in some work which the community recognizes as useful... When education is finished, no one should be compelled to work, and those who choose not to work should receive a bare livelihood and be left completely free.”* (p. 80-81 & 127, Russell, 1918)

As for Millner, he argued for a UBI paid weekly for every citizen the so-called “Scheme for a State Bonus” (1918) which would cost 20% of GDP per capita thus enabling the government to solve poverty. (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017)

In 1976, the state of Alaska created a standing fund intending to reinvest its earnings coming from crude oil and distribute this investments dividend to its residents. The dividend has been distributed on a yearly and per capita basis since 1982. Single condition for eligibility was to be an inhabitant of Alaska for at least one year, to stay. Since its inception, the fund had a significant impact on the state’s economy, relative to its small amount, \$1606 per capita as of 2019 (State of Alaska, 2019). The purchasing power of Alaskan residents sees the growth by \$900 million (Goldsmith, 2010). Furthermore, the state experienced an increase in the number of jobs, although this fact cannot be directly linked to the state fund. (Misztal, 2018) It can be said that this project is one of the first successful implementations of a basic income project.

The latest and the most advanced project was directed in Finland between 2017/18, where approximately 2000 residents received €560 tax-free benefit every month, unconditionally. Results are expected to be received in the second half of 2020, during the conduction of this research no official results were available yet. (Kela, 2020)

It can be seen that the idea has always popped up periodically throughout history, yet the debate reached its peak point recently, as several pilot projects are being conducted at the moment to test the idea. With the rising attention around the topic, it is important to consider if there is also growing interested from the public’s side, or universal basic income remains the topic of academics.

## Definition

Several academic works of literature exist with a wide range of characteristics and definitions for universal basic income. To give the most precise definition, firstly ‘universal’ and ‘basic income’ should be defined separately then from the combination of this two the definition universal basic income will be created within this chapter.

For a UBI project to be fully universal, it must fulfil three key points. The payment should be available to everyone independently to family or disability status, or the number of kids. It should be paid both to people with work and without it. At last, it should be provided indifferently from the amount of money which was earned. As for the second part, basic income within this research refers to a sufficiently high amount of support, which can satisfy the needs of a family or person without any other sources of income or earnings. In more details, in this case, “basic’ indicates that this amount remains unchanged even if the income of the household starts to increase. (Hoynes & Rothstein, 2019)

Combining these definitions, it can be said that basic income (BI) is a concept, which aims to abolish all existing state-granted benefits and introduces a single payment for which every citizen is entitled unconditionally of a country or region (Kay, 2017). According to Wispelaere and Stirton (2004) this basic income definition is not sufficient anymore; *“...an income granted by the right to each individual, without means test or work requirement, may no longer capture the diversity of policies advanced*

*within the basic income community and beyond.”*(Wispelaere & Stirton, 2004, p. 266) Finalising it with the last element universality the definition of universal basic income can be characterised as follows; *UBI is a policy proposal of a monthly cash grant given to all members of a community without means test, regardless of a personal desert, with no strings attached, and, under most proposals, at a sufficiently high level to enable a life free from economic insecurity”.* (Bidadanure, 2019, p. 482)

It is at outmost importance to provide a clear definition based on the current academic literature within this research paper because universal basic income should be clearly understood by everyone before forming an opinion about it.

## Features

Literature suggests that there are five main characteristics of UBI; the form of distribution, regularity, individuality, conditionality and universality (Bidadanure, 2019).

Universality in this sense means that which size of the population is included the base income plan. This can take up three major forms, universal, where the whole population is covered (Wispelaere & Stirton, 2004). The critics can draw that this type is not meant to be tested which means that it is not aiming at the poorest levels of society (Bidadanure, 2019). Another type is the selective one, where participation is restricted only to those parties who can fulfil the requirements. At last, exists a mixed-bag category, where certain features are guaranteed for all, yet full support only provided for those who fit into the regulations. (Wispelaere & Stirton, 2004)

Individuality describes to whom the policy is targeted. This can take up two forms, direct, when the support is granted for an individual or indirect, for a complete household (Wispelaere & Stirton, 2004). The individual version of the UBI is considered as the superior form since the person receives directly the support, thus strengthening its independence. As for the case when households receive the support, this makes the non-working members vulnerable and dependent on the higher income members, because without them they would lack the eligibility for support. Furthermore, it is not guaranteed that the resources, in this case, the support is fairly distributed within the household. (Bidadanure, 2019)

Conditionality refers to the official criteria for eligibility that can take up the form of a set of characteristics to fulfil acceptance criteria or impose certain behavioural requirements to receive support. This can be further broken down to ex-ante or ex post conditionality of the application. At last, the policies can be described as narrow or broad depending on their exclusivity of the participants. (Wispelaere & Stirton, 2004) Unconditionally is a feature means that there are no pre-conditions, barriers to applying for it, automatically it is guaranteed for everyone voluntarily willing, or not (Bidadanure, 2019). The logic behind this is that it is believed that no member of society should be left behind even if they choose to work or not. (Jordan B., 2013); (Nooteboom, 2013).

Uniformity describes until what extent the participants receive the same amount of support. It is possible to implement barriers to the amount received, like age distinction. (Wispelaere & Stirton, 2004)

Frequency/Duration is a simple concept that the allowance should be paid regularly, or it should be a one-time payment. Firstly, decision-makers should keep in mind that UBI is a safety net that creates economic stability and security (Bidadanure, 2014). Thus literature suggests that the implementation of a one-time payment, known as the ‘Basic Capital is only a one time chance which if not used correctly can be fatal (Bidadanure, 2019). It can be claimed that UBI proposals are most of the times are in favour of recurrent cash payments because it serves as a real safety net at any point of time for the dependents (Bidadanure, 2019). Furthermore, this dimension offers the possibility for the introduction

of a temporal basic income in which participants would be able to obtain an allowance for a fixed amount of time. (Wispelaere & Stirton, 2004)

Modality is the form or the type of support, which is transferred to the participants. This can be in the form of cash, tax reduction, unemployment benefits, or any type of income support. Aid can be granted also as in-kind benefits such as food stamps, housing benefit or any support that is not cash (Bidadanure, 2019). These criteria broaden the form of helping citizen can obtain like any non-monetary support, which in some situations might be more beneficial than cash. Policymakers should evaluate the distribution of public or private goods. Finally, yet importantly, adequacy refers to one of the most important factors in the basic income universe. This dimension measures the effectiveness of the support received by recipients. This can be “partial”; in this case, it functions as a supporting element with other assistance types. Additionally, it can take the form of “full” basic income, meaning (it) is the only social support received. (Wispelaere & Stirton, 2004) It has been argued that the best form of support remains cash, due to its positive characteristics that it is easily converted and doesn't harm market trends (Bidadanure, 2019).

There are three keys so-called ‘unsteady features’ that are still relevant for this study; these are the funding source, the level of payment and the policy package (Bidadanure, 2019). The source of UBI can take various forms like different types of taxes, such as income tax, wealth tax, consumption tax, financial transaction tax, carbon tax and many more (Widerquist, Karl, Noguera, José A., Vanderborght, Yannick, & de Wispelaere, Jurgen., 2013). The level or amount received is also an important factor since UBI is a base, which should be set high enough so that the dependents are not in the danger of poverty even if they do not obtain any other source of income. The third variable is if the UBI programme would replace existing social security programmes. As Murray (2006) argues, in certain cases, UBI is considered as a replacement for health insurance or in the case of delivery of other welfare goods. However, in most cases, UBI is seen as further expansion and improvement of the existing welfare services of the state. The common consent is that next to the numerous benefits provided by the government, it is inevitable that a certain amount is handed out in the form of cash to let people exercise their freedom. (Bidadanure, 2019)

These features all represent the many ways universal basic income can be implemented. It shows that it has the features to be implemented to any social welfare system due to its flexibility to be adjusted. It is important to see that universal basic income is not a stone fixed scheme which would need to abolish any other existing services of the welfare state. These features are also important to view when deciding one's opinion on basic income.

## Universal Basic Income and the Welfare State

The implementation of a universal basic income scheme would mean that the welfare state must go through enormous changes. This is a crucial part of the research since it must be evaluated if there is rational reasoning behind the implementation, hence the UBI plan would be better than the current system. To consider basic income an adequate candidate, the positive attributes must outweigh the possible costs for society. This will be evaluated by summarizing both the negative and positive effects of a universal basic income scheme on the traditional welfare state within this chapter. Rationale citizens will only support a scheme where they can gain more and higher quality services. All in all, the effects of UBI on the welfare have a significant impact in answering the question *“How did the Austrian public attitude change towards universal basic income, due to the COVID-19 virus, since the 2016 European Social Survey?”*

## Positive Effects of UBI

Theory suggests that the introduction of UBI has several positive effects on the current welfare systems. Within the chapter, the theoretical layout will be sketched whether it is worth to 'theoretically' implement a universal basic income scheme.

According to van Parijs (1996), if the unconditional basic income level is adjusted frequently the rehabilitation of the social welfare system is possible, especially tackling two major problems, poverty trap and long-lasting unemployment, which in fact would result in a higher level of economic sustainability. Further effects of the instalment of this concept will result in the decline or annihilation of the large-scale long-lasting unemployment at the lowest levels of society with the guarantee of administrative security. (van Parijs, 2013)

Another perspective is that this in-cash support will motivate citizens to take certain risks when accepting a job or creating their ventures. In this scenario, basic income is considered as an employment subsidy, which enhances job sharing, the opportunity for workers to briefly quit their jobs for a pause, try out being self-employed, retrain or to increase their part-time engagement in their workplace. (van Parijs, 2013)

Theory suggests that a UBI programme would help workers to adapt and take advantage of new types of works without falling below a certain poverty level (van der Veen, Robert J. & van Parijs, 1986); (Standing, 1992), (Healy, Murphy, & Reynolds, 2013); (Koistinen & Perkiö, 2014). In This case, people would have the opportunity to refuse the lowest-paid jobs, employers would be forced to increase wages and improve the working environment. Furthermore, workers would face less risk if they lose their jobs, making them stronger at the bargaining table for wages. (Pateman, 2004; Standing, 1992); (TORY, 2015); (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017).

In his later work, van Parijs (2013) explores that UBI would grant access for young professionals to unpaid internships, eases the pressure on low-paid workers allowing them more time to take training and allow people to take a career break, thus overall decreasing the poverty trap. Overall, it would give economic security for the youth to a larger extent and autonomy over the career path they wish to choose. Briefly, UBI entails the possibility to fight poverty, social segregation and precariousness within young professionals. (Sage & Diamond, 2017)

UBI serves as an insurance against job loss and poverty, which makes it a great tool to hedge against shocks in employment and systematic risks (Spermann, 2017). Painter and Thoun (2015) claim that people will tend to choose more creative carriers in the field of education, volunteering and entrepreneurship if they receive a basic income.

Moreover, it can be also positive for the employers, because that UBI will increase the competition in the labour market. This can be expected because people will have additional time to learn and develop their skills, thus making them more valuable in the eyes of companies. (Misztal, 2018)

According to Christensen (2002) and McLean (2016) universal basic income supports gender equality in five different ways. It provides an incentive for women to enter the labour market and enriches the number of jobs they can choose. Women do most of the unpaid and un-noticed work, which is essential for a well-functioning society, thus with the help of UBI social support, this work is recognised. Moreover, it gives grants a higher level of financial freedom and more equally distributed division of care within a household. Ultimately, it reduces poverty, which would be extremely beneficial for

women. By providing larger incentives for women to participate in the labour market, UBI could enforce equality with men. It would also provide independence for women outside of work, because it guarantees a non-labour income, supporting the idea of caretaking and the establishment of a balanced household work distribution. (McLean, 2016); Christensen, 2002) Summing it up a basic income scheme distributed individually could financially remunerate and allow women to actively participate in the labour market and it would solve two persistent problems of policymakers; the promotion of female employment and the recognition of care (Standing, 1992); (McKay, 2007); (TORY, 2015); (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017).

Misztal (2018) argues that one of the most relevant positive effects of UBI would be the freedom to spend the support as they wish, in other words, it strengthens economic freedom on an individual level.

In addition to that, it is claimed that under a UBI system, the number of people participating in the labour supply would increase, while a decrease in the number of hours worked would be expected (Groot, 1997). Painter and Thoun (2015) shared a similar argument by stating that participants would be able to take time off whenever they want, reduce their working hours as they wish to, take career breaks to help an elderly family member or help the disabled. Households with children would be able to meet duties of work and parenthood in a more balanced way. (Painter & Thoun, 2015)

Besides, UBI entails the opportunity for citizens to become even more autonomous and practice self-government in their private life (Fitzpatrick, 1999); (Pateman, 2004). A rarely spoken positive future is the way it moderates power relations within society. (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017)

Predictions vary about the size of the impact robotization will have on the labour market yet all studies agree that there will be a significant impact (Frey & Osborne, 2017). This combined with the effects of globalization means that the positions with lower skills will be endangered (OECD, 2017). Van Parijs and Vanderborght (2017), BI could moderate the effects of these world trends, by leaving resources and time for these people to develop new skills and training. In more details, UBI contributes to keeping supply and demand on an appropriate level, something that a traditional means-tested social welfare system would not be able to provide. As it was stated previously, it offers the opportunity for people to develop themselves and to find new forms of non-automated jobs. At last, UBI is considered as the appropriate tool for the transition into a post-work society, since it is substituted for any trials, which tries to limit the implementation of technological developments to protect traditional labour market positions. (Sage & Diamond, 2017)

As for the government, it would increase transparency and simplicity which would result in lower administration costs, while the benefits from innovations and globalization could be easier redistributed to the public (Colombino, 2015). According to Tanner (2015), UBI would have a positive effect since all the support would be received in one amount thorough one channel. Misztal (2018) agrees by claiming that, the implementation of the system would be easy, due to the universal characteristics of the programme. Also, it minimalizes errors and saves the costs of searching for free riders. Indirect effects imply the reduction in corruption, reduction of costs and time since the UBI has a simplifying effect on the social system. (Misztal, 2018)

On the other side, this would have a positive outcome for the recipients as well since in the current systems it is hard to navigate or during the application process, people have to handle multiple forms and go through intrusive programmes. (Tanner, 2015)

A universal basic income scheme not only prevents that people will fall below the poverty line, but it would reduce the trend in which poor people are also segregated geographically. The programme

could help the integration of these people into society since it indulges behaviour that can get people out of poverty. (Tanner, 2015)

### Negative Effects of UBI

After that, the incentives for a UBI have been summarized; the possible negative impacts must be considered too. These harming effects are inevitably revealed since we can only determine the success of a project if the impacts of these factors are considered too.

According to (Sage & Diamond, 2017) a UBI project will fail if it cannot fulfil three objectives; to win public support for the agenda, to have a transformative impact on the problems it tries to solve and it has to be the best alternative solution for the problem.

Firstly, a UBI programme could only succeed if there is significant political and public support for it. To win the public's opinion it has to overcome three hardships; can it convince enough people to increase taxation and public spending, can it be adjusted to the public belief of deservingness, and at last if it harmonises with social norms of work. (Sage & Diamond, 2017) As it is highly related to the current research, these points will be discussed in detail in the coming chapter of public opinion as an obstacle.

A second critic about UBI can be summarized that it is not as transformative as it is required. Sage and Diamond (2017) argue that a person with an insecure job, on the edge of unemployment and low-paid employment, accommodated in a poor neighbourhood will not be saved by UBI. To be more exact this agenda considers present injustices and economic structures necessary, as Navarro (2016) explains it leaves them untouched.

If the basic income agenda is implemented it would have a negative impact on social policies, since as the theory suggests there will be a lack of public desire to manage and upgrade them. The case must be considered that the problems of a welfare system can be solved by a significantly smaller system change, for example, thorough policy expansion. Moreover, according to academic literature, there are better alternative projects to UBI, which are considered more viable, cheaper and evidence-based, tackling the same problems as the latter project.

Moral hazard can be viewed as one of the most well-known arguments against BI. By this, it is understood that after the implementation of UBI people will be less motivated to work, which will eventually lead to drop-in labour supply. In more details, this risk entails the increasing financial costs and plummeting purchasing power of citizens all caused by the basic income support. (Miształ, 2018) Tanner (2015) discussed that in the case of households with a high number of spouses, the project will malfunction and will leave them far below the poverty line, thus it will have a discouraging impact on fertility rates, which would eventually lead and have a negative effect on future economic growth rates.

Another notable negative result is that even if the new social security system was implemented, from the beginning on there would be political pressure to increase the amount. Similarly, the programme does not consider the regional differences within a country or region. Thus, the level of impact would be different depending on location; people in poverty living in expensive areas could be worse off. (Tanner, 2015)

Opponents of the idea argue that introduction of UBI would lead to an increase in taxes to be able to finance the exponentially increasing governmental contribution needed for the social protection system (Miształ, 2018). Tanner (2015) arrives at the same conclusion in his research about the implementation of UBI in the US; *“Even if the guaranteed national income replaced every existing anti-*

*poverty program, we would still be some \$3.4 trillion short...Therefore it would require a large tax hike to implement.”* (Tanner, 2015, pp. 15–16) In more details, this would lead to an increase in the money supplied, which in fact would lead to an increase in inflation, which would result in a decline in purchasing power (Misztal, 2018). Research suggests that the economic effects of such a project will be two folded, it will not bring an improvement to every segment of society (Sattelberger, 2016). Cowan (2017) provides more insight by claiming that it is uncertain that the largest beneficiaries of this project would be the ones who are targeted within this project.

To sum up, what has been written so far, all authors collectively agreed that the two crucial hindrances to the implementation of such a project is the cost of the new welfare system and the need to increase taxes to support this programme. (Cowan, 2017); (Tanner, 2015); (Misztal, 2018) However, considering the various positive effects of the programme like erasing the poverty trap and significantly reducing long-lasting unemployment, which both leads to higher economic sustainability, meaning the relatively high costs of the implementation would be equalized on the long term. It can be concluded that the advantages resulting from the implementation outweigh the negative effects, so it makes sense to consider universal basic income as a considerable proposal for rational citizens.

### Public Support for the Welfare States

Generally, it can be said that most countries' governments offer certain economic security in cases of citizens disability and old age. As for more advanced societies governments also provide financial support for the unemployed. Several countries have introduced minimum income policies or regulations aiming to redistribute incomes towards the poor. Collectively, these programmes can be called as services of the welfare state. (M. Blekesaune, 2007) These welfare state services are supported by the belief that every citizen has the birth right to some basic social services like the right to live according to normal social perquisites (Marshall Thomas, 1964). The public attitude towards welfare state policies has been examined from different viewpoints. M. Blekesaune (2007) identified the two most important dimensions where public support for welfare policies is originated from; an individual level and a country level can be identified.

#### Individual-level support

One of the most popular approaches is to explore how the characteristics of individuals affect attitudes towards welfare state support. Several studies conclude that individual characteristics are on one hand viewed as signs of the self-interest individuals have towards welfare policies and redistribution, and on the other hand as signs of the political preferences which these policies either support or challenge (Sears, Lau, Tyler, & Allen, 1980); (Hasenfeld & Rafferty, 1989); (Andre & Heien, 2001).

In more details, the self-interest argument means that those who are already beneficiaries or are likely to become recipients of welfare state programmes are likely to hold more positive attitudes towards these policies than those who are less likely receive them. Moreover, everyone must contribute to the financing of the welfare scheme in the form of taxes. Thus, we can immediately see a conflict of interest between contributors and potential recipients of welfare state benefits. (M. Blekesaune, 2007) Further empirical studies have found support for the self-interest argument. Hasenfeld and Rafferty (1989) found evidence, that those who are economically unstable and thus most likely to be eligible for welfare state support are also most likely the ones who support the idea. Another research conducted by Svallfors (1997) came to identical results when viewing class and status groups. Edlund (1999) came to similar results when analysing occupational and income groups considering and reviewing public support in various countries.

The political preference argument presumes that attitudes towards welfare states are based on more general values, like the relationship between the individual, the state and other institutions such as

labour markets (Feldman & Zaller, 1992). There is also an existing number of empirical studies that support the ideology argument. Research is done by Sears et al. (1980) and Hasenfeld and Rafferty (1989) revealed that affirmation of social rights is a fundamental prognosticator for future welfare state policy support.

### Country-Level Support

Another method is to investigate how the special attributions of countries affect public attitudes towards welfare state policies. Country-level characteristics can be either institutional types of welfare policies or economic factors related to labour market trends (employment, unemployment), or general economic development. (M. Blekesaune, 2007)

Esping-Andersen (1990) argued that a political history of class coalitions has created three main regime types of welfare states, the liberal, conservative and social democratic regimes. To give more details, institutional theory indicates that these regime types shape the form of social solidarity and thus public attitudes towards welfare state programmes (Korpi, 1989). Detailed country-level support will be provided at a later part of the study with country specifics when the welfare system of the Austrian republic will be analysed.

Morten Blekesaune and Quadagno (2003) identified that countries with a relatively high unemployment rate express more positive attitudes towards welfare policies in general and those directed towards the unemployed specifically. The researchers focused their study on that high unemployment increases public support for social welfare programmes because it increases the awareness of the risk of becoming unemployed and because of public concerns for those who are already unemployed.

M. Blekesaune (2007) in another analysis revealed that a fall in employment rates leads to growing support for welfare state policies, measured as a governmental obligation for economic provision and redistribution. It is important to point out that the decrease in full-time employment was the driving factor why welfare state support became stronger in the study period. Besides, the increased numbers of unemployed and students also were in favour to increase public support for welfare state programmes. As for retired people no significant support could be detected. Furthermore, M. Blekesaune (2007) in this empirical analysis showed that the lower the employment rates are, the more responsibility for economic provision and redistribution should be taken by governments according to public opinion. Larger financial distress is also associated with stronger support for welfare policies for economic provision.

Earlier research was done by Leggett (1964), Lipset (1963) and Zeitlin (1966) found out that in times of economic insecurity, economic deprivation, in theory, leads to an increase in the public support for leftist political ideas. In another work, Lipset (1968) argued that an economic crisis leads citizens to an increased class interest while contrary to this belief Leggett (1964) claimed that rather economic insecurity is the driving factor behind the increased focus on class interest. Also, Gramacho (2005) in his research claimed that an increase in unemployment shifts public opinion to the left while inflation shifts it to the right.

These theories serve as a perfect testing ground for the current economic and social situation in Austria caused by the COVID-19 virus. There is a sudden extreme increase in unemployment and an increase in economic stability, which follows the above-mentioned findings, should result in higher support for welfare state programmes and increased support for leftist political ideas like the universal basic income scheme.

## Public Attitude towards Universal Basic Income

Currently, public opinion about the likeness of universal basic income was measured by opinion polls in several countries like Denmark (Goul Andersen 1996), Sweden and Finland (Anderson and Kangas 2005), Norway (Bay and Pedersen 2006), the USA (Rasmussen Report 2011), Brazil (Waltenberg 2013), Japan (Itaba 2014) and France (IFOP 2015) just to mention some. Results from these polls have shown that in Nordic countries there is majority support for the idea. In the case of the United States and France contradictory results could be observed. While in the states 82% opposed the idea of a universal basic income, in France 60% of the respondents were in favour of it. As for the Dalia Research conducted in 2016, it showed that 64% of the participants would be in favour of a universal basic income scheme. (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017) Research is done by the European Social Survey Round 8 in the same year however showed mixed results which were measured in 18 countries. This survey will be explored in more details in a later part of the study.

However, van Parijs and Vanderborght (2017) points out that these results have to be considered with prudence because of the way the questions were formulated or the missing previous knowledge of respondents about fundamental terms like the definition of universal basic income. Despite this increased interest by researchers, it can be claimed that the public's attitude towards UBI is not yet fully understood. However, it is an outstandingly important gap to fill because public opinion is a deciding factor about which idea will be transformed into public policy. Several political science types of researches have shown that public opinion influences public policymaking under democratic systems. (Lee, 2018a) A study by Brooks and Manza (2006) showed that public attitudes affect social policies. They proved that it would be beneficial for welfare policymakers to consider the changing economic conditions and focus less on institutional characteristics and political history. It can be claimed that the public attitude towards UBI plays a significant role in the political feasibility of the idea. (Lee, 2018b)

The research suggests that countries which have a strong welfare state, tend to be less accepting towards the idea of universal basic income, while countries with weaker welfare systems in place are more open for the idea (Lee, 2018a). After analysing the European Social Survey data from 2016, Meuleman, Bart, et al. (2018) found that attitude for basic income tends to be lower in more affluent countries in Northern and Western Europe, and higher in the less wealthy welfare states in the eastern part of Europe. Analysis done by Lee (2018b) suggests similar results, that higher levels of social protection provided by the state and low economic insecurity are associated with a lower level of support of UBI. Ghatak and Maniquet (2019) in their research came to similar results, they found out that UBI is more suitable for developing countries especially in the case when government institutions cannot help the poor effectively. Similarly, Bidadanure (2019) argues that one of the major arguments for the implementation of UBI is that it protects workers from economic insecurity.

D. Sage and Diamond (2017) argue that the growing social and economic instability in Europe has shown that welfare states do not provide appropriate social security for people. They claim that theoretically, UBI can solve these problems because it provides enough income without any means-tested or barriers. According to recent research, citizens' dissatisfaction with the current welfare system also leads to a higher acceptance of UBI (Lee, 2018b).

Traditionally, looking at the academics arguing for a universal basic income they all position themselves on the far left. The most important supporters are Friedrich Hayek (1940s-50s) and Milton Friedman (1960s-70s), continued by Liberals like Lady Rhys Williams (1940s-50s) to social democrats like Dennis Milner and Bertram Pickard (1919-20s) to left-leaning libertarians such as Phillipe Van Parijs (1980s-the present) and left economists like Guy Standing (1980s-the present). (Birnbaum, 2012; Widerquist, Noguera, Vanderborght, & Wispelaere, 2013; Zwolinski, 2020).

The literature suggests that support for the introduction of UBI does not only come from people that are committed to left-wing ideas. It can be seen, that citizens are willing to neglect their political beliefs when they try to solve problems of the society like the common good, fair taxation and distribution/redistribution of resources aimed at ending destitution and providing an income floor which encourages employment. (Birnbaum, 2012; Jennifer Mays, Marston, & Tomlinson, 2016; Jenni Mays & Tomlinson, 2019)

In his most recent work, van Parijs and Vanderborght (2017) summarized several present positions in accordance with basic income from numerous entities varying from labour unions to different political parties.

They claim that labour unions surprisingly tend to reject the idea for several reasons. The reason that in case the complete welfare system would be changed to a basic income scheme, then poor households would be worse off, a significant amount of welfare state workers would be fired and certain services of the existing social insurance and public assistance systems cannot be fulfilled by a universal basic income. Furthermore, they claim that in case of an implementation of a basic income scheme there would be a drop in the general income level. Moreover, it would reduce the power of unions in the fields of determination workers disposable income and their bargaining power for wage components. Interestingly, they found that an introduction of such a programme would reduce the overall power of unions over workers not only to capitalists. At last, unions claim that their main supporting group, full-time, male workers with fixed contracts would be worse off caused by the inevitable tax modifications needed in case of implementation of UBI. (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017)

Just like in the case of unions, employers are also not in favour of a universal basic income plan. Generally, these entities ignore the idea until they can, and when that is not possible anymore, they take the opposite side. The underlying reason is simple, UBI provides more power to the workers over the employers. (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017)

The precariat is one of the biggest beneficiaries of a universal basic income service. It is a social class formed by people who are currently seeking a job, workers with part-time or short-term contracts, participants of workfare schemes, self – employed and generally every person who is excluded from the opportunity to gain jobs which provide economic security and positive identification. (Standing, 2014) According to van Parijs and Vanderborght (2017) precariat linked organizations have a positive attitude towards the idea of basic income than labour unions had, however, it must be noted that they are smaller and less significant organizations compared to workers unions.

Women would be another large beneficiary group of a basic income proposal. Van Parijs and Vanderborght (2017) claims that it would significantly improve their income and life options. In today's society, women participate less actively in the labour market and earn below the hourly wage of men. The introduction of such a welfare plan would imply a greater financial benefit for them than for men. Following this train of thoughts, it is natural that several feminist movements support the idea. However, it must be noted that there is no universal opinion about the introduction of basic income among feminist associations. (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017)

Another group which should be considered are the socialist parties since they are historically closely linked to worker movements and should be expected to be in favour of basic income. Despite this, it can be seen throughout the mayor European social-democratic parties that they marginalize the topic and barely discuss the idea. (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017)

Several liberal political parties are also encouraging the idea of basic income, because of its plain and clear, non-bureaucratic, transparent, market-friendly functions, which makes it easier for recipients to get the financial support efficiently and sustainably. Besides, it is preferred because it is believed that it would eliminate inefficient welfare systems, even phase out itself if it is ineffective. (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017)

Green movements can be seen as the major supporters of the idea since the topic is being discussed between political parties. Three main logically different reasons for this can be identified. Firstly, when looking at the core values of a green party, according to theory their main aim should be to reduce consumption and the growth of consumption of material standards of living. As discussed previously universal basic income would reduce the cost to search for a less profitable but meaningful job plus provides more free time for each individual, in general, it would be good for people who wish to consume less. Secondly, greens claim that all-natural resources are a common value which equals to one of the basic principles of UBI that the ownership of earth belongs to no one, yet everyone. Thirdly, as these parties view mass unemployment as one of the core issues of society, the idea of basic income prevails due to its effect that it turns a certain amount of employment into voluntary unemployment, thus sharing the existing number of workplaces between more individuals. Furthermore, the further effects of UBI will be the availability for shorter working times, longer paid holidays or curtailed careers, which are in accordance with the goals of green parties. (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017)

At last but not least, the Christian-democratic parties and organizations should be considered, since the basic income is being debated at least as much as in socialist parties, as Christian organizations actively interested in the idea. Even though there is no clear support for UBI in the Christian traditions there is one link which is offered by several researchers. The Christian doctrine requires that the poor should be helped, and it should be done by civil authorities. In the views of Christian supporters of UBI, it is viewed as a powerful tool to combat poverty in an efficient and compatible way with values of the religion. (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017)

It can be seen that there are various social channels from where UBI receives support. It is time now to consider the specificities of Austria based on the above-mentioned groups. This is inevitable to be able to see, where changes come from a basic income plan.

### The Universal Basic Income Debate in Austria

The start of the basic income discussion in the country is closely related to two works; the *“Grundeinkommen ohne Arbeit: Auf dem Weg zu einer kommunikativen Gesellschaft”* (1985) and *“Den öko-sozialen Umbau beginnen: Grundeinkommen* (1990), which provide principal claims in the support of universal basic income topic, edited by to Lieselotte Wohlgenannt and Herwig Büchele. The topic has been fiercely debated within the Catholic Social Academy Austria (ksoe) starting from the release of the first study in 1985. (Blaschke, Otto, & Schepers, 2012)

Later the social minister and union activist Alfred Dallinger member of the Social Democratic Party Austria (SPÖ) endorsed basic income in an expert audition which was followed by public debate. At this point, interestingly supporters of the topic could also be found within the Austrian people’s party (ÖVP). However, the heat of the discussion faded after the death of Dallinger. (Blaschke et al., 2012)

An increased interest in the topic can be traced at the end of the century, due to social changes initiated on one hand from new neo-liberal regulations and the other hand increasing consciousness growing poverty and inequity. (Blaschke et al., 2012)

In Austria basic income is being defined according to the four criteria of the German Network Basic Income defined in 2004, which can be concluded as the following; *“it ensures personal financial security and enables participation in society to which all are legally entitled individually which is guaranteed*

*without means testing and without a compulsive to work or for other services in return.”* (Netzwerk Grundeinkommen, 2004)

In 2002, the “Network Basic Income and Social Solidarity” was founded in support of promoting the idea of universal basic income by conducting symposia, events and panel discussions within the country proposed by the ksoe. Throughout the years it evolved into a member organization of the Basic Income European Network (BIEN) and conducted several conferences in Austria also supported by German and Swiss networks. The peak point of this era is the 2005 conference named “Basic Income – be occupied in Freedom”.

In 2006, the Austrian Round Table was created by representatives of the Austrian Communist Party (KPÖ) and other social movements (Attac, Network Basic Income and Social Cohesion, KAB, FIAN, Unemployed Initiative etc.). The fundamental objective is to connect individuals, organisations and ideas promoting basic income. Moreover, organizes and direct events, with the main objective to set on the preparation of the annual International Basic Income Week which is organized throughout the whole world. The Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions and Aid to Citizens Austria (Attac) developed the unconditional basic income into a political claim within the academic and cultural scene in Austria. Support for the idea was extensively spread and often promoted at events until recently. (Blaschke et al., 2012)

The Austrian Communist Party (KPÖ) demands an unconditional basic income for all people to whom Austria is the centre of their existence up today. It can be claimed that the beginning of the previous decade there were plentiful supporters of a basic income among the politicians of the Green Party (GRÜNE). (Blaschke et al., 2012) Since 2014, the New Austria and Liberal Forum (NEOS) has negative income tax (NIT) on its programme. (van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017)

Furthermore, in the early 10s, most of the debate about the basic income has been centralized around the implementation of a means-tested minimum benefit scheme in Austria which was very similar to the basic benefit for the unemployed programme used in Germany the Hartz IV. (Blaschke et al., 2012)

However, during the second half of the decade, the tides have changed, and universal basic income has lost its momentum. The last time political parties were asked about the topic just before the 2019 elections and on the following table, their answers can be concluded in Table 1.

It can be seen, that all major political parties like ÖVP, FPÖ, GRÜNE, NEOS and SPÖ tend to reject the idea, they rather adjust or make changes to the current system. Only one smaller party, the Austrian Communist Party considers the implementation of the universal basic income, but they cannot be viewed as a major political force. (Aloysius, 2018. 07. 25; Vorarlberg Online, 2019)

Despite this widespread objection of the idea, there is an ongoing interest for universal basic income from small social organizations. At the end of 2019, a referendum was initiated by the “Grundeinkommen Verteilungszentrum Austria e.V” to introduce a universal basic income plan for the country where every person receives a monthly payment of 1.200€ (Hahn & Leopold, 2019. 11. 12). As in February 2020, a new referendum has been issued by the “Generation Grundeinkommen” with similar aims, to force the government to implement a basic income programme for every person above the age of 18 having their main residence in Austria (Generation Grundeinkommen, 2020). The

monthly allowance has not been identified in the proposal. All these trials show that there is still an ongoing interest for a small group of people about the possibilities of UBI within Austria.

ÖVP	FPÖ	SPÖ
Work is an important part of a fulfilled life. People who work and perform on a daily basis must therefore also have a clear benefit from it. With our reform of the minimum income scheme, we have strengthened the incentives that make it more attractive to accept a job	Social assistance (minimum income) is an important government instrument to combat the risk of poverty. People should be motivated to work, but an unconditional basic income would import further welfare recipients and would not be affordable for the state	A social safety net that secures people's existence when they are unable to do so themselves and serves as a steppingstone into the labour market makes more sense than an unconditional basic income.
KPÖ	NEOS	GRÜNE
We want a society without existential fears. We support all steps towards this aim - from basic child protection, a poverty-proof minimum pension, basic energy security, increased family allowances to free public transport. Not all parts of our alliance are in favour of a UBI.	We advocate a uniform social benefit that provides the right incentives: the NEOS Bürger_innengeld. This is a summary of all state social transfers. Through a single competent body, assistance is given to those who need it, not just to those who know about it.	The idea of not leaving anyone in poverty behind is a good one. We are therefore proposing a needs-oriented basic provision that offers not only money but also training, care and security in old age. For all those who need it.

*Table 1 - Austrian political party opinions about UBI*

*Source: (Aloysius, 2018. 07. 25; Hahn & Leopold, 2019. 11. 12; Vorarlberg Online, 2019)*

It can be seen, that by the end of the decade the idea of basic income is marginalizing and is being supported only by small organizations which do not play a significant role when forming the public opinion of Austria.

Comparing these findings with the theories stated by van Parijs and Vanderborght (2017) in their work of “Basic Income – A Radical Proposal for a Free Society and a Sane Economy” the following points can be concluded.

Throughout the history we can see that van Parijs and Vanderborght were correct, liberal, socialist, green and Christian- democratic countries did support the idea of universal basic income even in Austria. Yet, this support happened in different points in time with a different intensity and for distinctive reasons, so real unified support for the topic could have never evolved. It is important to note that by the end of the 20's all major political parties' lost interest in the topic, which signals that basic income has lost its momentum. Only support from the far-left is stable, the Austrian Communist Party is supporting the idea since it has reached the political discussion. International and local organizations try to keep the heat of the discussion, but as it can be seen the failed referendum shows that there is no interest from the public's side either. Until today there was no available official statement from the Austrian Trade Union Federation (ÖGB), so no conclusions can be drawn if there is support from labour unions side.

## Public Support as an Obstacle

Sage and Diamond (2017) summarized that there could be no public support for a UBI proposal and that it is an obstacle for implementation. According to their research, there are three main reasons why there could be no strong public support for the idea. Firstly, they claim that due to the high cost of implementation and maintenance of the system people would not support it, because it would mean that they are required to pay more taxes. Secondly, it does not comply with the norms of the current welfare systems and deservingness. Thirdly, it does not comply with the social norms of work.

Researchers agree that the implementation of a UBI scheme would mean that taxes would need to be significantly increased too. (Sage & Diamond, 2017) Besides, Hirsch (2015) stated a completely different taxation system is needed then the recent one if basic income will be introduced. It can be claimed that people are willing to accept only a slight increase in their taxation for better-allocated welfare services.

Moreover, there is an existing conflict between the social norms of deservingness and universal basic income. This deservingness is one of the core values of the welfare state, which is closely related to the individual level support of the welfare state (van Oorschot, 2006). Deservingness relates to two

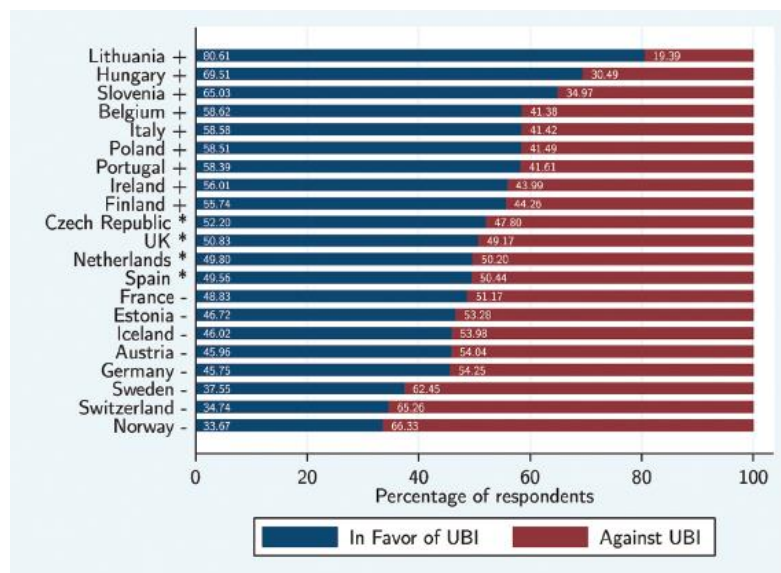


Figure 2 -Public Attitudes Toward UBI across 21 European Countries  
Source: (Lee, 2018a)

fundamental sociology terms contribution and reciprocity. Simply put, resources and services should be allocated to those who need them the most. There is a constant incomparability of this 'something for something' social norm of the welfare state and basic income, due to the universality characteristics of the idea. The findings of Diamond and Lodge (2013) strengthen this incomparability since they revealed that public support for welfare spending is the strongest towards education, healthcare and pensions. As for policies that tackle gender inequality or labour market changes public support is significantly weaker. Furthermore, support for universalistic policies tends to be also low due to the common belief that the benefits of high-income households have to be limited (Sage & Diamond, 2017).

As the last point, it would distort the social norms of work. It undermines the importance of work as a social institution and goes against the current objectives of the modern welfare state, which is to promote employment. (Sage & Diamond, 2017) UBI can be interpreted as a tool which reduces and condemns work. According to Cruddas and Kibasi (2016), it would support a non-working and non-contributing lifestyle, basically legitimating a worklessness class.

For all of these three reasons, it is argued that the probability of UBI winning enough public opinion support is very limited and openly supporting the idea contains high political risk. (Sage & Diamond, 2017)

The figure above represents the 21 countries that have participated in the European Social Survey Round 8 in 2016. It follows an order that at the top, the country is shown with the most public support for a universal basic income scheme followed by the second most support and so on, in declining order. As it can be seen on this summary done by Lee (2018a) Austria is located in the bottom area (highlighted with yellow), and it is found in the top five countries that reject the idea of universal basic income.

The last time the basic income topic has achieved media attention was at the end of 2019 when the previously mentioned national referendum was proposed by the “Grundeinkommen Verteilungszentrum Austria e.V” (see Appendix A). According to Austrian media, news reports the referendum could only collect around 68.000 signatures, which makes it one of the least popular referendums since 1964 (Der Standard, 2019). It has failed since it could not collect the 100.000 signatures needed to be discussed within the parliament.

It has to be noted that as of February 2020, a new referendum is active, initiated by Generation Grundeinkommen programme for every person above the age of 18 have their main residence in Austria. The monthly allowance has not been identified in the proposal (see Appendix B).

This shows that the idea of basic income still receives a lack of support from the Austrian public. No other source has been found until the recent Corona Panel study that measures the Austrian public's opinion about universal basic income.

## Conclusion of the Literature Review

The purpose of this review was to summarize the current trends concerning social protection in systems in Europe & Austria and to present the scheme of universal basic income. It is clear from the research reviewed that the implementation of UBI is a widely discussed and relevant topic in today's society. In the following section the fundamental arguments of the literature review will be presented, from which the hypothesis of this research will be developed.

It can be concluded that the recent pandemic, the COVID – SARS2 virus, lead to a mass job loss and an increase in economic insecurity in Austria. It has been argued by several researchers that universal basic income has the attributes that can ease the problems of unemployment and economic insecurity.

Contrary to the belief that countries with greater social protection and universalistic welfare state would be more sympathetic to UBI policy, the analyses in this paper show that it is not necessarily true. People who are happy about their social welfare programs may not want to replace their current welfare state with UBI. (Lee, 2018a)

The research has revealed that a UBI scheme is accepted along with the whole political palette. Throughout the literature review it has been shown that people from the left to the right are willing to support the idea, but for different reasons. This could be one of the largest assets of basic income to make it real.

As it was stated previously within this study, the results of the ESS 2016 Round 8, the failed referendum in 2019 and the unpopularity of the topic within major parties during the recent elections signals that there could be only minor support for a universal basic income plan in Austria.

Furthermore, according to an analysis European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU – SILC), the majority of the adult population of Austria remains very satisfied or satisfied with their life even during the times of an economic crisis. Their results from the 2007/08 crisis showed that support for the political system in Austria remains strong within the population, thus legitimacy towards the federal government is not questioned. (Pesendorfer & Eiffe, 2013) Also, outcomes suggest that not only trust in the governing parties remains strong, yet citizens also remain satisfied with the current welfare system in place. This argument was also confirmed by other surveys which were only concentrating on welfare state problems. (Österle & Heitzmann, 2016) As for the healthcare system, over 80% of the population valued the system as very good or good, gaining the highest acceptance level within the EU. (European Commission, 2010) However, it must be noted that these results reflect on an economic crisis which cannot be compared with the current situation, which entails the possibility for different results.

Combining all the available information from above, the following hypothesis can be formulated:

*With increasing unemployment and decreasing economic stability caused by the pandemic in 2020, public support for UBI is increasing in Austria.*

In the following chapters of the thesis, two questionnaires the ESS Round 8 and the Corona Panel Welle 5 will be compared to each other, based on their equivalent questions and target group to test the hypothesis. This will be achieved with the help of a multiple regression model which will be developed by the author to test this hypothesis.

## Methodology

In this chapter, the actual data that is collected combined with the description of the data types, data collection instruments used, and any assumptions made during the study will be presented. This section describes the actions taken to investigate the developed hypothesis and the rationale for the application of multiple regression analysis used to identify, select, process, and analyse information gained from two questionnaires to answer the research question and to understand the problem concerning public support, thereby, allowing the reader to critically evaluate the study's overall validity and reliability. This section of the research paper answers the following two main questions: How was the data collected or generated? And, how was it analysed by this research?

### Surveys about the Austrian's public attitude towards UBI

For this research, data were obtained from two different surveys measuring the Austrian public's attitude towards several social topics. In recent years, the Austrian population was asked about their opinion about universal basic income twice. In more details, people were asked about basic income in 2016 within the European Social Survey Round 8. Four years later, in 2020, a survey conducted by the University of Vienna, the so-called Corona Panel "Welle 5" asked citizens about the implementation of basic income again. Aim of this research was to compare the results of the two questionnaires and based on the differences try to conclude what could have caused them and why. In the following sections, the specificities of the two above mentioned surveys will be presented.

#### The European Social Survey "Round 8"

The European Social Survey is an academically driven cross-national survey that is being conducted throughout 30 countries in Europe since 2001. It has three fundamental objectives. Firstly, to monitor and illustrate changing public opinions and values within Europe and to investigate how they affect the developing institutions of European countries. Secondly, to improve and consolidate the methods of cross-national survey measurement within and outside of Europe. Thirdly, to create a series of social indicators. (European Social Survey, 2020) Further objectives can be concluded as follows;

- to outline stability and change in social structure, conditions and attitudes in Europe and to interpret how Europe's social, political and moral attitude in motion;
- to aim and promote higher standards in cross-national research in the area of social sciences, i.e. questionnaire design, pre-testing, sampling, data collection, and the reliability of questions;
- to implement accurate indicators of national progress, based on citizens' opinion and judgements of key problems of their societies;
- to launch and maintain the training of European social researchers in comparative quantitative measurement and analysis;
- to improve the visibility and outreach of data on social change among academics, policymakers and the wider public. (European Social Survey, 2020)

Data collection is taking place every two years by face-to-face interviews always with newly selected, cross-sectional samples. Candidates above the age 15, resident within private households, regardless of their citizenship, language, nationality or legal status were asked in the 23 participating countries including Austria. (European Social Survey, 2018)

The ESS Round 8 module (conducted in 2016/17) also known as the Welfare Attitudes in a Changing Europe: Solidarities under Pressure survey, makes it possible to shed scientific light on the current debates about social welfare systems. The questionnaire employs strict research techniques. In details, it contains a minimum target response rate of 70%, strict random probability sampling, and harsh translation protocols. The lengthy personal interview includes questions on a handful of fundamental trends re-asked from earlier rounds of the survey and two new modules introduced for Round 8 i.e. Public Attitudes to Climate Change, Energy Security, and Energy Preferences and Welfare Attitudes in a Changing Europe. Within this questionnaire, the European citizen's attitudes towards solidarity with vulnerable groups, like the elderly, the unemployed, migrants and the poor, as well as attitudes towards European social policy, and the idea of a Universal Basic Income have been summarized. (European Social Survey, 2018)

In general, Round 8 Welfare Attitudes module shows that there is increased support among Europeans for welfare redistribution. The concept that national governments have the obligation for the wellbeing of vulnerable groups is universally supported. The background of multiple crises has not eroded the legitimacy of the welfare state. A comparison with ESS data from 2008/09 shows patterns of stability rather than marked change. (Meuleman & et al., 2018)

As for Austria, a total of 3966 people has been invited for an interview with a structured questionnaire in German. Altogether 2010 valid interviews have been conducted which represents a 52,54% response rate. It must be noted that this is far from the targeted 70%. Several types of questions have been used ranging from multiple choice to rating scale type. As a sampling frame, the address register of the Austrian Postal Service was used. As for the sampling design, a two-domain design was introduced. Vienna serves as the first domain with its 23 districts, from where 826 households have been chosen. From each household, one target person has been selected randomly. All other territories formed the second layer of the sampling, where also one person per household has been chosen randomly to participate. (European Social Survey, 2018)

For this research, the ESS Round 8 Version 2.1 data for Austria have been downloaded from the official ESS website for free of charge since it is available for free in the case of non-commercial use. Specific questions from this survey have been selected with two criteria. Firstly, they had to correspond to be an influencing factor towards the attitude of basic income. These factors have been explored in the first part of the research. Secondly, the same questions had to be included in the 2020 survey as well, so that a comparison could be done. It will be presented in a later chapter which questions have been

chosen and for what reason. The list of the questions selected for this research has been included in the Appendix with the link for the full questionnaire for anyone interested in the full scale of data collected. (Appendix C)

### The Corona Panel Project Discussion “Wave 5”

As stated earlier the corona crisis has turned life upside down in Austria as well as everywhere else in the world. It has to be noted that citizens have been affected in several different ways. For this very reason, the Austrian Corona Panel Project was created to shed light on the various health, economic and social changes caused by the COVID-SARS2 virus. This is a new study launched by the University of Vienna with the aim to investigate how attitudes, information, and behaviours are changing across the population, and how these developed during the pandemic. The study aimed to answer the following questions: *“How do people perceive the new health and economic threats? How do Austrians feel about the political measures taken during the crisis? How do they view the democratic challenges and the role of the media?”*. In the following part, details concerning the report i.e. the methods & process of data collection of the Austrian Corona Panel Data gathered by the Austrian Corona Panel Project at the University of Vienna will be presented. (Austrian Corona Panel Project, 2020)

The project aimed to survey citizens of the Austrian population with internet access (via computer or any other electronic device). A sampling of participants was done through a pre-existent online access panel provided by Marketagent, Austria. Respondents were selected with the method of quota sampling based on the following basic demographic information: age, gender, region, educational level and municipality size based on official statistics. Furthermore, the quota sample was structured in such a way that it would reflect correctly the Austrian population. To be a participant in the study, the agents had to be Austrian residents and above the age of 14. (Corona Panel Project, 2020)

Aim of the study is to be able to survey a minimum of 1,500 Austrians that are representative of the socio-demographic structure of the Austrian population at every stage (Welle). The online survey contains a set of fundamental questions that are asked every week to the same respondents, combining with different topics weekly, adding extra questions that dig deeper into specific social trends. This is done in order to, to be able to track driving trends in Austria on essential topics such as work, family, politics and the media in a time of rapid change. (Corona Panel Project, 2020)

As for wave 5 (Welle 5), which was conducted between the 24<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of April in 2020, people were asked about the core topics and special questions to obtain a better understanding of various health, political, economic and social aspects of the current corona crisis. As stated earlier, people were asked in the form of online surveys, which took an average of 22.6min to complete. A total of 1515 people filled out the survey which represents a 73,8% completion rate. Several types of questions have been used ranging from multiple choice to rating scale type. These will be discussed in the coming chapter when the regression model will be presented. Data from wave 5 was requested and received from the project leader Mr Univ. Prof. Dr Bernhard Kittel, solely for the conduction of this investigation. Stage 5 has been chosen since the data from this round is like the topics and questions asked in the ESS Round 8. Just like in the case for the ESS, the list of the questions selected for this research have been included in the Appendix with the link for the full questionnaire for anyone interested in the full scale of data collected. (Appendix D)

### Multiple Linear Regression Analysis

Several statistical methods have been considered to carry out the analysis. Firstly, a "Paired Samples T-Test" was reviewed, however, this method type is only possible if the two surveys have the same participants, which is not the case for these surveys as they were choosing participants randomly from the Austrian population. A 1:1 comparison is therefore not possible here. Secondly, a linear regression

model was considered, yet it was clear immediately that one predictor is not enough to draw reliable conclusions. Finally, for the appropriate comparison of the two different survey data the analysis method of multiple regression analysis has been chosen, due to the fact, that the research suspects that more factors are influencing the public attitude towards universal basic income.

Linear regression is one of the basic models in statistics used to determine the relationship between the dependent and independent variable. In general, a regression model describes relationships between variables by introducing a line to the observed data. An extension of this model, namely multiple linear regression, is used to represent the relationship between a dependent variable and several independent variables. This type of regression also allows determining the overall fit of the model and the relative contribution of each predictor i.e. independent variables, to the total variance explained. (Brown, 2009) It attempts to draw a regression line for a dependent variable using more than one explanatory variable. (Michelle, 1997)

Variables are understood within this research as defined by the OECD Statistics (2001): *“A variable is a characteristic of a unit being observed that may assume more than one of a set of values to which a numerical measure or a category from a classification can be assigned (e.g. income, age, weight, etc., and “occupation”, “industry”, “disease”, etc). In general, they are understood in the mathematical sense as a quantity which may take any one of the specified set of values. (OECD Statistics, 2001)*

Based on the literature review and the developed hypothesis and the perquisition that the variable measured should be available in both data, the following dependent and eight independent variables have been chosen for the multiple linear regression model.

#### Data Harmonization

To be able to implement a multiple linear regression analysis, first, the two datasets had to be merged. For this research, several independent variables, which have different data type like continuous (i.e., interval or ratio type) or categorical (i.e., ordinal or nominal type) have been selected. A Dichotomous moderator analysis was implemented. Yet, before that, data from both surveys had to be harmonized, so that no information is lost. This was done in such a way, that both data files were uploaded in SPSS and were rewritten in a universal, common format. Afterwards, both datasets were loaded in an Excel sheet and were merged. To be able to differentiate, which information is from which survey, an additional dummy variable has been introduced, which will be discussed shortly. Afterwards, this joint data file was imported back to SPSS and after a dummy coding of the nominal variables, it was ready to be used for the multiple linear regression analysis. Dummy coding was needed since it is a known fact that categorical independent variables, cannot be directly entered a multiple regression analysis. Dummy coding refers to the method of recoding a categorical variable into dichotomous variables. (Laerd Statistics, 2018a)

#### Dependent Variable

The outcome variable depends upon some factor that the researcher decides. This outcome variable measured in every predictor chosen, which may be influenced by the manipulation of the independent variable is termed the dependent variable. In scientific research, the independent variables are imposed and manipulated, so that the dependent variable is the variable thought to be influenced or changed by the independent variable. (Linda L & David A, 2011)

The dependent variable has been chosen such, that it must provide information about the support for the idea within the Austrian population. Both questionnaires were scanned through for such a question. This quick analysis revealed that the same question was asked in both questionnaires about universal basic income (the exact question can be viewed in Appendix D, E). For this research, the

answers to these questions have been selected as the dependent variable, as the aim of the study is to measure the change in the support for UBI.

In the model, it is represented under the name: `DEPENDENT_VARIABLE_FINAL`

As this study wants to measure how the public opinion about the idea of basic income has changed in the last four years and due to the recent effects of the COVID-SARS 2 virus, this variable serves the basis for any trends to measure in the topic. It must be noted that even though the data type of this question is ordinal, which would require the use of an ordinal logit regression model.

### Independent Variables

In scientific investigation, when a researcher manipulates one variable and measures the effect of that manipulation on another variable, the manipulated variable is called the independent or grouping variable. (Linda L & David A, 2011)

The following predictors have been chosen for the multiple linear regression model, the exact questions used to determine the independent variables can be found in Appendix C and D;

#### Demographic variables (Gender, Age, Education level)

Demographic variables can be best described as a variable that is collected by researchers to describe the nature and distribution of the sample used with inferential statistics. In the case of applied statistics and social research, these can be variables such as age, gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic measures, and group membership. Demographic information allows for a better understanding of the background characteristics of the Austrian population.

Previously, it has been noted that universal basic income promotes gender equality and is highly supported by feminist groups. This factor has been chosen because it is believed that gender is an important influencing factor in decision-making, communication and the way the world is perceived. Age and educational level have been chosen for the model to help measure the characteristics of the respondents completing the questionnaires.

In the model it is represented under the name: `"SD_GENDER_FINAL"`, `"age 2016"` and `"SD_EDUCATION_FINAL"` (due to dummy coding this last independent variable was broken down into the following parts - volksschule oder weniger; Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe; Polytechnikum, BMS; Lehre, Berufsschule; AHS mit Matura; BHS mit Matura; Hochschuleverwandte; Bachelor; Magister/Master; Doctor/PhD; Keine Angabe)

#### Political views

This variable measures which political party the respondent supports. As stated earlier, universal basic income has received political support from every side of the political palette however never in the same time, throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Political beliefs play an important role in the acceptance of a universal basic income plan.

In the model, it is represented under the name: `"SD_Politics_FINAL"` (due to dummy coding this last independent variable was broken down into the following parts – SPÖ; ÖVP; FPÖ; Grüne; KPÖ; NEOS; Other; no answer)

#### Satisfaction with government

It has been shown that where people are satisfied with the welfare system and the government, they are less likely to support a UBI scheme. Furthermore, it has been revealed that even in the times of crisis, like the economic crisis of 2007/08, the population's trust and satisfaction stay on high levels

towards the government. However, it is important to point out that, this pandemic cannot be compared to the financial crisis, and a higher level of dissatisfaction is expected, which has the potential to positively influence the public attitude about basic income.

In the model it is represented under the name: “SD\_Satisfaction\_FINAL” (due to dummy coding this last independent variable was broken down into the following parts – Extremely Dissatisfied; Dissatisfied; neutral; satisfied; extremely satisfied; no answer)

#### Employment status

One of the most relevant predictors within the model. As one of the direct effects of coronavirus was the increased job loss and unemployment, this could be one of the driving factors for growing acceptance for universal basic income. This was also supported by findings in the literature review, as it was revealed by van Parijs (2013) that UBI would completely reform the labour market and help the unemployed to find the appropriate job for their skills and needs.

In the model it is represented under the name: “SD\_Employmentstatus\_FINAL” (due to dummy coding this last independent variable was broken down into the following parts –paid work; education; unemployment; permanently sick; retired; community or military; services; housework; other; no answer)

#### Financial stability

The second significant variable within the model, as the COVID-SARS2 virus also lead to an increase in economic uncertainty, which has a direct effect on the financial stability of households. It has been presented in the first part of the research that increasing uncertainty concerning the economy can lead to higher levels of support for basic income.

This variable could not be implemented in the model. Further explanation in the analysis part.

#### Dummy variable

A dummy variable is a numerical predictor, which is applied within a regression analysis to represent different subgroups of a sample in the study. In the setup of the model, a dummy variable is usually used to differentiate separate analysed groups, as in the case of this study represents the different surveys. Dummy variables are used because they enable the use of a single regression equation to show different groups. These variables act as a switch that turns distinctive parameters on and off in an equation. A further benefit of a 0,1 value dummy variable is that although it is a nominal-level variable it can be used as an interval-level variable. (Trochim, 2020)

#### Time variable

To be able to diversify between the ESS Round 8 and Corona Panel Wave 5 data the following new dummy variable have been introduced to the model. 0 received the value of 2016, representing the ESS Round 8, while 1 received the value of 2020, representing Wave 5.

In the model, it is represented under the name: “SD\_TIME\_FINAL”

All in all, in the next chapter it will be tested through the multiple linear regression analysis if the following hypothesis: *“With the decreasing economic stability caused by the pandemic in 2020, public support for UBI is increasing in Austria.”* developed from the literature review has significant results and can answer the question *“How did the Austrian public attitude change towards universal basic income, due to the COVID-19 virus, since the 2016 European Social Survey?”*

## Analysis

This chapter is an overview consisting of a brief review about the purpose of the study; how the research was conducted, the various statistical, mathematical and quantitative analysis that has been performed for this study. In details, it will focus on two specific topics. Firstly, the further adjustments needed to be done on the regression model. Secondly, to show in detail why this analysis type is the most appropriate for this research and dataset.

In this section, the tailoring of the data and other adjustments will be shown to make it clear how the regression was constructed. It should be pointed out, that one of the independent variables couldn't be implemented due to invalid data. The variable measuring financial stability had to be excluded due to the fact, that in the Corona Panel Wave 5, only an indeterminable amount of valid answers has been received as it can be seen on the table below:

It can be seen, that the question was asked from a total of 2036 participants from which 1946 people did not answer the question which is approximately 95,6%. As only a total of 90 responses were received, which cannot be considered as representative for the whole Austrian population, the variables were deleted from the regression model.

*Wie beurteilen Sie die finanzielle Situation Ihres Haushalts im Februar 2020? Ko*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	sehr gut zurechtkommen	22	1,1	24,4	24,4
	gut zurechtkommen	39	1,9	43,3	67,8
	teils-teils	20	1,0	22,2	90,0
	nur schwer zurechtkommen	7	,3	7,8	97,8
	nur sehr schwer zurechtkommen	1	,0	1,1	98,9
	keine Angabe	1	,0	1,1	100,0
	Total	90	4,4	100,0	
Missing	System	1946	95,6		
Total		2036	100,0		

*Figure 3 - Responses about financial stability in the Corona Panel Wave 5*

However, this raises several interesting questions about what has happened within Austrian society in those four years and why people are not willing to answer this question nowadays. On one hand, it could be that participants did not understand the question. On the other it can signify serious changes. However, there is no space for further investigation of this problem within the realm of this research.

As a step, the multiple linear regression was run with the dependent variable and the seven independent variables. There is such a high number of variables because the dummy coding broke down the original independent variables into smaller sections, this is just a technical adjustment in the model. The original number of independent variables did not change. On the figure below called the Coefficients analysis with all variables used within the regression model can be seen. Here the table was analysed for variables with low statistical significance, meaning variables that have a p (Sig.) value lower than 0.5. Based on the table below several variables have been identified as insignificant.

Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Sig.	95,0% Confidence Interval for B		Correlations Zero-order
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
1	(Constant)	,000	2,708	4,214	
	SD_TIME_FINAL	,000	-,414	-,215	-,138
	age 2016	,559	-,005	,002	-,087
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	,580	-,105	,059	,002
	Extremely Dissatisfied	,493	-,303	,146	-,044
	Dissatisfied	,977	-,208	,202	-,037
	neutral	,735	-,157	,223	-,003
	satisfied	,653	-,140	,223	,017
	extremely satisfied	,549	-,255	,136	-,002
	no answer	,884	-,329	,383	,019
	paid work	,621	-,250	,149	-,054
	education	,610	-,196	,334	,064
	unemployment	,008	,090	,608	,083
	permanently sick	,198	-,159	,765	,022
	retired	,471	-,308	,142	-,069
	community or military services	,473	-1,326	,615	-,012
	housework	,903	-,282	,320	-,003
	other	,043	,013	,808	,052
	no answer	,001	,346	1,440	,071
	SPÖ	,179	-1,271	,237	-,001
	ÖVP	,027	-1,602	-,097	-,121
	FPÖ	,063	-1,473	,039	-,055
	Grüne	,372	-1,103	,413	,071
	KPÖ	,904	-,929	,821	,049
	NEOS	,137	-1,370	,189	,008
	NEOS	,136	-1,414	,193	-,006
	Other	,254	-1,187	,314	,085
	volksschule oder weniger	,268	-,158	,568	,016
	Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe	,001	,096	,395	,054
	Polytechnikum, BMS	,127	-,027	,216	-,012
	AHS mit Matura	,014	,042	,369	,048
	BHS mit Matura	,377	-,082	,216	,019
	Hochschuleverwandte	,705	-,152	,225	-,024
	Bachelor	,870	-,209	,247	,011
	Magister/Master	,401	-,099	,248	,005
	Doctor/PhD	,821	-,326	,411	-,009
	Keine Angabe	,356	-,363	1,008	,027

Figure 4 - Multiple Linear Regression Analysis before the exclusion of insignificant variables

Based on the Coefficient figure above the following insignificant variables have been excluded;

- Dissatisfied, neutral, satisfied (from the independent variable satisfaction with the government)

- No answer, paid work, education, housework (from the independent variable employment status)
- KPÖ (from the independent variable political views)
- Hochschulerelevant, bachelor, Doctor/PhD (from the independent variable education level)

Age and gender have been left inside the model, due to the fact, that they had a relatively close  $p > 0.5$ .

The cleaned final model can be viewed in Figure 5 below.

It can be seen on the figure that the exclusion of certain variables changed the significance of others. On one hand, age has gained serious importance, however, gender lost even more momentum. The

*Coefficients<sup>a</sup>*

Model	Sig.	95,0% Confidence Interval for B		Correlation
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Zero-order
1 (Constant)	,000	2,798	3,432	
SD_TIME_FINAL	,000	-,416	-,245	-,138
age 2016	,290	-,005	,002	-,087
SD_GENDER_FINAL	,677	-,097	,063	,002
Extremely Dissatisfied	,155	-,251	,040	-,044
extremely satisfied	,150	-,218	,033	-,002
unemployment	,000	,200	,576	,083
permanently sick	,129	-,094	,747	,022
retired	,625	-,159	,095	-,069
community or military services	,461	-1,309	,593	-,012
other	,017	,077	,790	,052
no answer	,001	,397	1,439	,071
SPÖ	,421	-,356	,149	-,001
ÖVP	,001	-,688	-,185	-,121
FPÖ	,019	-,573	-,051	-,055
Grüne	,618	-,199	,334	,071
NEOS	,286	-,501	,148	,008
Other	,830	-,271	,218	,085
volksschule oder weniger	,356	-,200	,557	,016
Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe	,018	,038	,405	,054
Polytechnikum, BMS	,528	-,112	,218	-,012
Lehre, Berufsschule	,519	-,188	,095	-,063
AHS mit Matura	,080	-,021	,367	,048
BHS mit Matura	,794	-,159	,208	,019
Magister/Master	,873	-,187	,220	,005
Keine Angabe	,424	-,411	,977	,027

*Figure 5 - Final Multiple Linear Regression Model*

observation can be made that education level, in general, has lost importance combined with retired and “Grüne” party voters. Notwithstanding, the time factor which explains the effect of which year we are measuring remains to be strongly significant combined with personal satisfaction levels of the government, certain other political parties and employment status. After trying several other model combinations and set-ups, this has been chosen as the best fit to test the hypothesis; *With the*

*decreasing economic stability caused by the pandemic in 2020, public support for UBI is increasing in Austria.”* and answer the question the research question if the Austrian public opinion has changed since the appearance of the COVID-SARS2 virus.

Results produced with this model to be taken seriously, at first needs to be checked for certain statistical tests. In the following sections, it is going to showed that the model is appropriately assembled and passes the test of multicollinearity and overfitting.

### Residual Analysis

Residuals can be identified as the vertical length between the data point and the regression line. Each data point has one residual. These points are considered to be positive if they are situated over the regression line and negative if they can be found under the regression line. (Atkinson, Cook, & Weisberg, 1983)

With the use of a residual analysis (statistics simply including all residuals), the model was tested for possible outliers.

#### *Residuals Statistics<sup>a</sup>*

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	1,91	4,18	2,69	,308	3509
Residual	-2,889	2,850	,000	1,177	3509
Std. Predicted Value	-2,527	4,859	,000	1,000	3509
Std. Residual	-2,446	2,413	,000	,996	3509

a. Dependent Variable: DEPENDENT\_VARIABLE\_FINAL

Figure 6 - Residual Statistics

Outliers are best described by Maddala (1992) & Grubbs (1969); it is a data point with a significant residual (the variation of the predicted value from the actual value) that is extremely different from all the other observations.

In an adequate regression model, it is not allowed to have outstanding outliers, high leverage or influential points. Outliers or leverage and influential points are different terms used to represent observations in the dataset that are considered odd when multiple linear regression analysis is performed. It is important to clear the data from these values because it can have a negative effect on the regression equation. It can distort the results obtained through the SPSS programme and has the potential to reduce the accuracy of prediction results as well as to decrease statistical significance within the model. (Laerd Statistics, 2018b)

An analysis of standard residuals was carried out on the data to identify any possible outliers; however, it can be concluded that no outliers have been found as Standardized Residuals are lying in-between a minimum of -2.446 and a maximum of 2.413 value, the dataset contains no distorting elements. These results can be seen on the histogram of the results.

### Multicollinearity

For a multiple linear regression analysis to be valid, must be checked for multicollinearity, this is the event when there is more than one independent variable that is highly correlated with each other. This high correlation can lead to complications of how to identify the independent variable that commits to the variance explained in the dependent variable. Furthermore, leads to technical problems while

computing the regression model. (Laerd Statistics, 2018b) To avoid this, the relation between the various independent variables needs to be analysed. In this model, a Pearson's correlation has been used as a first layer proof.

Pearson's correlation coefficient is a statistical analysis that estimates the linear relationship and the strength, between two continuous or more variables. It is considered as one of the most appropriate methods for measuring the relationship between variables of interest due to the fact, that it uses the method of covariance. Besides, it gives information about the significance of the association, or correlation, as well as information about the direction of the relationship. (Zhou, Deng, Xia, & Fu, 2016)

For this research, a value of  $r$  greater than 0.7 means a strong correlation. Everything between 0.5 to 0.7 identified as moderate correlation and everything below 0.4 value means a weak or no correlation. The correlation due to its size can be found in Appendix E, for interested researchers.

*Coefficients<sup>a</sup>*

Model	Correlations		Collinearity Statistics	
	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF
1 (Constant)				
SD_TIME_FINAL	-,128	-,124	,857	1,167
age 2016	-,018	-,017	,465	2,150
SD_GENDER_FINAL	-,007	-,007	,954	1,049
Extremely Dissatisfied	-,024	-,023	,928	1,078
extremely satisfied	-,024	-,024	,899	1,112
unemployment	,068	,066	,959	1,043
permanently sick	,026	,025	,986	1,014
retired	-,008	-,008	,479	2,087
community or military services	-,012	-,012	,990	1,010
other	,040	,039	,973	1,028
no answer	,058	,057	,948	1,055
SPÖ	-,014	-,013	,153	6,547
ÖVP	-,058	-,056	,149	6,727
FPÖ	-,040	-,038	,211	4,750
Grüne	,008	,008	,240	4,164
NEOS	-,018	-,017	,491	2,037
Other	-,004	-,004	,117	8,551
volksschule oder weniger	,016	,015	,881	1,136
Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe	,040	,039	,549	1,821
Polytechnikum, BMS	,011	,010	,464	2,155
Lehre, Berufsschule	-,011	-,011	,310	3,223
AHS mit Matura	,030	,029	,616	1,624
BHS mit Matura	,004	,004	,563	1,775
Magister/Master	,003	,003	,647	1,547
Keine Angabe	,014	,013	,932	1,073

a. Dependent Variable: DEPENDENT\_VARIABLE\_FINAL

*Figure 7 - Coefficient Table with Tolerance/VIF*

In general, it can be seen, that there are no strong or either moderate correlations between, the variables. On the other hand, several weak correlations can be identified. The gender variable has to be noted as it correlates still weakly to the dependent variable (0.443) and government satisfaction (extremely dissatisfied, 0.498).

As the model shows no high nor moderate correlation between the variables it can be claimed, that it passes the test of multicollinearity and the results produced are valid.

As a second proof within the Coefficients table, the Collinearity Statistics were analysed as well. An investigation of the correlation coefficients of Tolerance and Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) values were executed. This could be seen in Figure 7.

Based on several research papers, multicollinearity exists when the VIF value is larger than 10, or the Tolerance is less than 0.1 (Mansfield & Helms, 1982; S.S. Shantha Kumari, 2008). It can be seen that there are no variables in the table with a higher VIF value than 10, so the model passes the Collinearity Statistics test as well. Multicollinearity is with certainty excluded from the model.

#### Histogram & Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residuals

As a next step, the regression needs to be checked for Random Normally Distributed Errors & Homoscedasticity and Linearity. For this, the Histogram and the Normal P-Plot of Regression Standardized Residuals will be analysed.

To derive valid inferences from the regression, it needs to be checked for Random Normally Distributed Errors i.e. the residuals of the analysis need to be normally distributed to be valid. The residuals here are the error terms or in other words the discrepancy among the actual measured value of the dependent variable and the predicted value. If the random errors do not from a normal distribution, this could lead to incorrect decisions which will be frequent than the stated confidence levels for our inferences indicate. (NIST, 2003) To evaluate this, the normal Predicted Probability (P-P) plot will be used. Theoretically, to be correct it must form a diagonal normality line (NIST, 2003).

Proofing for homoscedasticity is fundamental for a correct multiple linear regression model. It is best described as an event where the error term is the same across all values of the independent variables. The violation of homoscedasticity (heteroscedasticity) occurs when the size of the error term not

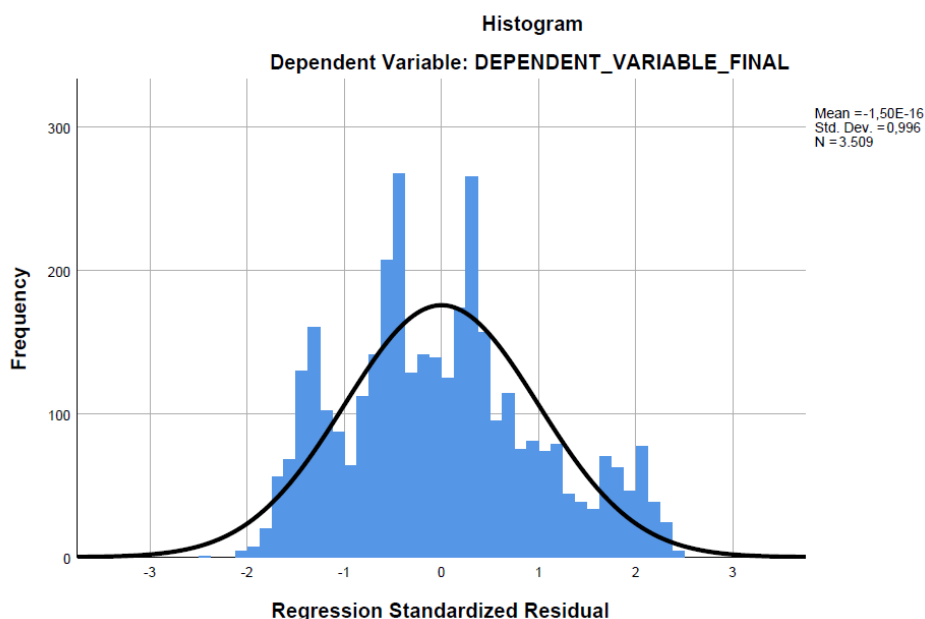


Figure 8 - Histogram

constant across values of an independent variable. Furthermore, it shows if residuals are bunched together around certain values, and for others, they are spread far apart. (Hedayat & Robson, 1970; Statistics Solutions, 2013b)

A linear relationship, also known as direct proportionality, means that the predictor variables in the regression have a straight-line relationship with the outcome variable. Any given change in an independent variable will always produce a corresponding change in the dependent variable. (Hayes, 2007)

The histogram graphically summarizes the distribution of a univariate data set. It shows a normal distribution curve superimposed over a bar chart of the data. This figure contains information about the location, spread and skewness of the data. It makes easier to identify outliers and the presence of multiple modes in the data. All in all, the histogram serves as an efficient indicator for a proper distributional model for the data. (NIST, 2003) Figure 8 represents the histogram of the multiple linear regression analysis conducted for this research. It can be seen, that the residuals are random normally distributed and that there is no trace of outliers.

In order to check properly, the Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residuals will be analysed as it can be used to verify the above derived distributional model.

The normal probability plot is formed by sketching the sorted values of the residuals versus the associated values from the standard normal distribution. It is a graphical representation for controlling if a dataset is approximately normally distributed. If the random errors (residuals) are normally

### **Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residual**

**Dependent Variable: DEPENDENT\_VARIABLE\_FINAL**

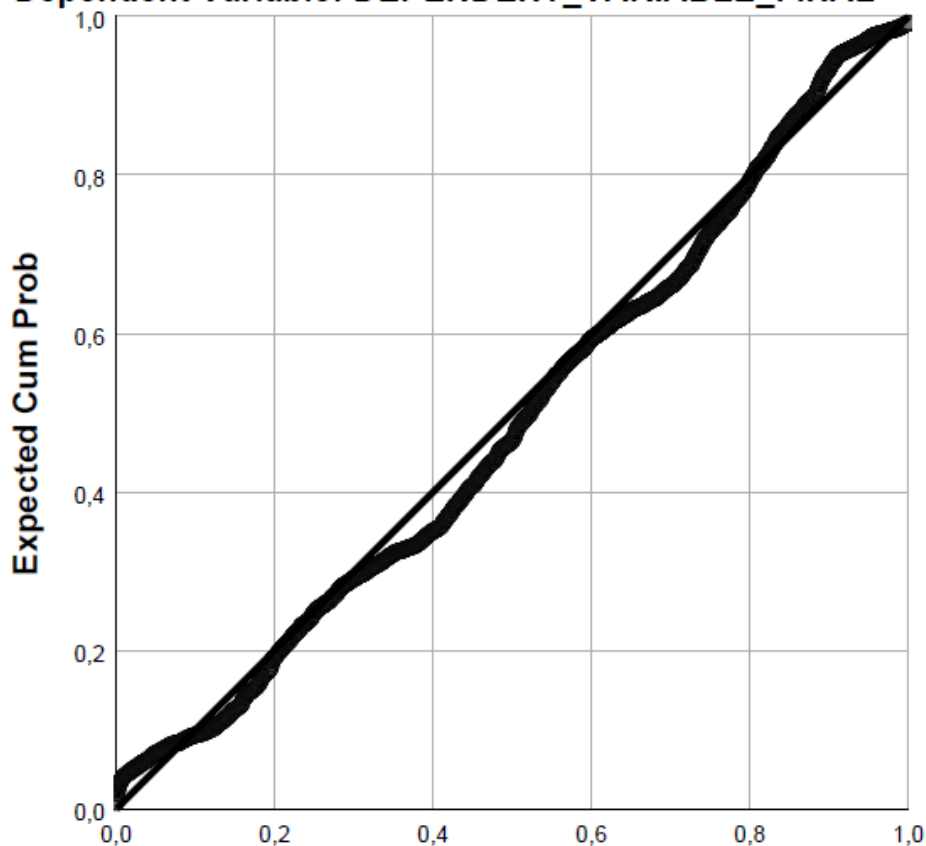


Figure 9 - Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residual

distributed, the plotted points will represent a straight line. Distinct curvature or other extreme deviations from a straight line means that the random errors are almost certainly not normally distributed. The normal probability plot is considered as a special type of probability plot. (Chambers, 1983)

The histogram of standardised residuals indicates that the data contained approximately normally distributed errors, as did the normal P-P plot of standardised residuals, which showed points that were not completely on the line, but close. There is a small discrepancy due to the ordinal characteristics of

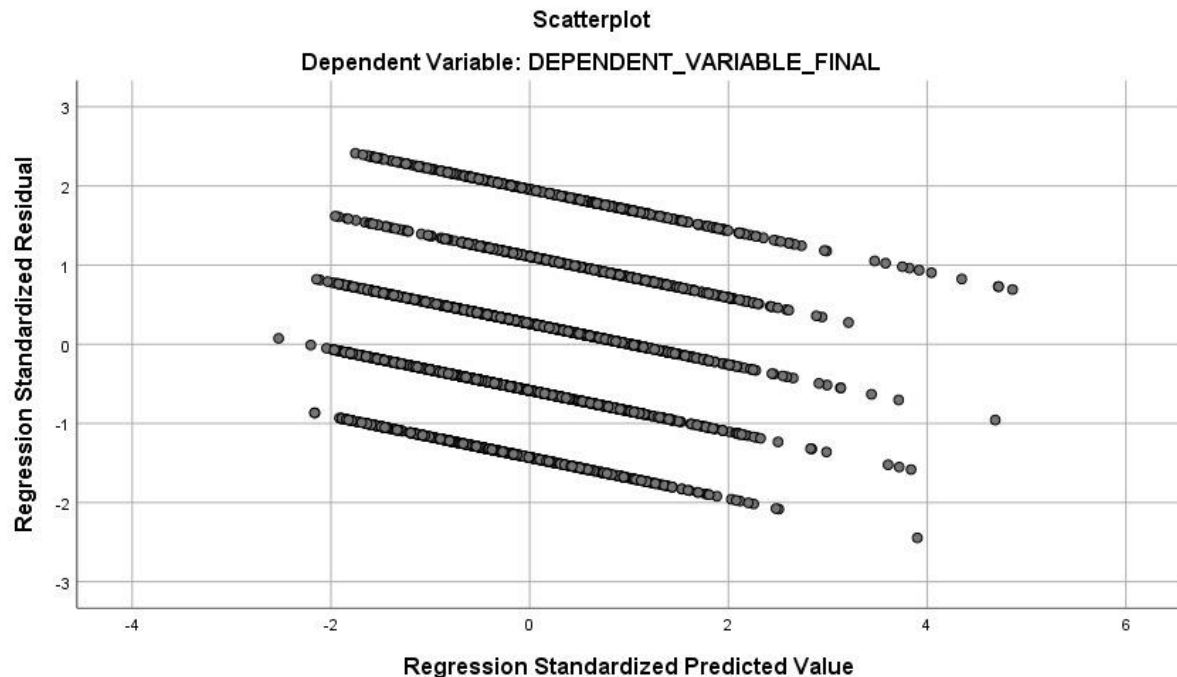


Figure 10 – Scatterplot of standardised residuals

the dependent value.

The scatterplot of standardised residual looks unusual, this is due to the effect that the data type of the dependent value is ordinal. As it is known, the dependent variables equal predicted values plus residual. Meaning the residual can only take values that complement the predicted value for the dependent. The fact that the dependent takes integer values (0,1,2,3,4) cause the unfamiliar look of the graph. For this very reason, the assumptions of homogeneity of variance and linearity cannot be checked for this model.

All in all, multiple linear regression is the appropriate method to use for the analysis of the dataset since it fulfils all assumptions and criteria, so it can be used to answer the research question *“How did the Austrian public attitude change towards universal basic income, due to the COVID-19 virus, since the 2016 European Social Survey?”*

## Results

After proving the validity of the previously introduced regression model, in this chapter, the results derived from this analysis will be presented. A small recap: A multiple regression was conducted to see if political views, satisfaction with government, employment status, time and education increased the public likeness towards universal basic income in Austria.

## Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive Statistics is a type of summary statistic that quantitatively characterizes and sums up components from a dataset (Mann, 1995). These procedures are used to reveal basic characteristics of the data analysed by the minimum and maximum value, sample size, the mean (M) and the standard deviation (SD). In a research study with a large dataset, these descriptive statistics aid with the management of the data and present it in a simple summary table. (M. Glen, 2013; Statistics Solutions, 2013a)

*Descriptive Statistics*

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
DEPENDENT_VARIABLE_FINAL	2,69	1,217	3509
SD_TIME_FINAL	,57	,495	3509
age 2016	48,16	17,348	3509
SD_GENDER_FINAL	1,53	,499	3509
Extremely Dissatisfied	,0855	,27966	3509
extremely satisfied	,1225	,32796	3509
unemployment	,0473	,21232	3509
permanently sick	,0088	,09359	3509
retired	,2707	,44440	3509
community or military services	,0017	,04132	3509
other	,0125	,11129	3509
no answer	,0060	,07714	3509
SPÖ	,1949	,39620	3509
ÖVP	,2038	,40285	3509
FPÖ	,1211	,32631	3509
Grüne	,0997	,29970	3509
NEOS	,0305	,17196	3509
Other	,3217	,46721	3509
no answer	,0000	,00000	3509
volksschule oder weniger	,0123	,11003	3509
Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe	,0912	,28793	3509
Polytechnikum, BMS	,1408	,34784	3509
Lehre, Berufsschule	,4343	,49574	3509
AHS mit Matura	,0712	,25727	3509
BHS mit Matura	,0886	,28425	3509
Magister/Master	,0610	,23934	3509
Keine Angabe	,0034	,05839	3509

*Figure 11 - Descriptive Statistics*

Within this research, the descriptive table for the dataset has been implemented only using the sample size, the mean and the standard deviation.

Mean is one of the most used terms within statistics it is simply the mathematical average of all the terms within a dataset. It is determined by adding up the values of all the terms and then divide by the number of terms. The mean of a statistical distribution with a continuous random variable is derived by integrating the value of the variable with its probability determined by the distribution. (Underhill, 1981)

Standard deviation is determined by the square root of the variance. In statistics, it is used to determine the level of spread of a set of information. Logically, the greater the standard deviation is, the wider the spread in-between the observations are. (Bland & Altman, 1996) For categorical data, the standard deviation was not considered.

The sample size is determined by the sum of N and the number of missing values. For this analysis no missing values can be reported, 3509 the number of valid observations for the variable. Has to be noted that mean and standard deviation are not appropriate or meaningful for nominal and ordinal variables.

Figure 11 shows the descriptive statistics generated by the multiple linear regression model. There are a couple of observations that must be considered. It can be seen, that there are slightly more valid observations from 2020 than 2016 ( $M=0.57$ ,  $SD=0.495$ ), considering how the dummy variable was coded. The average age for the measured dataset was 48.16 years (with  $SD=17.348$ ). Gender was coded by man=1 and woman=2, so the  $M=1.53$  (with  $SD=0.499$ ) means that a bit more female participants completed the surveys.

It can be seen, that on average the participants were very satisfied with the work of the government ( $M=0.1225$ ,  $SD=0.32796$ ) than people who were on average extremely dissatisfied ( $M=0.0855$ ,  $SD=0.27966$ ). Based on employment, the group retired represent the majority ( $M=0.2707$ ,  $SD=0.44440$ ) followed by unemployed ( $M=0.0473$ ,  $SD=0.21232$ ), other ( $M=0.0125$ ,  $SD=0.11129$ ), permanently sick ( $M=0.0088$ ,  $SD=0.09359$ ) and community or military service ( $M=0.0017$ ,  $SD=0.04132$ ).

Political Party preferences are characterized by significant ÖVP support ( $M=0.2038$ ,  $SD=0.40285$ ), followed right after by SPÖ sympathisers ( $M=0.1949$ ,  $SD=0.3962$ ). There is a relatively large gap between the support for these two parties and the rest of the asked parties, FPÖ ( $M=0.1211$ ,  $SD=0.32631$ ) and the Grüne ( $M=0.0997$ ,  $SD=0.2997$ ) maintaining significant support. However, it has to be noted, that the group Others ( $M=0.3217$ ,  $SD=0.46721$ ) remains relatively large, meaning most of the participants are divided between small political parties.

As for education level, "Lehre and Berufsschule" ( $M=0.04343$ ,  $SD=0.49574$ ) known as apprenticeship / vocational school characterizes the majority of respondents, just after "Polytechnikum" ( $M=0.1408$ ,  $SD=0.34784$ ).

#### Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

##### **ANOVA<sup>a</sup>**

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	331,704	25	13,268	9,509	,000 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	4859,709	3483	1,395		
	Total	5191,414	3508			

a. Dependent Variable: DEPENDENT\_VARIABLE\_FINAL

b. Predictors: (Constant), Keine Angabe, age 2016, SD\_GENDER\_FINAL, permanently sick, extremely satisfied, Magister/Master, community or military services, unemployment, volksschule oder weniger, FPÖ, Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe, other, NEOS, AHS mit Matura, Extremely Dissatisfied, no answer, Grüne, Polytechnikum, BMS, BHS mit Matura, SPÖ, SD\_TIME\_FINAL, ÖVP, retired, Lehre, Berufsschule, Other

Figure 12 - ANOVA

ANOVA is the method to compare the different levels of means for more than two groups. It considers the variation in the data and the location of the variance. In more details, analysis of variance measures the amount of variation between groups then compares this data with the amount of variation within groups. It is commonly used within observational and experimental studies. (Verma & Abdel-Salam, 2019)

The ANOVA calculations for multiple regression are almost the same as the calculations for simple linear regression, except that the degrees of freedom (df) are adjusted to represent correctly the number of explanatory variables incorporated in the model (Lahiri, 2010). If the significance value is  $p > .05$  then there is a finding that is statistically significant (Verma & Abdel-Salam, 2019).

A one-way between subject's ANOVA was conducted to compare the effects of the independent variables summarized in Figure 11 under point b, on the dependent variable, (public opinion about UBI) represented in point a, in the multiple linear regression analysis.

There was a significant effect of all independent variables on the dependent variable public opinion on UBI at the  $p < .05$  level [ $F(25, 3483) = 9.509, p = 0.000$ ].

### Model Summary

This table represents the relationship between the model and the dependent variable. The strength of this is shown by R, the multiple correlation coefficient, i.e. the linear correlation between the observed and model-predicted values of the dependent variable. The higher the value of R the stronger the relationship is. The residual standard error is the representation of the error variability after the effects of the predictors used in the model. It is in the units of the response variable. (IBM, 2014)

*Model Summary<sup>b</sup>*

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics	
					R Square Change	F Change
1	,253 <sup>a</sup>	,064	,057	1,181	,064	9,509

*Model Summary<sup>b</sup>*

Change Statistics			
Model	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	25	3483	,000

a. Predictors: (Constant), Keine Angabe, age 2016, SD\_GENDER\_FINAL, permanently sick, extremely satisfied, Magister/Master, community or military services, unemployment, volksschule oder weniger, FPÖ, Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe, other, NEOS, AHS mit Matura, Extremely Dissatisfied, no answer, Grüne, Polytechnikum, BMS, BHS mit Matura, SPÖ, SD\_TIME\_FINAL, ÖVP, retired, Lehre, Berufsschule, Other

b. Dependent Variable: DEPENDENT\_VARIABLE\_FINAL

*Figure 13 - Model Summary*

In general, R-squared shows the part of the variability in the data that is explained by the model. This can take a value from 0 to 1 where 1 represents a perfect fit model meaning all observations can be predicted accurately. The Adjusted R-squared is a modified R-squared adjusted for the number of predictors i.e. independent variables in the model. Adding predictors, even nonsense ones, will increase R-squared. (S. Glen, 2019b)

Based on the Model Summary Table for this research, R Square also known as the coefficient of determination is the squared value of the multiple correlation coefficient. It shows that 6,4% of the

variation in time is explained by the model. Adjusted R Square is a modified R Square value that penalizes models with large numbers of parameters, including this the model explains 5,7% of the variation in time.

In conclusion, three factors, the R Square and the Adjusted R Square along with the standard error of the estimate ( $S = 1.181$ ) which is an indication, how accurately the model fits the data and can also be used to compare one model with another model of the same type. (S. Glen, 2019b)

#### Coefficients table

*Coefficients<sup>a</sup>*

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t
		B	Std. Error	Beta	
1	(Constant)	3,115	,162		19,285
	SD_TIME_FINAL	-,330	,044	-,134	-7,589
	age 2016	-,002	,002	-,025	-1,057
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	-,017	,041	-,007	-,417
	Extremely Dissatisfied	-,105	,074	-,024	-1,423
	extremely satisfied	-,092	,064	-,025	-1,440
	unemployment	,388	,096	,068	4,042
	permanently sick	,326	,215	,025	1,520
	retired	-,032	,065	-,012	-,489
	community or military services	-,358	,485	-,012	-,738
	other	,434	,182	,040	2,386
	no answer	,918	,266	,058	3,456
	SPÖ	-,104	,129	-,034	-,806
	ÖVP	-,437	,128	-,145	-3,401
	FPÖ	-,312	,133	-,084	-2,341
	Grüne	,068	,136	,017	,498
	NEOS	-,176	,166	-,025	-1,066
	Other	-,027	,125	-,010	-,214
	volksschule oder weniger	,178	,193	,016	,923
	Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe	,222	,093	,052	2,372
	Polytechnikum, BMS	,053	,084	,015	,631
	Lehre, Berufsschule	-,047	,072	-,019	-,645
	AHS mit Matura	,173	,099	,037	1,752
	BHS mit Matura	,024	,093	,006	,261
	Magister/Master	,017	,104	,003	,160
	Keine Angabe	,283	,354	,014	,799

*Figure 14 - Coefficients Table*

Until this point, it has been shown that the model is appropriate, and it produces significant results. However, it is of the utmost importance within this study to reveal the effect of each predictor. The coefficients table helps to identify in more details which independent values have a significant influence on the dependent variable. For this, the Unstandardized Coefficients and Standardized Coefficients must be considered.

Standardized coefficients, further denoted as beta ( $\beta$ ), is the estimate resulting from the multiple linear regression analysis that has been standardized so that the variances of dependent and independent variables are 1. That being the case, standardized beta coefficients explain the degree of change of standard deviations in the dependent variable, divided by the growth of standard deviation in the independent variable. (Schroeder, Sjoquist, & Stephan, 2017)

Unstandardized coefficients (B) are coefficients generated by the multiple linear regression analysis when it runs the original, unstandardized variables. Despite standardized coefficients, which are represented as normalized non-unit coefficients, an unstandardized coefficient consists of units. Usually, it conducts comparisons inside the regression equation when just one measurement scale is in use. (S. Glen, 2019a; Schroeder et al., 2017)

The table below shows the standardized and unstandardized coefficients for this research. This is one of the most important results of the thesis.

When everything else stays the same, according to the model the predicted value of the dependent variable is decreased by the independent variable time ( $B = -0.330$ ,  $\beta = -0.134$ ). This means that support decreases for UBI over time. It can be immediately seen, that age ( $B = -0.002$ ,  $\beta = -0.025$ ), gender ( $B = -0.017$ ,  $\beta = -0.007$ ) and satisfaction with the government, both extremely satisfied ( $B = -0.105$ ,  $\beta = -0.024$ ) and dissatisfied ( $B = -0.092$ ,  $\beta = -0.025$ ) influences in a negative way the change in the support for universal basic income over time.

Employment status shows a mixed picture as unemployment age ( $B = 0.388$ ,  $\beta = 0.068$ ), and permanently sick age ( $B = 0.326$ ,  $\beta = 0.025$ ), categories contribute positively to the dependent variable. However, additional growth in community or military service group ( $B = -0.358$ ,  $\beta = -0.012$ ) and retired ( $B = -0.032$ ,  $\beta = -0.012$ ) impacts the support for UBI negatively. Support for almost any political party influences decreases the dependent variable with ÖVP ( $B = -0.437$ ,  $\beta = -0.145$ ) and FPÖ ( $B = -0.312$ ,  $\beta = -0.084$ ) having the strongest effect. Even in the "Other" ( $B = -0.027$ ,  $\beta = -0.10$ ) group which represents every other small party, has a negative effect on the probability to support a basic income plan. It has to be noted that the Grüne ( $B = 0.068$ ,  $\beta = 0.17$ ) is the only variable that drives the dependent variable into a positive direction, and its effect is still marginal. Except for the "Lehre, Berufsschulen" group ( $B = -0.047$ ,  $\beta = -0.019$ ) all levels of education like "Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe" ( $B = 0.222$ ,  $\beta = 0.052$ ) and "AHS mit Matura" ( $B = 0.173$ ,  $\beta = 0.037$ ) have a positive effect on the public opinion about the universal basic income, while the rest of the groups have a neglectable impact on the dependent variable.

This concludes all the findings generated from the multiple linear regression model. In the following chapter, all this information will be compared to the results of the literature review, the test of the hypothesis will be carried out and the research question will be answered.

## Discussion

The purpose of this part of the research is to interpret and describe the significance of the findings from the previous chapter, combined with the existing academic findings of the public attitude towards universal basic income in Austria, to add new insights about the topic and expand the knowledge in this field. Firstly, the results from the model will be interpreted then these results will be compared to the key arguments revealed in the first section of the paper.

The surveys correctly represented the demographic structure of the population of the country, both genders are represented approximately in the same proportion, just like in the total population. Mean age was a little bit over 48 years, which is a bit higher than the Austrian median age of 43.5 (Plecher,

2020), but this is also since these measure age by different methods. This is considered acceptable for the thesis.

Examining the responses about the satisfaction with the government, it can be seen, that there are more people extremely satisfied with the job of the government than extremely dissatisfied, which viewing the current circumstances, is a very strong signal from the voters to the federal government. (The other answer options were excluded as they are not statistically significant.) This leads to the next point, that the parties are represented within the study population in the same magnitude as in the last elections in 2019. Meaning ÖVP supporters representing the majority, followed by the SPÖ, then FPÖ, Grüne and NEOS. There remains a significant group called the Others, which represents smaller parties like the "Piratenpartei Österreich". It has to be noted that there is an odd one out in the political parties, the exception is the Grüne party all decreases the support for universal basic income, is a result that was previously anticipated. The unanticipated result that the Grüne moves the model into a different direction, meaning it increases the support for UBI.

Viewing employment status results, the unemployed group represented the largest proportion within the study followed by permanently sick, civil servants and unspecified (other) type of workers, which is very suitable for the study as it wants to measure the effects of increasing unemployment and job loss and this is what the data shows.

One of the most crucial findings of the model is clear, that over time, the support for universal basic income is decreasing. This is representing a very surprising trend when considering the special situation caused by the coronavirus.

Less surprising is that age and the employment status of retirement has a negative impact on the acceptance of the likeness of basic income. That unemployment has a positive relation to basic income which was previously anticipated, yet the same relation holds for the permanently sick too, which is a completely new finding that should be explored in the future. A further new finding that people working in social services or the military studied within this research has a very strong negative impact on public support for UBI.

It can be seen, that participants of higher education, generally have a small statistically significant effect on the likeness of UBI, especially the groups of PhD and bachelor, while master remains somewhat more significant with neglectable importance compared to other education factors. At last, almost any kind of lower education level increases the likeness for UBI, except the group "Lehre, Berufsschulen". All other groups have relatively the same size within the data. An interesting trend that higher levels of education do not mean higher levels of support for UBI. As can be seen from the results, the largest impact on the model was produced by lower levels of education like Hauptschule or AHS mit Matura. This is also leading to an interesting consideration, why does the basic income idea not have strong support from people in higher education?

In the following part of the discussion, the above-presented results will be compared to the findings of the literature presented in the first part of the thesis.

As it was presented earlier in the research by an analysis European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions, where it was claimed that Austrians remains very satisfied with their lives during the times of crisis, aligns with the current findings that citizens remain rather satisfied with the work of the government now as well. This further confirms the findings of Lee (2018a), where he revealed, that countries which have a strong welfare state, tend to be less accepting towards the idea of universal basic income, while countries with weaker welfare systems in place are more open for the idea.

In the literature review, it was revealed that all major political parties tend to reject the idea of universal basic income. This can be traced back to the results for this model as well, where it was found that all major parties, except the Grüne, that supporters of these parties tend to have a negative impact on the support of basic income. In the case of Grüne, a possible explanation is the three reasons proposed by van Parijs and Vanderborght (2017) that it would reduce the cost of job search, promotes the idea that the earth belongs to everyone and views mass unemployment as one of the core issues of society. However, their theory fails concerning all other major parties, at least for the case of Austria. The findings contradict the literature findings that UBI should receive support from people with different political beliefs proposed by Birnbaum, 2012; Jennifer Mays et al., 2016; Jenni Mays & Tomlinson, 2019).

The clear relation between unemployment and support for UBI has been confirmed within the study group. It is believed that these people support the idea due to its possible positive effects, as it serves as an insurance against job loss and poverty, which makes it a great tool to hedge against shocks in employment and systematic risks (Spermann, 2017). This research has revealed that the increase in unemployment, positively affects the public opinion about UBI. It was previously not discovered in the literature review that permanently sick are almost as likely to have a positive effect on the likeness of UBI as the unemployed. Nonetheless, it remains unclear why civil servants and military groups are so proponents of the idea. They seem to be highly interesting areas for future research.

To understand why age and retirement has a negative effect on the model, the characteristics of the Austrian welfare system have to be recalled. In that section, it was identified that the retired group is the largest beneficiary of the welfare system. It is assumed that any change to the current system, would decrease the support for pensioners. The older someone is, the less beneficial a UBI scheme is for them within Austria.

Further finding, that gender influences in a negative direction the public attitude about UBI. This is contradictory for previous findings in such could be explained by the facts stated in the literature, that UBI promotes gender equality according to Christensen (2002) and McLean (2016), so it has characteristics to grasp wider support from females. The question remains, why it cannot?

The introduced time variable explained that as we move forward in time there is decreasing support for UBI. This confirms the findings revealed about the Austrian public's attitude with the failed referendum, that supports decreases for the planned overtime.

After reviewing all these results, it must be evaluated if the hypothesis formed within the research has passed the test;

*With increasing unemployment and decreasing economic stability caused by the pandemic in 2020, public support for UBI is increasing in Austria.*

The answer is mixed. The model developed have shown that with increasing unemployment there is increasing support for universal basic income, however, due to missing data no test could be carried out for the economic stability factor. Furthermore, it has been revealed that there is no increasing support for UBI, the introduced time variable has shown that support decreases over time, within the assembled report. One of the proposed factors does influence UBI support in the predicted way, the other could not be evaluated and a third predict it to an opposite way, thus it can be concluded that the hypothesis is disproved. A key takeaway is that unemployment and economic stability alone are not enough strong predictor factors to change the public's opinion about basic income. Further research is necessary to determine what other factors influence people's opinion about social welfare programmes.

In conclusion, it is inevitable to answer at the beginning introduced research question with the help of all the findings of the research;

*How did the Austrian public attitude change towards universal basic income, due to the COVID-19 virus, since the 2016 European Social Survey?*

The model that has been developed for this study, shows that with the passing of time the public support for universal basic income decreases. This seems like an appropriate answer for the question however, it gives only a partial truth. On one hand, it could have been shown that increasing unemployment increases the support for UBI and sudden increase in unemployment is an effect of the COVID-SARS 2 virus. Thus it has to be concluded that as the Corona Panel Wave 5 was conducted in the middle of the pandemic, the results derived from this study, might not encompass all the changes happening in society, implying that at that very moment the changes did not affect yet on the study population.

## Limitations

The utmost limitation that needs to be concerned for this study is that due to the dependent variable data type, the logistic regression model would have been the best model to implement for the study. This is highly recommended for future research and would be interesting to be compared to the results of this research.

One of the most important variables identified within the literature review could not be tested due to lack of data from the Corona Panel Wave 5. This is a huge loss for this research, however, in the future, a new questionnaire can be conducted to focus especially on this topic.

The multiple regression model could have been constructed differently by reducing the number of insignificant variables. Furthermore, an extra ANOVA analysis for education and politics could have been conducted to identify similar variables that could have been excluded from the model.

## Conclusion

The increasing spread of the coronavirus in Europe has led to a sudden growth of economic instability and job loss in Austria. This event has the potential to change the public's opinion about certain social questions like basic income, which was also last measured by the European Social Survey in 2016. This research aimed to identify how does this job loss & unemployment combined with economic insecurity affects the support for a universal basic income plan.

Within the realm of this research, the modern welfare state has been identified, as a system formed by the state to protect the health and well-being of its citizens, focusing especially on those on the edge of poverty or in need of social assistance. Afterwards, the Austrian welfare has been characterized by its systemic problems. Researchers have identified universal basic income as a possible solution for the problems of the welfare state. It has been argued that it helps to combat issues concerning unemployment, serves as an insurance against job loss and tackles poverty. As a last part of the literature review, public support for the welfare state, in general, have been characterised with the two most important dimensions where support is originated from, the individual level and a country level. Furthermore, it has been collected and summarized the different areas where support for UBI can come from, political parties, workers associations or feminist groups, just to name a few. At last, the current public attitude of Austrians has been presented.


A multiple regression model has been developed to test the proposed hypothesis based on the literature and answer the research question. Results from this have shown that employment status, level of education and political preferences do influence the public determination of UBI. However,

this influence is mixed within groups. It has been shown that unemployment and permanently sick and low levels of education increases the likeness of the idea, while political party support, being retired, civil servants & military, age and the passing of time decreases support.

An extreme change in the public's opinion cannot be identified at the conduction period of the Corona Panel Wave 5, no significant effects can be referred to the COVID – SARS 2, for universal basic income. From the predictions of the model, it can be concluded that the universal basic income plan is a fading trend within the population of Austria.

## Appendix

### Appendix A – National Referendum 2019

 **Bundesministerium**  
Inneres

Drucken

#### **Begründung zur Einleitung des Verfahrens für das Volksbegehren „Bedingungsloses Grundeinkommen“**

##### **Text des Volksbegehrens:**

**Es wird ein BEDINGUNGSLOSES GRUNDEINKOMMEN in der Höhe von 1200.-€ für jede(n) österreichische(n) StaatsbürgerIn durch eine bundesverfassungsgesetzliche Regelung angestrebt!**

##### **Begründung des Einleitungsantrages des Volksbegehrens „Bedingungsloses Grundeinkommen“:**

Jeder Mensch hat das Recht auf ein Leben in Würde; Österreich gehört zu den reichsten Ländern auf diesem Planeten und kann es sich leisten allen seinen Bürgerinnen ein menschenwürdiges Leben mittels eines bedingungslosen Grundeinkommens zu ermöglichen; Eine Finanzierung über eine Finanztransaktionssteuer in der Höhe von 0,94% aller in Österreich getätigten Finanztransaktionen bietet allen österreichischen Staatsbürgerinnen die Möglichkeit, ein Leben in Freiheit, Würde und Selbstbestimmung zu führen. Enorme Einsparungen auf bürokratischer Ebene sind ebenso ein großes Plus wie eine daraus resultierende schlanke Verwaltung. Gesundheitsleistungen werden durch eine neue Form solidarischen Handelns und Einsparungen auf bürokratischer Ebene ermöglicht.

Das **Bedingungslose Grund Einkommen** ist eine passende Antwort auf die Herausforderungen der Gegenwart. Nicht nur aus der Perspektive der Einzelnen, die ohne Existenzangst mutiger ihr individuelles Leben gestalten können, sondern auch auf gesellschaftlicher Ebene. Denn das BGE ist nicht einfach ein Sozialtransfer vom Staat in die Tasche der Bürgerinnen und Bürger. Es verspricht, ein wirksamer Ansatz für die Stärkung von Teilhabechancen und den sozialen Zusammenhalt zu sein und eine nachhaltige Gesellschaftsentwicklung zu fördern.

In einer Zeit, in der erwerb-bringende Arbeit nicht mehr staatlich zu gewährleisten ist und immer mehr Menschen, statt aus Lohnabhängigkeit befreit, in unwürdige soziale und wirtschaftliche Abhängigkeiten getrieben werden (Mindestsicherung), hätte so jeder Mensch ein Einkommen, auch wenn er durch die Automatisierung und Rationalisierung in Produktion und Verwaltung aus der Arbeit entlassen wird.

Außerdem hätte jeder Mensch die Möglichkeit, frei von Existenzsorgen diejenigen Arbeiten zu übernehmen, die er – angesichts der sich immer mehr verschlechternden Lage im Sozialen, in Wissenschaft und Bildung, auf dem Sektor der Kunst, der Umwelt, der Gesundheit, der Erziehung, der Kultur – selbst für sinnvoll hält.

Aus dem Blickwinkel der Care Ethik ist das BGE eine Möglichkeit, Machiavellische Gesellschaftsstrukturen aufzuweichen und Menschen in solidarischem Handeln wieder näher zu bringen!

Source: [https://www.bmi.gv.at/411/Volksbegehren\\_der\\_XX\\_Gesetzgebungsperiode/Bedingungsloses\\_Grundeinkommen/files/Text\\_und\\_Begrueundung.pdf](https://www.bmi.gv.at/411/Volksbegehren_der_XX_Gesetzgebungsperiode/Bedingungsloses_Grundeinkommen/files/Text_und_Begrueundung.pdf)

Last accessed: 21.05.2020

Volksbegehren „Bedingungsloses Grundeinkommen umsetzen!“

Wir fordern den Gesetzgeber auf, durch bundesverfassungsgesetzliche Regelungen ein Bedingungsloses Grundeinkommen (BGE) einzuführen. Dieses soll jeder Person mit Hauptwohnsitz in Österreich ein menschenwürdiges Dasein und echte Teilhabe an der Gesellschaft ermöglichen. Höhe, Finanzierung und Umsetzung sollen nach einem Prozess, an dem die Zivilgesellschaft maßgeblich beteiligt ist, gesetzlich verankert werden.

Source: <https://www.bmi.gv.at/411/start.aspx>

Last Accessed: 21.05.2020

## Appendix C – Questions used from the ESS Round 8 (2016)

### Political views

**B14** Für welche Partei haben Sie bei dieser Wahl gestimmt?

### Satisfaction with government

**B29 WEITER KARTE 11** Wenn Sie nun an die österreichische Bundesregierung denken, wie zufrieden sind Sie mit der Art und Weise, wie sie ihre Arbeit verrichtet? Verwenden Sie noch einmal diese Karte.

### Public attitude towards universal basic income

**E36 KARTE 54** In einigen Ländern wird momentan über die Einführung eines Grundeinkommens diskutiert. Ich werde Sie gleich fragen, ob Sie gegen oder für ein solches Grundeinkommen sind. Zuerst aber ein paar Einzelheiten dazu. Im markierten Rechteck oben auf dieser Karte sehen Sie die wichtigsten Eigenschaften. Ein solches Grundeinkommen umfasst alle folgenden Punkte:

...**VORLESEN**.....

☐ Der Staat zahlt jedem ein monatliches Einkommen, das die grundlegenden Lebenshaltungskosten deckt.

- Dadurch werden viele andere Sozialleistungen ersetzt.
- Das Ziel ist es, allen einen minimalen Lebensstandard zu garantieren.
- Alle erhalten den gleichen Betrag, egal ob man arbeitet oder nicht.
- Man kann zudem das Einkommen aus Erwerbstätigkeit oder anderen Quellen behalten.
- Das Grundeinkommen wird aus Steuern finanziert.

### **INTERVIEWER: PAUSE, DAMIT BEFRAGTER ALLES LESEN KANN.**

Alles in allem, wären Sie gegen oder für ein solches Grundeinkommen in Österreich? Bitte wählen Sie eine der Antwortmöglichkeiten unten auf der Liste.

### Gender

**F2** Welches Geschlecht hat diese Person?

(Interviewer: Im Raster erfassen Sie zuerst die Details des/der Befragten (nur F2))

### Age

**F3** Und in welchem Jahr wurden Sie/wurde er/sie geboren? (Verweigert = 7777; Weiß nicht = 8888)

### Education level

**F15 KARTE 62** Was ist der höchste Bildungsgrad, den Sie erreicht haben?

### Employment status

**F17c WEITER KARTE 63** Und welche dieser Beschreibungen trifft am besten auf Ihre Situation in den letzten 7 Tagen zu? Bitte nur eine Antwort auswählen.

### Financial situation

**F42 Karte 68** Welche der Beschreibungen auf dieser Karte kommt dem am nächsten, wie Sie die derzeitige Einkommenssituation Ihres Haushalts beurteilen? Mit dem gegenwärtigen Einkommen kann ich bzw. können wir ...? **VORLESEN**

The complete questionnaire is available under Fieldwork Documents:

<https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/data/download.html?r=8>

## Appendix D – Questions used from the Corona Panel “Welle 5 “(2020)

### Gender

2. Welches **Geschlecht** haben Sie? (Einfach-Nennung)

### Age

3. In welchem Jahr wurden Sie geboren? (Einfach-Nennung, Zahleneingabe)

a. Geburtsjahr: <···>

### Education level

4. Was ist der höchste Schul- oder Bildungsabschluss, den Sie erreicht haben? (Einfachantwort)

### Employment status

11. Wenn Sie sich selbst zuordnen: welcher der folgenden **Gruppen gehören Sie derzeit vorwiegend** an? (Einfach-Nennung)

### Satisfaction with government

54. Sind Sie nach heutigem Stand mit der Bilanz, d.h. mit der **Arbeit und Leistung**, der aktuellen **Bundesregierung** (also der Koalition aus ÖVP und Grünen) ··· (Einfach-Nennung)

### Public attitude towards universal basic income

65. In einigen Ländern wird momentan über die Einführung eines Grundeinkommens diskutiert. Ein solches Grundeinkommen umfasst alle folgenden Punkte:

- Der Staat zahlt jedem ein monatliches Einkommen, das die grundlegenden Lebenshaltungskosten deckt.
- Dadurch werden viele andere Sozialleistungen ersetzt.
- Das Ziel ist es, allen einen minimalen Lebensstandard zu garantieren.
- Alle erhalten den gleichen Betrag, egal ob man arbeitet oder nicht.
- Man kann zudem das Einkommen aus Erwerbstätigkeit oder anderen Quellen behalten.
- Das Grundeinkommen wird aus Steuern finanziert.

Alles in allem, wären Sie gegen oder für ein solches Grundeinkommen in Österreich? (Einfach-Antwort)

- a. 1 = Sehr dagegen
- b. 2 = Dagegen
- c. 3 = Dafür
- d. 4 = Sehr dafür
- e. Weiß nicht [88]
- f. Keine Angabe [99]

### Financial situation

80. Wie beurteilen Sie die finanzielle Situation Ihres Haushalts im Februar 2020? Konnten Sie mit den Haushaltseinkünften im Februar 2020··· (Einfach-Nennung)

### Political views

100. Welche Partei haben Sie bei der letzten Nationalratswahl am 29. September 2019 gewählt? (Einfach-Nennung)

The complete questionnaire is available under Questionnaire Wave 5:

<https://viecer.univie.ac.at/en/projects-and-cooperations/austrian-corona-panel-project/austrian-corona-panel-data/questionnaires/>

# Appendix E – Pearson Correlation

## Correlations

		DEPENDENT _VARIABLE_F	SD_TIME_FIN	
		INAL	AL	age 2016
Pearson Correlation	DEPENDENT_VARIABL E_FINAL	1,000	-,138	-,087
	SD_TIME_FINAL	-,138	1,000	,102
	age 2016	-,087	,102	1,000
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	,002	,044	,009
	Extremely Dissatisfied	-,044	,169	,049
	extremely satisfied	-,002	-,264	,018
	unemployment	,083	-,051	-,073
	permanently sick	,022	,027	-,019
	retired	-,069	,074	,707
	community or military services	-,012	-,006	-,051
	other	,052	-,068	-,082
	no answer	,071	-,082	-,029
	SPÖ	-,001	,121	,124
	ÖVP	-,121	-,072	,136
	FPÖ	-,055	,008	,040
	Grüne	,071	-,030	-,135
	NEOS	,008	-,084	-,031
	Other	,085	,019	-,142
	no answer	.	.	.
	volksschule oder weniger	,016	,018	,062
	Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe	,054	-,001	,034
	Polytechnikum, BMS	-,012	,075	,096
	Lehre, Berufsschule	-,063	-,033	,083
	AHS mit Matura	,048	-,024	-,082
	BHS mit Matura	,019	-,080	-,161
	Magister/Master	,005	,002	-,039
	Keine Angabe	,027	-,028	-,001
Sig. (1-tailed)	DEPENDENT_VARIABL E_FINAL	.	,000	,000
	SD_TIME_FINAL	,000	.	,000
	age 2016	,000	,000	.
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	,443	,005	,306
	Extremely Dissatisfied	,004	,000	,002
	extremely satisfied	,442	,000	,141
	unemployment	,000	,001	,000
	permanently sick	,100	,058	,127
	retired	,000	,000	,000

Correlations

		SD_GENDER_FINAL	Extremely Dissatisfied	extremely satisfied
Pearson Correlation	DEPENDENT_VARIABLE_FINAL	,002	-,044	-,002
	SD_TIME_FINAL	,044	,169	-,264
	age 2016	,009	,049	,018
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	1,000	,000	,010
	Extremely Dissatisfied	,000	1,000	-,114
	extremely satisfied	,010	-,114	1,000
	unemployment	-,018	,042	-,022
	permanently sick	,015	,026	,011
	retired	,039	,034	,029
	community or military services	-,030	,037	,006
	other	,085	-,016	,005
	no answer	-,024	-,011	,016
	SPÖ	-,015	-,068	-,026
	ÖVP	,007	-,084	,139
	FPÖ	-,062	,149	-,053
	Grüne	,060	-,051	,041
	NEOS	-,060	-,013	,025
	Other	,048	,053	-,077
	no answer	.	.	.
	volksschule oder weniger	,037	-,006	,037
	Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe	,058	,002	-,019
	Polytechnikum, BMS	,073	,014	-,039
	Lehre, Berufsschule	-,134	,016	,032
	AHS mit Matura	,022	-,021	,008
	BHS mit Matura	,016	-,034	,021
	Magister/Master	-,019	,012	-,008
	Keine Angabe	-,014	-,018	,023
Sig. (1-tailed)	DEPENDENT_VARIABLE_FINAL	,443	,004	,442
	SD_TIME_FINAL	,005	,000	,000
	age 2016	,306	,002	,141
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	.	,498	,277
	Extremely Dissatisfied	,498	.	,000
	extremely satisfied	,277	,000	.
	unemployment	,150	,006	,098
	permanently sick	,186	,065	,254
	retired	,010	,022	,046

# Correlations

		unemployment	permanently sick	retired
Pearson Correlation	DEPENDENT_VARIABLE_FINAL	,083	,022	-,069
	SD_TIME_FINAL	-,051	,027	,074
	age 2016	-,073	-,019	,707
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	-,018	,015	,039
	Extremely Dissatisfied	,042	,026	,034
	extremely satisfied	-,022	,011	,029
	unemployment	1,000	-,021	-,136
	permanently sick	-,021	1,000	-,058
	retired	-,136	-,058	1,000
	community or military services	-,009	-,004	-,025
	other	-,025	-,011	-,069
	no answer	-,017	-,007	-,047
	SPÖ	-,005	-,023	,100
	ÖVP	-,056	-,018	,074
	FPÖ	,008	,030	,016
	Grüne	-,007	-,001	-,070
	NEOS	-,016	,001	-,030
	Other	,042	,013	-,092
	no answer	.	.	.
	volksschule oder weniger	,036	,017	,049
	Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe	,032	,034	,090
	Polytechnikum, BMS	,010	,023	,074
	Lehre, Berufsschule	,008	,003	,047
	AHS mit Matura	-,041	-,014	-,047
	BHS mit Matura	-,018	-,019	-,109
	Magister/Master	-,001	-,024	-,083
	Keine Angabe	,010	-,006	-,014
Sig. (1-tailed)	DEPENDENT_VARIABLE_FINAL	,000	,100	,000
	SD_TIME_FINAL	,001	,058	,000
	age 2016	,000	,127	,000
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	,150	,186	,010
	Extremely Dissatisfied	,006	,065	,022
	extremely satisfied	,098	,254	,046
	unemployment	.	,106	,000
	permanently sick	,106	.	,000
	retired	,000	,000	.

Correlations

		community or military services	other	no answer
Pearson Correlation	DEPENDENT_VARIABL E_FINAL	-,012	,052	,071
	SD_TIME_FINAL	-,006	-,068	-,082
	age 2016	-,051	-,082	-,029
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	-,030	,085	-,024
	Extremely Dissatisfied	,037	-,016	-,011
	extremely satisfied	,006	,005	,016
	unemployment	-,009	-,025	-,017
	permanently sick	-,004	-,011	-,007
	retired	-,025	-,069	-,047
	community or military services	1,000	-,005	-,003
	other	-,005	1,000	-,009
	no answer	-,003	-,009	1,000
	SPÖ	-,020	-,017	-,010
	ÖVP	-,004	,007	-,012
	FPÖ	,006	-,034	,005
	Grüne	,009	,014	-,026
	NEOS	,033	,025	-,014
	Other	-,014	,005	,041
	no answer	.	.	.
	volksschule oder weniger	-,005	,011	,059
	Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe	-,013	,027	-,025
	Polytechnikum, BMS	,003	-,009	-,021
	Lehre, Berufsschule	,019	-,006	,021
	AHS mit Matura	,015	-,031	,007
	BHS mit Matura	-,013	,010	-,024
	Magister/Master	-,011	,014	-,020
	Keine Angabe	-,002	,037	,185
Sig. (1-tailed)	DEPENDENT_VARIABL E_FINAL	,237	,001	,000
	SD_TIME_FINAL	,364	,000	,000
	age 2016	,001	,000	,043
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	,036	,000	,080
	Extremely Dissatisfied	,015	,170	,267
	extremely satisfied	,371	,389	,171
	unemployment	,292	,068	,153
	permanently sick	,409	,264	,332
	retired	,068	,000	,003

Correlations

		SPÖ	ÖVP	FPÖ	Grüne
Pearson Correlation	DEPENDENT_VARIABLE_FINAL	-,001	-,121	-,055	,071
	SD_TIME_FINAL	,121	-,072	,008	-,030
	age 2016	,124	,136	,040	-,135
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	-,015	,007	-,062	,060
	Extremely Dissatisfied	-,068	-,084	,149	-,051
	extremely satisfied	-,026	,139	-,053	,041
	unemployment	-,005	-,056	,008	-,007
	permanently sick	-,023	-,018	,030	-,001
	retired	,100	,074	,016	-,070
	community or military services	-,020	-,004	,006	,009
	other	-,017	,007	-,034	,014
	no answer	-,010	-,012	,005	-,026
	SPÖ	1,000	-,249	-,183	-,164
	ÖVP	-,249	1,000	-,188	-,168
	FPÖ	-,183	-,188	1,000	-,124
	Grüne	-,164	-,168	-,124	1,000
	NEOS	-,087	-,090	-,066	-,059
	Other	-,339	-,348	-,256	-,229
	no answer	.	.	.	.
	volksschule oder weniger	,017	-,011	-,002	-,028
	Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe	-,003	-,028	,016	-,043
	Polytechnikum, BMS	,018	,033	,013	-,061
	Lehre, Berufsschule	,055	,021	,094	-,129
	AHS mit Matura	-,016	-,041	-,055	,111
	BHS mit Matura	-,034	-,006	-,027	,100
	Magister/Master	-,062	-,008	-,051	,098
	Keine Angabe	-,017	,019	-,007	-,003
Sig. (1-tailed)	DEPENDENT_VARIABLE_FINAL	,465	,000	,001	,000
	SD_TIME_FINAL	,000	,000	,314	,038
	age 2016	,000	,000	,010	,000
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	,180	,345	,000	,000
	Extremely Dissatisfied	,000	,000	,000	,001
	extremely satisfied	,062	,000	,001	,008
	unemployment	,393	,000	,322	,340
	permanently sick	,083	,150	,036	,478
	retired	,000	,000	,178	,000

Correlations

		NEOS	Other	no answer
Pearson Correlation	DEPENDENT_VARIABLE_FINAL	,008	,085	.
	SD_TIME_FINAL	-,084	,019	.
	age 2016	-,031	-,142	.
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	-,060	,048	.
	Extremely Dissatisfied	-,013	,053	.
	extremely satisfied	,025	-,077	.
	unemployment	-,016	,042	.
	permanently sick	,001	,013	.
	retired	-,030	-,092	.
	community or military services	,033	-,014	.
	other	,025	,005	.
	no answer	-,014	,041	.
	SPÖ	-,087	-,339	.
	ÖVP	-,090	-,348	.
	FPÖ	-,066	-,256	.
	Grüne	-,059	-,229	.
	NEOS	1,000	-,122	.
	Other	-,122	1,000	.
	no answer	.	.	1,000
	volksschule oder weniger	-,005	,023	.
	Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe	-,027	,064	.
	Polytechnikum, BMS	-,010	-,005	.
	Lehre, Berufsschule	-,058	-,020	.
	AHS mit Matura	,009	,006	.
	BHS mit Matura	,032	-,022	.
	Magister/Master	,100	-,017	.
	Keine Angabe	,018	,001	.
Sig. (1-tailed)	DEPENDENT_VARIABLE_FINAL	,307	,000	,000
	SD_TIME_FINAL	,000	,134	,000
	age 2016	,033	,000	,000
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	,000	,002	,000
	Extremely Dissatisfied	,225	,001	,000
	extremely satisfied	,072	,000	,000
	unemployment	,170	,006	,000
	permanently sick	,477	,217	,000
	retired	,039	,000	,000

Correlations

		volksschule oder weniger	Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe	Polytechnikum , BMS
Pearson Correlation	DEPENDENT_VARIABL E_FINAL	,016	,054	-,012
	SD_TIME_FINAL	,018	-,001	,075
	age 2016	,062	,034	,096
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	,037	,058	,073
	Extremely Dissatisfied	-,006	,002	,014
	extremely satisfied	,037	-,019	-,039
	unemployment	,036	,032	,010
	permanently sick	,017	,034	,023
	retired	,049	,090	,074
	community or military services	-,005	-,013	,003
	other	,011	,027	-,009
	no answer	,059	-,025	-,021
	SPÖ	,017	-,003	,018
	ÖVP	-,011	-,028	,033
	FPÖ	-,002	,016	,013
	Grüne	-,028	-,043	-,061
	NEOS	-,005	-,027	-,010
	Other	,023	,064	-,005
	no answer	.	.	.
	volksschule oder weniger	1,000	-,035	-,045
	Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe	-,035	1,000	-,128
	Polytechnikum, BMS	-,045	-,128	1,000
	Lehre, Berufsschule	-,098	-,278	-,355
	AHS mit Matura	-,031	-,088	-,112
	BHS mit Matura	-,035	-,099	-,126
	Magister/Master	-,028	-,081	-,103
	Keine Angabe	-,007	-,019	-,024
Sig. (1-tailed)	DEPENDENT_VARIABL E_FINAL	,177	,001	,242
	SD_TIME_FINAL	,140	,477	,000
	age 2016	,000	,023	,000
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	,015	,000	,000
	Extremely Dissatisfied	,355	,446	,204
	extremely satisfied	,013	,133	,011
	unemployment	,016	,029	,274
	permanently sick	,155	,023	,086
	retired	,002	,000	,000

Correlations

		Lehre, Berufsschule	AHS mit Matura	BHS mit Matura
Pearson Correlation	DEPENDENT_VARIABL E_FINAL	-,063	,048	,019
	SD_TIME_FINAL	-,033	-,024	-,080
	age 2016	,083	-,082	-,161
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	-,134	,022	,016
	Extremely Dissatisfied	,016	-,021	-,034
	extremely satisfied	,032	,008	,021
	unemployment	,008	-,041	-,018
	permanently sick	,003	-,014	-,019
	retired	,047	-,047	-,109
	community or military services	,019	,015	-,013
	other	-,006	-,031	,010
	no answer	,021	,007	-,024
	SPÖ	,055	-,016	-,034
	ÖVP	,021	-,041	-,006
	FPÖ	,094	-,055	-,027
	Grüne	-,129	,111	,100
	NEOS	-,058	,009	,032
	Other	-,020	,006	-,022
	no answer	.	.	.
	volksschule oder weniger	-,098	-,031	-,035
	Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe	-,278	-,088	-,099
	Polytechnikum, BMS	-,355	-,112	-,126
	Lehre, Berufsschule	1,000	-,243	-,273
	AHS mit Matura	-,243	1,000	-,086
	BHS mit Matura	-,273	-,086	1,000
	Magister/Master	-,223	-,071	-,079
	Keine Angabe	-,051	-,016	-,018
Sig. (1-tailed)	DEPENDENT_VARIABL E_FINAL	,000	,002	,135
	SD_TIME_FINAL	,027	,081	,000
	age 2016	,000	,000	,000
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	,000	,101	,165
	Extremely Dissatisfied	,174	,104	,021
	extremely satisfied	,029	,318	,106
	unemployment	,321	,008	,150
	permanently sick	,423	,198	,134
	retired	,003	,003	,000

Correlations

		Magister/Master	Keine Angabe
Pearson Correlation	DEPENDENT_VARIABLE_FINAL	,005	,027
	SD_TIME_FINAL	,002	-,028
	age 2016	-,039	-,001
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	-,019	-,014
	Extremely Dissatisfied	,012	-,018
	extremely satisfied	-,008	,023
	unemployment	-,001	,010
	permanently sick	-,024	-,006
	retired	-,083	-,014
	community or military services	-,011	-,002
	other	,014	,037
	no answer	-,020	,185
	SPÖ	-,062	-,017
	ÖVP	-,008	,019
	FPÖ	-,051	-,007
	Grüne	,098	-,003
	NEOS	,100	,018
	Other	-,017	,001
	no answer	.	.
	volksschule oder weniger	-,028	-,007
	Hauptschule oder AHS unterstufe	-,081	-,019
	Polytechnikum, BMS	-,103	-,024
	Lehre, Berufsschule	-,223	-,051
	AHS mit Matura	-,071	-,016
	BHS mit Matura	-,079	-,018
	Magister/Master	1,000	-,015
	Keine Angabe	-,015	1,000
Sig. (1-tailed)	DEPENDENT_VARIABLE_FINAL	,375	,055
	SD_TIME_FINAL	,445	,048
	age 2016	,010	,467
	SD_GENDER_FINAL	,126	,209
	Extremely Dissatisfied	,248	,144
	extremely satisfied	,316	,089
	unemployment	,484	,278
	permanently sick	,077	,372
	retired	,000	,208

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