

# POLICY INFLUENCE IN SCOTLAND

Evaluation of Beyond the Horizon

Effectiveness Review Series

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Photo: Andy Hall/Oxfam

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# 1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Oxfam is best known for its work to overcome poverty all over the world, but it also works on poverty in the UK, including in Scotland, in three main ways:

- developing projects with people living in poverty to improve their lives and show how things can change;
- raising public awareness of poverty to create pressure for change; and
- working with policy makers to tackle the causes of poverty.

Since 2011 a key area of activity has been the 'Beyond the Horizon' project. As per Oxfam Great Britain's (OGB) Global Performance Framework (GPF), samples of mature projects are randomly selected each year and their effectiveness rigorously assessed. The Beyond the Horizon project incorporating the Whose Economy? seminars, the Oxfam Humankind Index and the *Our Economy* report was selected for review from within the 'policy influence'/'citizen voice' thematic area.

## 1.2 BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE PROJECT

Oxfam Scotland recognises that the prevailing model of the economy is failing too many people, leaving a significant number in poverty. The Whose Economy? seminars held in Scotland in 2010–11 provided an opportunity for policy makers, representative organisations and people with experience of poverty to come together and explore causes of poverty and inequality in Scotland. This included discussion surrounding employment, housing and community, alongside health and well-being. The Humankind Index (HKI) was developed through consultations with communities about what prosperity means to them, resulting in a measure that takes into consideration wider factors (such as safe environments, well-being, good relationships and satisfying work) as well as financial security.

The HKI then uses the best nationally available data to assess and track Scotland's performance against the priorities identified by the people of Scotland. The second HKI assessment, for the period 2010–11 (June 2013), showed some small improvements in overall prosperity since the first assessment (of the period 2009–10). However, the HKI shows that those in deprived communities lag behind, not only financially, but also across many indicators, including good physical and mental health, feeling safe and secure in their local environment and having a decent, affordable and secure home to live in.

Publication of the HKI was followed by the development of a policy assessment tool that allows policy makers and the community to understand the impact of existing policies from a broader perspective – considering the impact on overall prosperity rather than financial economic gain. It also allows policies to be assessed in advance of their implementation.

The *Our Economy* report published in June 2013 describes Oxfam's vision of an economy that serves the people, rather than the other way around. It seeks to challenge decision makers to focus on the quality and distribution of growth to ensure communities really thrive. The report makes a number of specific policy recommendations, including increased usage of the HKI, adoption of the living wage and the creation of a Poverty Commissioner (as a way to give a

voice to people in poverty and ensure that policies and procedures are designed with the poorest communities in mind).

## 1.3 FINDINGS

Outcome	Contribution score	Short commentary
<b>Outcome 1 – A debate is commenced around alternative performance measures to GDP that better reflect the full spectrum of society, including the flourishing of the poorest in Scottish society, in terms of social, environmental, as well as economic well-being.</b>	<b>5</b>	The evidence is that the HKI was the catalyst for the current debate about alternative performance measures to GDP. The activity of external partners has influenced the scope and pace of the debate about alternative performance measures to GDP, but much of this has been achieved using HKI as evidence to the cause.
<b>Outcome 2 – The National Performance Framework (NPF) is reconsidered in terms of its Purpose Targets to fully address the socio-economic and environmental situations of those in poverty in order to provide ‘a broader assessment of national wellbeing and success’.</b>	<b>3</b>	<p>The current Scotland Performs round-table discussions and commitment to public consultations are evidence that the National Performance Framework is being reconsidered. The current amber rating may evolve into green once there is more confidence of this translating into changes to the NPF, which provides a broader assessment of national wellbeing and success.</p> <p>While Oxfam Scotland, through the HKI, was a catalyst to bring forward the discussion, it is evident that a wide range of partners has been important in supporting the distance travelled relating to Outcome 2. Nevertheless, in terms of its influence, we regard Oxfam via the HKI as being critical.</p>
<b>Outcome 3 – The Scottish Government considers an alternative economic approach based on community-led economies that focus on the quality and distribution of growth. This includes specifically influencing the Economy Committee, the Minister for Finance and regeneration actors, as well as creating tolerant attitude towards the creation of a Poverty Commissioner.</b>	<b>2</b>	<p>In terms of directly influencing the transition to an alternative economic model there is limited direct evidence that HKI or <i>Our economy</i> has achieved this.</p> <p>Our direct consultation revealed limited awareness of the content of <i>Our economy</i>, namely:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Poverty Commissioner</li> <li>• Decent work, including the living wage</li> <li>• Community involvement in decision making</li> <li>• Sustainable Livelihoods Approach.</li> </ul>
<b>Outcome 4 – Anti-poverty organisations reframe their agenda by placing the economy as a central issue/topic that needs to be addressed, and acts upon this through campaigning/ advocacy.</b>	<b>3</b>	Evidence exists to demonstrate that a number of key anti-poverty organisations have reframed their agendas by placing the economy as a central issue within their organisation.

### Scoring key: Specific contribution of intervention

5	Outcome realised in full Evidence that intervention made a crucial contribution
4	Outcome realised in part & evidence that intervention made a crucial contribution Outcome realised in full & evidence that intervention made an important contribution
3	Outcome realised in part & evidence that intervention made an important contribution
2	Outcome realised in part & evidence that intervention made some contribution Outcome realised to a small degree & evidence that intervention made an important contribution
1	Outcome realised to any degree, but no evidence that the intervention made any contribution

## 1.4 PROGRAMME LEARNING CONSIDERATIONS

Oxfam has had considerable success in stimulating a debate about the future of the NPF. It has also done a great deal to promote a greater appreciation of the need for economic growth to be pursued with an understanding of the needs of all communities, especially those living in poverty and what success/improved quality of life might mean for them. This message has clearly got through to a number of influential organisations, but the acid test will be changes to the NPF that are sympathetic to the case that Oxfam has been making.

The HKI appears to have had a greater direct influencing impact than *Our Economy*. Oxfam has not strategically focused upon a small number of key issues, its approach tending to be much wider. This might be viewed negatively as reflecting a lack of understanding about where the biggest and quickest wins could be achieved or more positively as a deliberate attempt to achieve the broader structural change Oxfam believes is necessary. Fulfilling the potential of *Our Economy* will require further investment, which could be challenging in the context of future of resource constraints.

Since the publication of *Our Economy* and the HKI, the perception of Oxfam Scotland as a key voice on the economy has changed significantly. The project has fundamentally shifted perceptions of Oxfam from a purely internationally focused organisation to one with a valuable contribution to make on domestic issues too. This shift has benefited Oxfam Scotland in terms of its standing amongst policy leads, MSPs, civil society organisations and other bodies with a role in anti-poverty and the economy. Oxfam is now regarded as an authoritative organisation in the poverty field, and increasingly so across wider economic issues – a position it can build on.

There is a perception, both internally and externally, that Oxfam Scotland has lost momentum with a transition involving a reduction of staffing and a period of uncertainty regarding future organisational structure and advocacy priorities. Clearly, if Oxfam is to sustain this level of influence, there will be a need for adequate resourcing. This may be challenging given policy capacity in Scotland will diminish from March 2015, following a recent restructure of the organisation. There is a danger that just at the point where Oxfam can truly influence, having built up considerable credibility, a reduction in resources will limit what can actually be achieved.

## 2 INTRODUCTION

### 2.1 ABOUT OXFAM

Oxfam is best known for its work to overcome poverty all over the world but it also works to tackle poverty in Scotland in three main ways:

- developing projects with people living in poverty to improve their lives and show how things can change;
- raising public awareness of poverty to create pressure for change; and
- working with policy makers to tackle the causes of poverty.

Oxfam recognises that the prevailing model of the economy is not working to eliminate poverty, so it developed two key documents, The Humankind Index (HKI), and the *Our Economy: towards a new prosperity* report, with the key aim of influencing how the economy of Scotland develops to respond to the needs of the many, not the few.

### 2.2 THE HUMANKIND INDEX

The Humankind Index was launched in April 2012 and generated huge political and civil society interest in Scotland. An aspiration was for HKI to influence the landscape so that policy-creation in Scotland focuses on the real needs of people, especially those in poverty and other disadvantaged groups.

The HKI was developed through consultations with communities about what prosperity means to them. This included a conscious effort to reach out to people in deprived communities so as to illuminate and elevate their voices. The views of over 3,000 people were considered in the preparation of the HKI and this has been vital to the credibility of the final product as the HKI reflects the priorities of the people of Scotland. The resulting HKI provides a measure that takes into consideration good physical and mental health, having a decent, affordable and secure home to live in good relationships, satisfying work and financial security.

The HKI has been used to assess and track overall performance against the priorities identified by the people of Scotland. The purpose was to challenge the narrow focus on economic growth. The second HKI assessment, for the period 2010–11 (June 2013), showed some small improvements in overall prosperity since the first assessment (of the period 2009–10). However, the HKI shows that those in deprived communities lag behind, not only financially, but also across many indicators, including feeling safe and secure in their local environment and satisfaction with housing.

Accompanying the HKI is a policy assessment tool developed by Oxfam and the new economics foundation with the support of the Carnegie UK Trust, designed to encourage policy makers to consider a broader range of issues during policy design and development than they otherwise might. Launched in October 2013, it allows users to rate policies on whether they have a net positive, negative or neutral effect on the full set of factors measured by the HKI.



## 2.3 OUR ECONOMY

The *Our Economy* report published by Oxfam Scotland in June 2013 seeks to challenge decision makers to focus on the quality and distribution of growth, rather than whether it merely goes up or down, in order to ensure communities really thrive. The report makes a number of specific policy recommendations, including broadening measures of prosperity, putting a duty on all public authorities to make sure their policies and initiatives reduce poverty and inequality (enforced through a Poverty Commissioner), and securing decent work – including through greater adoption of the living wage and action on zero-hour contracts, etc.

*Our Economy* includes 35 specific recommendations across the following themes:

- Measuring the new prosperity
- Our society: really regenerating our communities
- Our work, our wealth: closing the labour market divide
- Our worth: linking economic reward with social value
- Our tax system: a tool for achieving equality
- Our welfare state: solidarity through social protection
- Our decisions: equality through power and participation
- Our communities: enabling collective ownership
- Our environment: sharing the benefits of a low-carbon future
- Our business: creating social returns – the role and responsibilities of the private sector.

The publication of *Our Economy* was envisaged only as a first step. It was recognised that Oxfam would need to develop an advocacy strategy that focused on different areas contained within the report at different stages – while being able to demonstrate a broad platform.

## 2.4 OUTCOME IDENTIFICATION

On the basis of the theory of change model four outcomes were identified to be the focus of this assessment, as detailed below.

**Outcome 1** – A debate is commenced around alternative performance measures to GDP that better reflect the full spectrum of society, including the flourishing of the poorest in Scottish society, in terms of social, environmental, as well as economic well-being.

**Outcome 2** – The National Performance Framework is reconsidered in terms of its Purpose Targets that more fully address the socio-economic and environmental situations of those in poverty in order to provide ‘a broader assessment of national well-being and success’.

**Outcome 3** – The Scottish Government considers an alternative economic approach based on community-led economies that focus on the quality and distribution of growth. This includes specifically influencing the Economy Committee and the Minister for Finance, as well as creating a tolerant attitude towards the creation of a Poverty Commissioner.

**Outcome 4** – Anti-poverty organisations reframe their agenda by placing the economy as a central issue/topic that needs to be addressed and act upon this through campaigning/ advocacy.

The four outcomes were selected on the basis that they covered the scale and scope of impact that Oxfam Scotland aimed to achieve, including:

- stimulating a debate and informing policy and new ways of delivering; and
- influencing a range of stakeholders to consider alternative actions and aligning their own views closer to that of Oxfam Scotland, as set out in the HKI and *Our Economy* report.



# 3 EVALUATION DESIGN

## 3.1 PROCESS TRACING

Oxfam GB has adopted a Global Performance Framework. Among other things, this framework involves the random selection of samples of closing or sufficiently mature projects under six outcome areas each year and rigorously evaluating their performance. These are referred to as Effectiveness Reviews. Effectiveness Reviews carried out under the 'Citizen Voice' and 'Policy Influencing' thematic areas are to be informed by a research protocol based on process tracing, a qualitative research approach used by case study researchers to investigate causal inference.

Policy and Citizen Voice interventions are working to achieve specific intermediary and final outcomes. Our first task is to help identify the scope of the intervention, including the outcomes or changes it is seeking (or sought) to achieve, and the activities undertaken that were intended to bring these about. We then sought to evidence the extent to which the intervention's key targeted outcomes have materialised (while recognising the relatively short time period involved); investigate the causal mechanisms responsible for these outcomes i.e. how the observed outcome change came about; and, in light of an evidenced understanding of competing explanations, draw conclusions about the significance of the intervention's contribution and provide recommendations to improve effectiveness in the future.

As such, the purpose of the evaluation is not simply to narrow in on only one explanation for an observed outcome-level change. Rather, the approach is more nuanced and should accomplish three things: a) shortlist one or more evidenced explanations for the outcome in question (which may or may not include the intervention); b) rule out alternative, competing explanations incompatible with the evidence; and c) if more than one explanation is supported by the evidence, estimate the level of influence each had on bringing about the change in question.

## 3.2 DEVELOPMENT OF LOGIC MODEL

The logic model was developed following a review of existing Oxfam Scotland information, including an early logic model designed for the project, and consultation with Oxfam Scotland staff. Details are included below.

## 3.3 DATA COLLECTION STRATEGY

Data were collected from a variety of sources. The initial step involved a detailed assessment of documentation provided by Oxfam. Further information was gathered from scrutiny of the Scottish Parliament website, with a focus on Oxfam activity and, specifically, the mention of the *Our Economy* report and the HKI. Primary consultation was undertaken with key stakeholders from a range of organisations, including civil society organisations, MSPs and political party representatives, alongside Oxfam staff.

## 3.4 LIMITATIONS

The consultation was designed to accord with the method of process tracing. The initial list of consultees largely included stakeholders that had previously been involved in HKI and *Our Economy* development. The consultee list was extended to include a wider number of political influencers. However, one possible drawback was that civil servants were not included within the consultations. Furthermore, the sample was reliant upon finding people who were willing to speak to an evaluator, and may not have encapsulated all those willing or involved as some were too busy to participate. Due to the short review time frame, it may be that the full extent of the impact has yet to be seen and there is the potential for significant hidden impact, for example organisations with which Oxfam is unfamiliar or of which they only hear randomly.

It should also be noted that the Evaluators were unable to speak with anyone from the Scottish Government – either civil servants or the Finance Secretary, although discussions were held with one special adviser, with whom Oxfam had not had much contact.

Finally, it is noted that there has been significant media coverage of Oxfam's work. For example when the *Our Economy* report was launched it was the lead story on both BBC Scotland and STV websites. However, assessing the nature or extent of media coverage was not part of the brief for this research.

# 4 PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The Logic Model described summarises the intervention’s theory of change. However, it should be noted that not all aspects of this model (e.g. media coverage) were covered in the research undertaken for this study.

## Background and context

Scottish Government’s National Performance Framework; Oxfam UK Poverty Programme.

Example problems identified include: first and foremost a broken economy that is not addressing poverty, in which health inequalities are getting worse, in which the poorest are excluded from decisions that impact them, a pernicious paradox, skewed focus on financial assets and insufficient focus on other important assets, e.g. Scotland’s wealthiest households are 273 times richer than Scotland’s poorest households – the average pay of a CEO is 185 times that of the average salary; tax avoidance and evasion is much more of a problem than welfare fraud and error – up to £120 billion compared to £3.4 billion; and only 22% of Scots feel they can influence decisions in their local area. There are 700,000 people in poverty in Scotland of whom 280,000 are in work; there are eight Job Seekers Allowance (JSA) claimants for every job advertised in the Job Centre.



# 5 FINDINGS

## 5.1 OUTCOME 1

### 5.1.1 Outcome description

A debate is commenced around alternative performance measures to GDP that better reflect the full spectrum of society, including the flourishing of the poorest in Scottish society, in terms of social, environmental, as well as economic well-being.

### 5.1.2 Validation of Outcome 1

Outcome 1 has been achieved. During 2013 and 2014 there has been considerable debate in the Scottish Parliament in how the National Performance Framework is used to inform policy rather than solely as a tool to measure change over time. There was a debate in Parliament in September 2012 that has led to Oxfam's direct involvement in the Scotland Performs Round Table, chaired by the Cabinet Secretary for Finance, Employment and Sustainable Growth, looking to improve the Scottish Government's National Performance Framework, Scotland Performs. While the referendum debate has proved to be a key focus it is evident that there is a real commitment to the round table discussions signalled through the frequency of the meetings at such a busy time.

A number of third sector organisations, trades unions, think tanks and academics are also debating and discussing alternative measures to GDP, including the Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO), Scottish Environment LINK, the Scottish Trades Union Congress and Unison, the Jimmy Reid Foundation and the Scottish Universities Insight Institute.

### 5.1.3 Causal stories

The following causal stories were identified and are explored in detail in this section:

- A The HKI was a catalyst for the current debate about alternative performance measures to GDP.
- B Wider partners' activity has influenced the scope and pace of the debate about alternative performance measures to GDP.
- C The debate would have happened regardless of the publication of the HKI.

<b>Causal story A</b>	The HKI was a catalyst for the current debate about alternative performance measures to GDP.
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This causal story has three components, namely that:

- The HKI process was inclusive in nature and therefore generated support from a range of partners during the development phase

- The HKI document was convincing to policy makers, politicians and civil society organisations and is a tool that can be used to support their own agenda for change
- The HKI continues to be well regarded and a key reference tool well after the launch date and initial publicity campaign.

There is a great amount of interest in the HKI from politicians, policy makers and others, including audiences beyond Scotland. For example, a panel of experts from Northern Ireland visited Scotland for a learning session on the NPF. Oxfam was heavily involved and the HKI received a high profile.

In September 2012 Ken Macintosh, Scottish Labour MSP and then shadow Labour Finance Minister, secured a motion that was put forward for debate. It was through this that commitment was secured from the Cabinet Secretary for Finance, Employment and Sustainable Growth to reconsider Scotland Performs – the National Performance Framework (NPF). This has been facilitated through a series of on-going round table discussions that have included Oxfam Scotland.

Simply put, this would not have occurred without the production of the HKI and the subsequent relationship-building across civil society and political networks.

Oxfam has been a key player in seizing the opportunity to influence the content of the NPF. While the HKI has been critical to this, the process pre-HKI through the ‘Whose Economy?’ approach was important in bringing together a range of people with different perspectives i.e. health economics, tax avoidance, academics and activists, etc. This process was the start of an approach to cast the net wide and get partners to make the link between their own role and the economy. Alongside this, the pre-emptive role in working with Friends of the Earth Scotland (FOES), World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and the wider civil society sector in developing a short report in 2011 to the Scottish Government as to how the NPF should evolve, has also been important in building momentum.

The inclusive nature of the preparation of the HKI was a key factor in developing early awareness and understanding among key partners including academia, civil society and politicians. Alongside the participative nature of the consultation, this has been a key factor in the success to date in terms of the credibility of HKI as an alternative way of measuring how the economy of Scotland is performing.

The degree of influence that the HKI has had upon individual organisations understandably varies. The majority of partners consulted already had a strong belief in the approach set out in the HKI prior to its publication, but lacked a concrete example of it being used in practice. For a minority of partners, the HKI has been a catalyst to greater thinking about what they would like to see from a future economy and how this should be measured. The common view is that the HKI provides a robust vehicle to articulate this belief. The HKI has been adopted, independently of Oxfam pressure, by a wide range of partners seeking to influence the agenda. For example:

- SCVO has cited the HKI in its own submission to the Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee;
- Scottish Unison and Scottish Environment Link both referenced HKI in their response to the Finance Committee Draft Budget 2014–15 scrutiny;
- the Humankind Index also features in *Scotland’s Place in a Just World* produced by the Network of International Development Organisations in Scotland; and
- the factors of prosperity contained in the Humankind Index frame the first paragraph of the Commonweal manifesto ‘Practical Idealism for Scotland’.

The HKI has been a valuable tool to support Oxfam’s representations to the Scottish Parliament across a wide range of channels. For example:

- the HKI Policy Tool was launched at a Parliamentary event and debate attended by at least five MSPs and 60 other stakeholders from across civic Scotland;
- Oxfam Scotland used the HKI Policy Screening Tool to assess the Community Empowerment Bill. This fed into its written evidence to the formal consultation, associated blogs and opinion pieces in the media as well as representations via the Ministerial Steering Group and meetings with civil servants; and
- Oxfam submitted a response to the Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee call for evidence into the Regulatory Reform (Scotland) Bill in June 2013, following concerns that the Bill was giving undue influence to the Scottish Government's focus on 'sustainable economic growth'.

In February 2013, the Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee took evidence about alternatives to GDP from highly respected economist Professor Joseph Stiglitz in which he referred to the Humankind Index as a 'commendable example'. This is regarded as notable endorsement of the work of Oxfam Scotland and increased the credibility of the organisation among the policy influencers as Professor Stiglitz is a member of the Scottish Government's Council of Economic Advisers.

In April 2012, the HKI was included as an example of measuring economic indicators in a Financial Scrutiny Unit Briefing Paper prepared by Scottish Parliament Information Centre (SPICe). This was a valuable endorsement of the credibility of the approach.

HKI has been a valuable tool in raising the profile of Oxfam Scotland as an organisation whose opinion on economic issues is increasingly valued. The rising status of Oxfam is demonstrated via invitations to Oxfam staff to contribute at key political and civil society events. For example, this has included the following (non-exhaustive list):

- Presented to the Economy, Energy & Tourism Committee, most recently in April 2014.
- Presented at the Scottish TUC policy planning event.
- Attended the Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee's away day that mapped out the business for the upcoming year. In addition, and as a direct result of Oxfam involvement, Joseph Stiglitz was invited to give evidence to the Committee.
- Spoke at a plenary event about *Our Economy* at the 2013 Scottish Labour Conference.
- Various evidence sessions to Scottish Parliament Committees.

This is evidence that Oxfam has an increasingly loud voice and continues to be invited to contribute at a political level. This is important given the common view that the business sector is the main influencer of economic policy development. Clearly, if Oxfam is to sustain this level of influence, there will be a need for adequate resourcing. This may be challenging given policy capacity in Scotland will diminish from March 2015 following a recent restructure of the organisation.

Our consultation has revealed evidence of MSPs actively seeking the view of Oxfam on particular economic/poverty related issues, which is regarded as a key step forward. This adds weight to the view that progress can continue to be made across the agenda. Below is a selection of references to HKI from MSPs:

**Patrick Harvie MSP:** I was a member of the steering group for Oxfam's humankind index. I was very happy to have the opportunity to get involved in that work because, for the Green movement, replacing GDP and developing alternatives that make a more holistic measurement of economic success is not only a key argument but, in many ways, a founding one. I am very glad to see both interest in that concept growing and the contribution that Oxfam has made

(Scottish Parliament Debate on *Our economy*, September 2013).

**Alison Johnstone MSP:** Oxfam's humankind index shows that Scottish people prioritise their health, safe and affordable homes, a pleasant local environment and satisfying work. It also shows that although they think that money is important, they do not covet vast wealth; they just value having enough money to participate properly in society (Scottish Parliament Debate on the Economy, January 2013).

**Jean Urquhart, Independent MSP:** The work that Oxfam has done on the Humankind Index is relevant and interesting. Is there an opportunity to review the national performance framework to the point that we would weight that, maybe in some of the equalities issues? Is there an opportunity to introduce some of the measures that we would like to see in the national performance framework? (Finance Committee session on the Budget 9 October 2013).

**Drew Smith, Labour MSP:** [The Humankind Index is] not just relevant, timely, interesting and important but potentially revolutionary... The Humankind Index encourages us to remember that the creation of a better country means better lives for people – not just a long dance with powerful and persuasive interests that is justified on the grounds of job creation. (Scottish Parliament debate on the Humankind Index, September 2012)

The comments above provide a snapshot of the views expressed across a number of separate debates in the Scottish Parliament, however, the HKI is also regularly referenced unprompted by politicians when discussing wider measures of prosperity, a key indication of its impact.

#### Causal story B

Wider partners activity has influenced the scope and pace of the debate about alternative performance measures to GDP.

Our research has revealed a list of influential national organisations that have a role in tackling poverty and promoting societal wellbeing. These include The Carnegie Trust, The Jimmy Reid Foundation, Scottish TUC, SCVO, Unison alongside a range of academics from a range of universities and institutes. Some of these organisations have assisted Oxfam Scotland in preparing the HKI and, others, as advocates of HKI, have assisted in giving credibility to it and amplifying its reach.

The credibility of these partners within governmental policy circles has been important as they have:

- expressed their own internal views of how poverty and well-being should be approached at a governmental level; and
- advocated the use of HKI through a range of consultation measures with the Scottish Government.

Evidence of the above is set out below, which is taken from written and oral representations to the Scottish Parliament.

**UNISON Scotland:** In our evidence, we pointed to the Oxfam Humankind Index and the Carnegie Trust's very good work in that area, and I agree (with SCVO) that the national performance framework must be a broader document. (Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee Session, 18 September 2012).

**SCVO:** Oxfam's Humankind Index project has been very successful in reaching some of the communities that other research rarely reaches, and it has found that top among people's concerns are being able to enjoy the environment around them and having a safe community in which they can get to work and back. If we add to that the health outcomes that can be



gained from sustainable transport, I completely agree that it must be one of the priorities. It is another way in which we can achieve health outcomes in a way that does not have to mean building and maintaining new hospitals. (Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee Session, 18 September 2012).

**World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF):** First, we have to integrate the national performance framework with the budget. To date, we do not see that happening, so the committee's identification of the national performance framework is welcome. Once we have done that, we have to broaden out its purpose and, rather than give it the overriding aim of pursuing GDP, engage with the other measures of wellbeing that I know many members have engaged with in recent years, such as the Oxfam Humankind Index and the ecological footprint index that was at one point part of the national performance framework (Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee Session, 18 September 2012).

**Inclusion Scotland:** I was at an event that was run by Oxfam, which has developed a tool to look at whether what people on the ground in communities want to be achieved is actually being achieved by any legislation or policy that affects their lives. That is a way of referring to people to see whether the budget spend is actually advancing the achievement of their human rights. We know that we will not do that overnight, but making progress would be a start (Equal Opportunities Committee Session on the Budget, 10 October 2013).

**The Carnegie UK Trust** stated their agreement with the Oxfam HKI approach and that it could be a tool to embed the framework in policy making and funding decisions. (Finance Committee session on the Budget and the NPF, 9 October 2013).

The Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee report on the Draft Budget 2014–15 acknowledges the Scottish Government's discussions with Oxfam (and others) on the NPF. The report outlines that reference was made by Unison, SCDI and the SCVO to the Humankind Index. While Oxfam can be assessed as having an equal influence to other organisations around the table (Unison, STUC, SCVO to name a few) the fact remains that the preparation of the HKI has elevated Oxfam to one of the most important partners that have influenced progress to date.

#### Causal story C

The debate would have occurred regardless of the publication of the HKI and the wider work of Oxfam and other partners in advocating for the debate.

The evidence highlights that regardless of HKI and wider lobbying that some change would be considered to the NPF at some future point in time to take into account changing priorities, political leadership and learning of what has worked and what has not. The demand to link the NPF more closely with policy decisions will also be critical to influencing future iterations of the NPF. Furthermore, there has been somewhat of a separation between economic growth and that of living standards. This has led to Labour, at least at a UK level, questioning economic growth much more seriously than in previous years.

On the basis of the consultation undertaken, our understanding is that this would have occurred sometime after 2016 to take into account any constitutional changes, etc. in response to either a 'yes' or 'no' vote to Scottish Independence. Therefore, in our opinion a debate would have occurred but not on the exact terms, and timescale, achieved to date.

## 5.1.4 Contribution analysis

Outcome	Rating	Short commentary (including reference to other evidence explanations as appropriate)
<b>Outcome 1 – A debate is commenced around alternative performance measures to GDP that better reflect the full spectrum of society, including the flourishing of the poorest in Scottish society, in terms of the social, environmental, as well as economic well-being.</b>	5	The evidence is that the HKI was the catalyst for the current debate about alternative performance measures to GDP. The activity of external partners has influenced the scope and pace of the debate about alternative performance measures to GDP, but much of this has been achieved using HKI as evidence to the cause.

The achievement of Outcome 1 can be directly traced to the motion and debate on the HKI in the Scottish Parliament and the subsequent response from the Scottish Government, which led to the Scotland Performs round-table discussions on the future of the NPF.

HKI has:

- broadened the debate about what contributes towards a successful economy;
- brought diverse groups together and opened up a link to policy makers;
- increased the reputation of Oxfam; and
- demonstrated significant potential for international use

Building upon the existing credibility of Oxfam Scotland in regards to international poverty, the production of the HKI has increased its awareness on domestic economic issues and opened up opportunities to engage in a wider range of partnerships. This indirectly provides Oxfam Scotland with further platforms to influence other partners, civic societies, etc. Active involvement in such partnerships (i.e. Insight Institute, UWS/Oxfam Partnership, etc.) will require resourcing and, if the momentum is to be continued, Oxfam Scotland will need to continue the active networking and influencing of policy makers on a one-to-one level that it displayed in the production and launch stages of the HKI and *Our Economy* reports.

It is significant that Oxfam has been able to involve other organisations such that they individually supported the HKI. This has been important in achieving the overall intended outcome, but is also testament to the value of HKI as a tool.

## 5.2 OUTCOME 2

### 5.2.1 Outcome Description

The National Performance Framework is reconsidered in terms of its Purpose Targets to fully address the socio-economic and environmental situations of those in poverty in order to provide 'a broader assessment of national well-being and success'.

### 5.2.2 Validation of Outcome 2

To date, Outcome 2 has not been achieved, although the process of reconsidering the NPF has commenced, as detailed in the narrative attached to Outcome 1. The expectation that Outcome

2 would have been achieved by the completion of this assessment was always unlikely given the scale of the task and wider external factors, such as the impending referendum on Scottish Independence. It should also be noted that it was not a direct objective of Oxfam Scotland to have achieved Objective 2 by this date.

There was a debate in Parliament in September 2012 that led to Oxfam’s direct involvement and the creation of the round table discussion – chaired by the Cabinet Secretary for Finance, Employment and Sustainable Growth – to improve the Scottish Government’s National Performance Framework, ‘Scotland Performs’.

The achievement of Outcome 2 is related to reducing the relative importance given to GDP in determining priorities, and increasing the value given to a range of other indicators, as set out in the HKI. A second issue is the requirement for the reconsidered (and rebalanced) NPF to be a tool to direct resources in a manner consistent with the priorities identified in the HKI, i.e. there is limited value in adopting the HKI if it is not going to be used as a tool to change circumstances for those people not benefiting from the current economic model. As such, there is a desire for the HKI to be proactively used within policymaking, as well as to measure success after implementation. Encouragingly, during 2013 and 2014 there has been much debate in the Scottish Parliament about how the NPF is used to inform policy rather than solely as a tool to measure change over time.

This validation of Outcome 2 is, therefore, based upon the pace of progress alongside an assessment of plausibility of achieving the outcome in the short-term (by 2016/17) and in the medium-term (2019/20).

### 5.2.3 Salient causal stories

The following causal stories were identified and are explored in detail in this section:

- A The HKI has been a catalyst for reconsidering the NPF in terms of its Purpose Targets including that it more fully addresses the socio-economic and environmental situations of those in poverty in order to provide ‘a broader assessment of national wellbeing and success’.
- B Alternative activity and factors have been a catalyst for reconsidering the NPF in terms of its Purpose Targets including that it more fully addresses the socio-economic and environmental situations of those in poverty in order to provide ‘a broader assessment of national wellbeing and success’.

<b>Causal story A</b>	The HKI has been a catalyst for reconsidering the NPF in terms of its Purpose Targets including that it more fully addresses the socio-economic and environmental situations of those in poverty in order to provide ‘a broader assessment of national wellbeing and success’.
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The HKI has provided a tool by which a range of partners, including civil society organisations and individual MSPs from a range of political parties, articulate the need for an alternative to GDP as a measure of economic success. The evidence is clear that without the HKI the case for change presented by Oxfam Scotland and others would have been much less cohesive.

Oxfam Scotland being invited to participate in a round table on the Scottish Government’s National Performance Framework (NPF) chaired by the Cabinet Secretary for Finance, Employment and Sustainable Growth, demonstrates a level of commitment to look at changing some of the indicators (although not the overall purpose) and consulting on the National Performance Framework. Four work streams have emerged from the round-table meetings:

1. Engagement with Parliament.
2. Presentation and Awareness.
3. Coverage of the Indicator set.
4. Public participation.

The objective of work stream 3, Coverage of the Indicator set, is to review the current Scotland Performs indicator set – including both the purpose targets and the national indicators – and identify potential improvements to coverage, through the development of new indicators and/or the replacement of current indicators. The areas that have already been identified by members of the round table, and by the work of Oxfam Scotland on the development of the HKI, include:

- work and employment – including job security, fulfilment, satisfaction, etc.;
- environmental factors – particularly resource depletion, the natural environment and biodiversity; and
- the strength of our communities and relationships – such as community cohesion, social connectedness and community resilience.

There is a consensus emerging from the work stream that NPF indicators should not just be about addressing current gaps in the indicator set, but also about improving or changing existing indicators. This is important in providing enhanced scope to change the NPF.

The objective of the work stream is to ensure that the NPF reflects what matters to the people of Scotland, through meaningful public engagement. Oxfam is seen as an important contributor to this strand of work due to its work on the Humankind Index, which has been 'leading the debate'.

This is a key endorsement of the status of Oxfam Scotland. Since the round table was convened, Oxfam has made presentations on the Humankind Index Policy Screening Tool to the full round table and is involved in the detailed work of the sub-groups on indicator coverage and public participation. This is a significant achievement for Oxfam Scotland.

There is evidence that other partners are using the HKI, and more generally the views of Oxfam, in pursuing the agenda, as detailed by the selected examples below:

**Kenneth Gibson, SNP MSP:** Stated that organisations, such as Oxfam and the Scottish Trades Union Congress, were calling for the inclusion of an indicator measuring median household disposable income, which they stated would be a much better indicator of national collective prosperity than GDP [Official Report, Finance Committee, 9 October 2013; c 3120]. The committee was persuaded by that suggestion and recommended that the Scottish Government incorporate such an indicator into the NPF. In the same debate **Linda Fabiani, SNP MSP** and **Jean Urquhart, Independent MSP** both cited the work undertaken by Oxfam through the HKI (Debate on the Draft Budget, 19 December 2013).

**Jean Urquhart, Independent MSP:** With reference to the HKI, asked whether there was an opportunity to review the National Performance Framework to the point that we would weight that (the Humankind Index), maybe in some of the equalities issues? (Finance Committee session on the Budget and the NPF, 9 October 2013)

**Alison Johnstone, Green MSP:** We have to measure what matters. Gross domestic product is not the be all and end all, but too many politicians remain addicted to the impossible goal of everlasting GDP growth at all costs. It is the type of economic activity that matters—not the amount and speed of growth. Oxfam's Humankind Index shows that Scottish people prioritise their health, safe and affordable homes, a pleasant local environment and satisfying work. It

also shows that although they think that money is important, they do not covet vast wealth; they just value having enough money to participate properly in society (Scottish Government Debate on the Economy, 8 January 2013).

**Linda Fabiani, SNP MSP:** We heard the cabinet secretary talk about the measurements of GDP, employment, unemployment and economic inactivity and I was very glad to see in the report that he was open to reviewing and revising the indicators, based on discussion, because that is very important. Along with Patrick Harvie, I was a member of the steering group that Oxfam ran on the Humankind Index, and I know that the cabinet secretary was interested in looking at some of its findings. The wider discussion beyond the findings of the Finance Committee is certainly worth having (Debate on Draft Budget, 19 December 2013).

Included below are a number of examples of where the HKI has been mentioned as a mechanism to improve the NPF.

**Example 1:** The Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee Report on the Draft Budget 2014–15, published in November 2013, highlights that the Committee acknowledges the complexity and challenge of linking budget lines to particular indicators in the NPF. The report welcomed the Scottish Government’s discussions with a range of key organisations, including parliamentary committees, the STUC and Oxfam, on the NPF. The report identified that several witnesses commented on the indicators that are, or should be, included in the NPF.

Representations by Unison, SCDI and the SCVO made reference to the Oxfam Humankind Index. The report outlines that Oxfam stated that while the NPF is a useful starting point in setting out the objectives of the Scottish Government and tracking progress, its own Index provides an indication of progress towards what people value as important to live well in their communities and that the budget should be amended to reflect the priorities of the Index. Unison considers the Scottish Government should build on the NPF and the Humankind Index to find a better way of measuring collective prosperity.

**Example 2:** The Finance Committee’s report on the Draft Budget 2014–15 (published in November 2013) welcomed the NPF and the emphasis on an outcomes-based approach. The Report identified that a number of witnesses suggested changes to the indicators within the NPF. In particular, there was considerable discussion in relation to the usefulness of the current economic indicators. Some witnesses questioned whether GDP is the most suitable measurement of national economic prosperity. The STUC recommended removing any one of the economic indicators and replacing it with a measure of median household disposable income. Oxfam Scotland also endorsed this approach and stated that it would be a better measure of the benefit of economic growth to the typical household in Scotland.

**Causal story B**

Alternative activity and factors have been a catalyst for reconsidering the NPF in terms of its Purpose Targets to more fully address the socio-economic and environmental situations of those in poverty and in order to provide 'a broader assessment of national wellbeing and success'.

Alongside Oxfam Scotland a wide range of organisations, for example the Carnegie UK Trust and Scottish Environment LINK, are seeking to influence the NPF agenda. While the Carnegie UK Trust are well ingrained in the work of the round table, some of the other organisations now lobbying on the NPF may be utilising the space created by the Humankind Index and the initial Oxfam, FOES and WWF briefing on the NPF. The evidence suggests, rather obviously, that by coming together in a coordinated manner, civil society organisations can have a much more effective influence than acting independently, or by not engaging at all.

The evidence is that alongside Oxfam Scotland a range of other partners have been valuable in influencing the terms of the debate, and will continue to be important in shaping the future model of the NPF. Oxfam Scotland has sought to broaden support for the principles behind the HKI and, having done so, created a broader base for advocacy. This is evidenced from consultation with key stakeholders and analysis of representations made in the Scottish Parliament below.

**Stephen Boyd, Assistant Secretary, STUC:** Given its work-focused perspective, the STUC is concerned that the current framework does not make sufficient reference to the workplace, the nature of work and people's experience of and treatment at work. The good research that Oxfam and the Carnegie UK Trust have recently undertaken emphasises that, for most people, their experience of the workplace has a major impact on their well-being (Finance Committee session on the Budget, 9 October).

**Patrick Harvie, Green Party MSP:** In the past few years Oxfam has drawn up its Humankind Index, which we have debated in the chamber and which, I think, has helped to inform John Swinney's work. The Carnegie Trust has produced its report *Shifting the Dial in Scotland* and the Church of Scotland has published the report of its special commission on the purposes of economic activity. Subsequently, Oxfam has continued its work by publishing the reports, *Whose Economy? Winners and losers in the new Scottish economy* and more recently *Our Economy: Towards a new prosperity*, while the Jimmy Reid Foundation has contributed by publishing its paper on *The Common Weal: a model for economic and social development in Scotland*. Taken together, those documents – and others – offer a transformational vision of a better Scotland, a more equal society and a more sustainable economy (Debate on Scotland's Economy, 19 September 2013).

As would be expected, the Finance Committee Report on the Budget (December 2013) identified a range of representations made regarding the NPF that didn't directly reference Oxfam Scotland, details of which are provided below.

The Carnegie UK Trust stated in written evidence that it is not entirely clear how the NPF is used within Government and that Scotland Performs is not embedded into policy-making processes. They argue that without further investment, there is a risk that it will remain a public performance reporting mechanism with limited impact on policy development.

The Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee report presented to the Cabinet Secretary for Finance, Employment and Sustainable Growth stated that an issue that arose within their

evidence gathering was the apparent lack of consultation by the Government in developing the NPF. The Carnegie UK Trust stated that one weakness was that the Government did not engage civil society about which domains of well-being or measures or outcomes should be used. SCVO suggest that the national outcomes and the measures should be a co-produced effort involving wider society such as the business community, civil society and academia.

The Cabinet Secretary for Finance, Employment and Sustainable Growth conceded that there was almost no public consultation or dialogue about what was in the first round of indicators. This was reinforced by the Finance Secretary in June 2014 following a contribution by Oxfam Scotland (one of only three external organisations represented) at a round table discussion held as part of a learning visit with 20 experts from Northern Ireland. It seems reasonable to suggest that the Scotland Performs round table discussions currently underway will enable a broader and more transparent debate involving the key civil society organisations.

Our consultation has revealed that while the HKI has generated discussion within civil society organisations, selected MSPs and wider policy circles, there is still a disconnect with many of those at the most senior policy making level. Given the broad range of HKI and *Our Economy*, it is evident that not all senior policy-makers are aware of their existence, further demonstrated through a low appreciation and understanding of the HKI among some key opinion formers at the highest level of the Scottish Government.

A possible causal factor is that changes to the National Performance Framework occur that:

- are influenced by other non-HKI factors; and/or
- do not reflect the ideas and principles included in the HKI.

It might be argued, therefore, that any changes that materialise are likely to occur due to changes in the views of the most senior politicians and their advisers (whoever they may be in the future). As such, the influence of the Finance Secretary is highly significant, and Oxfam Scotland has undertaken significant influencing in this regard. That said, the rationale for the Scotland Performs round table is to ensure that any changes are widely supported.

A sub-group of Work stream 3 has been established, chaired by the Scottish Government's Chief Statistician, to review the coverage of the indicator set, investigate possible improvements and make recommendations. Several members of the Round Table have been approached to participate in this subgroup, including Oxfam Scotland.

A number of other organisations have undertaken activities relating to Scotland Performs. For example, the Scottish Universities Insights Institute (SUII) has undertaken a series of events looking at well-being and considering how to use Scotland Performs on policy development. Oxfam Scotland has taken part in events relating to this, highlighting the HKI and the related policy tool.

Our consultation has revealed that the views of third sector organisations, including Oxfam Scotland, on economic matters, is still regarded as less important to key political influencers than that provided by private sector representatives, such as the CBI. This view was expressed by MSPs and a number of civil society organisations.



## 5.2.4 Contribution analysis

Outcome	Rating	Short commentary)(including reference to other evidence explanations as appropriate)
<p><b>Outcome 2 – The National Performance Framework is reconsidered in terms of its Purpose Targets to fully address the socio-economic and environmental situations of those in poverty in order to provide ‘a broader assessment of national well-being and success’.</b></p>	<p><b>3</b></p>	<p>The current Scotland Performs round table discussions and commitment to public consultations are evidence that the National Performance Framework is being reconsidered. The current amber rating may evolve into green once there is more confidence of this translating into changes to the NPF that provide a broader assessment of national well-being and success.</p> <p>While Oxfam Scotland, through the HKI, was a catalyst to bring forward the discussion, it is evident that a wide range of partners has been important in supporting the distance travelled relating to Outcome 2. Nevertheless, in terms of its influence, we regard Oxfam via the HKI as being critical.</p>

Overall, Oxfam has contributed to the progress in achieving the steps to deliver the outcome, but it is simply too early to predict what the final outcome will be in terms of the content and role of a future NPF. The debate has been started and there is no way of determining with any certainty whether Oxfam and its allies will be successful in changing the overall purpose of Government away from economic growth per se to embracing a broader agenda informed by a revised NPF.

A benchmark of success is whether the Scottish Government follows up its commitment to revise the National Performance Framework with positive actions that are endorsed by the round table and/or alters its approach to policy making to better account for the principles behind the Humankind Index. This has not been achieved to date, but engagement with the Scottish Government is encouraging and there is no doubt the Finance Secretary understands Oxfam Scotland’s position. On the basis of consultation undertaken it was regarded as very unlikely that this would have been achieved in the two years since HKI was launched. In this context, the Community Empowerment Bill, which was published on 12 June 2014, contains a proposal to put the National Outcomes on a legislative footing i.e. enshrine the NPF in legislation. This will include a five-year cycle of reviewing the NPF.

The Scottish Government is also planning to consult with the public on the NPF. While there are positive indications, there is no guarantee that the Scottish Government will endorse arguments in favour of a broader assessment of national well-being and success. The design of the consultation process will therefore be important if lessons from the Humankind Index consultation are to be learnt, and socio-economic and environmental considerations are to be taken fully into account.

While discussions are on-going via the round table, the common view is that no significant changes to the NPF will be seen in the short term (i.e. by 2016). It is much more likely that some changes will be evident in the medium term (i.e. by 2020). While it is understood that possible changes to the indicator set will be considered at the round table in Autumn 2014, there is no guarantee that such changes will be significant in the context of Outcome 2.

The stakes have also been raised by seeking to ensure that Scottish Government policy decisions reflect the priorities contained in the NPF and that the NPF is then used to measure the success of Government decisions. Alongside placing the NPF on a legislative footing through the Community Empowerment Bill, the detail of any future version of the NPF is therefore likely to be under much closer scrutiny from both the Scottish Government and political parties.

The fact that the HKI is so well known within key policy circles has been vital, and the credit for this lies with Oxfam. We believe that Oxfam has assisted by creating mechanisms for other stakeholders to play their part via:

- being part of the HKI Steering Group;
- supporting the content of the HKI and its potential use as an alternative measure of progress; and
- referencing the HKI in their own representations to Government.

While the referendum debate has proved to be a key focus, it is evident that there is a real commitment to the NPF round table discussions signalled through the frequency of the meetings at such a busy time.

## 5.3 OUTCOME 3

### 5.3.1 Outcome description

The Scottish Government considers an alternative economic approach based on community-led economies that focus on the quality and distribution of growth. This includes specifically influencing the Economy Committee and the Minister for Finance, as well as creating tolerant attitude towards the creation of a Poverty Commissioner.

### 5.3.2 Validation of Outcome 3

At the present time the common perception is that there remains an over-reliance on GDP as the key driver for assessing any 'improvement' of the economy of Scotland. However, there is a growing awareness that moving away from a model that is driven largely by GDP could be a way forward.

At the time of this evaluation, the Scottish Government is not explicitly considering an alternative economic approach based on community-led economies that focus upon the quality and distribution of growth. There is evidence that progress has been made, through the legislative process, in piecemeal steps being agreed that will contribute to this agenda, for example, the broad support for the living wage.

The ability of civic society to influence policy at the Scottish Parliament is widely regarded as being greater than at Westminster for a number of reasons. Firstly, Scotland has a smaller number of key civil society organisations that benefit from positive working relationships with political parties and politicians. This provides a greater relative degree of access to inform and influence. While it appears obvious to highlight, it is the organisations with credibility and capacity that have the most influence, and Oxfam falls within this category.

The view that it is a straight choice between an economy measured by whether GDP goes up or down or an economy measured according to the quality and distribution of growth, has been disproved by our consultation. There is a common acceptance that they are not mutually exclusive.

In making representations to the Local Government and Regeneration Committee in response to its call for evidence on the Regeneration Inquiry (which closed in March 2013) Oxfam suggested the creation of a Poverty Commissioner and new socio-economic duties for public bodies aimed at reducing poverty and inequality, replicating the Highlands and Islands Enterprise's social as well as economic remit. This proposal appears to lack support. Interviews with MSPs supportive of Oxfam, HKI and the general vision of the *Our Economy* report have indicated what can be regarded as best as a lukewarm support for a Poverty Commissioner. It is difficult to foresee a situation where this is subsequently delivered in the short-term. However, the call for a Poverty Commissioner has been successful in achieving media coverage and, as such, has been used as a point of entry for discussing the *Our Economy* agenda more widely.

### 5.3.3 Salient causal stories

The following causal stories were identified and are explored in detail in this section:

- A Oxfam has directly and indirectly influenced the Scottish Government to consider an alternative economic approach.
- B Other partners have directly and indirectly influenced the Scottish Government to consider an alternative economic approach.

<b>Causal story A</b>	Oxfam has directly and indirectly influenced the Scottish Government to consider an alternative economic approach.
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Oxfam Scotland is becoming increasingly recognised as an organisation with a lot to say on the economy of Scotland as a direct result of the *Our Economy* report and the HKI – including the publicity flowing from them and the follow up advocacy work. This is demonstrated through the securing of a motion to the Scottish Parliament on 26 June 2013 that welcomed the *Our Economy* report.

The motion stated that:

*Parliament welcomed the report by Oxfam, Our Economy, which sets out Oxfam's vision for the economy in Scotland; notes that this report calls on policymakers, politicians and people in business to look toward the poorer sections of society who still do not benefit from economic growth in Scotland; recognises the report's recommendation for greater control to be given to communities over how regeneration happens in local areas, such as Central Scotland; applauds Oxfam's commitment in encouraging employers to pay a living wage, and praises Oxfam's on-going work on reducing what it considers the ever-widening salary gap between those at the top and those at the bottom.*

Cross-party support for this motion led to a debate on the *Our Economy* report that was held at the Scottish Parliament on 3 September 2013.

Quotes from SNP, Labour, Green and Independent MSPs are included below:

<p><i>Our Economy</i> is the starting point for many MSPs to re-examine what we want to achieve in a prosperous independent Scotland.</p> <p>The Oxfam report is one that we should listen to.</p> <p>We must not only support those recommendations, but act on them to give our communities the mechanisms that they need in order to design local economies that are based on the needs of local industry and people, as well as on the principles of economic and social equality.</p>
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At its heart, Oxfam Scotland's call is for a transformative structural change that would embed Scotland's economy as a servant of the people instead of its being the other way round.

Oxfam's *Our Economy* report makes a powerful case for challenging the existing economic model.

The Oxfam report lays out some of the political choices that lie before us if we truly want to tackle poverty and inequality, and to promote genuine opportunity and fairness for all, but none of us should underestimate the difficulty of the challenge that is before us.

The Oxfam report outlines how crucial tackling poverty and inequality is to achieving our vision of a successful Scotland with opportunities for all ... to flourish, as set out in the Scottish Government's purpose. I absolutely agree with the report's focus on helping the poorest in society. That is why tackling poverty and inequality is a central priority for the Scottish Government.

*Our Economy: Towards a new prosperity* is the starting point for many of us to re-examine what we want to achieve in a prosperous independent Scotland.

We must endeavour to ensure that we pay great attention to the issues that have been highlighted by the Humankind Index and that we do all that we can to foster the new prosperity that is detailed in *Our Economy*. It is really important to note that the extensive research shows that having money is not a priority; therefore it makes no sense to base all our economic policies on GDP.

The recommendations in *Our Economy* appeal to the social democratic nature of Scottish politics and society. We must not only support those recommendations, but act on them to give our communities the mechanisms that they need in order to design local economies that are based on the needs of local industry and people, as well as on the principles of economic and social equality.

Oxfam's *Our Economy* report makes a powerful case for challenging the existing economic model. The Oxfam report lays out some of the political choices that lie before us if we truly want to tackle poverty and inequality, and to promote genuine opportunity and fairness for all, but none of us should underestimate the difficulty of the challenge that is before us.

The statements outlined above are powerful. In terms of influencing the agendas of political parties there is limited evidence of Oxfam Scotland or other partners' priorities influencing emerging manifestos. This is not to say that this will not happen in the future, but the policy development cycle has not yet arrived.

Our narrative in previous Outcome sections includes details of how Oxfam Scotland and other organisations have referenced the HKI and *Our Economy* in their representations to Government.

It is important that Oxfam Scotland continues to pursue the agenda and maintain the momentum of activity. For example, Oxfam Scotland submitted written evidence, and in April 2014 presented oral evidence, to the Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee in the Inquiry into Scotland's Economic Future Post-2014. The Oxfam Scotland evidence generated substantial media coverage, including on the BBC Scotland and STV websites, in the *Metro* and the appearance of the Head of Oxfam Scotland on *Newsnight Scotland*. Oxfam Scotland also helped a Labour MSP, Ken Macintosh, with amendments on wage ratios to the Procurement Reform Bill, as well as supporting a number of other 'ethical amendments' – including on a living wage, tax dodging, climate change and fair trade. While the majority of these amendments were rejected by Government they did lead to some small changes to legislation while the wider debate provided a hook to talk about the role of Government in creating a better economy.

#### Causal story B

Other factors have influenced the Scottish Government to consider an alternative economic approach.

As part of this assessment stakeholders were consulted on the most important research documents, strategies or plans that have shaped their thinking about how best to improve the economy. The most frequently mentioned sources include:

- *The Price of the Inequality* by Professor Joseph Stiglitz
- *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone* by Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett
- *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* by Thomas Piketty (translated by Arthur Goldhammer).

We regard these sources as *Tier 1* in terms of their level of influence upon MSPs, civil society leads and other key individuals interviewed. They are publications that provide broad theories and are not solely focused on conditions in Scotland.

Our consultation identified that across Scotland a number of organisations are well respected for the work they have produced regarding economic issues. These include The Jimmy Reid Foundation (including the Common Weal), The Carnegie Trust, Oxfam Scotland, the Scottish TUC, Unison and The Church of Scotland, among others.

In terms of the relative level of importance of influencing thinking about the economy we have identified works by the above organisations as *Tier 2*. This is on the basis that they were less frequently mentioned by stakeholders as significant contributory thinking that has shaped their own views and values.

While less likely to have directly influenced the position of those stakeholders consulted on social justice, etc. they are valuable in placing poverty and the economy in a Scottish context, and have been important in structuring their individual representations on improving the economy of Scotland.

Stakeholders consulted acknowledged a much wider range of sources that inform their view on the economy of Scotland. These include:

- The Church of Scotland
- The Economic and Social Research Council
- The Fraser of Allander Institute
- The Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR)
- The Institute of Fiscal Studies (IFS)
- The International Monetary Fund (IMF)
- The New Economics Foundation
- The New Policy Institute
- The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)
- The Resolution Foundation
- The Royal Society of Edinburgh
- SPICe
- The Scottish Trades Union Congress
- Unison
- Universities.

From an Oxfam Scotland perspective, the HKI was regarded as a much more influential report than *Our Economy*, the reasons for this are covered further elsewhere in this report.

While Oxfam Scotland has clearly demonstrated strong leadership, a commitment to partnership working and considerable vision in developing the HKI, it is clear that other stakeholders have

had a vital role in contributing towards its success. It is worth noting this has been acknowledged by Oxfam, and informed the approach taken from the outset.

For example, the HKI Steering Group included senior personnel from influential organisations across Scotland including:

- The Chief Medical Officer for Scotland
- The Glasgow Centre for Population Health
- The Scottish Trades Union Congress
- Politicians (MP, MSP and MEP) representing the SNP, Green Party, Labour and Liberal Democrats
- The Sustainable Development Commission
- The Poverty Alliance
- The Scottish Council for Development and Industry
- Scottish Business in the Community
- Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA).

The HKI Steering Group was supported by a team of consultants from a range of organisations, including Northern Star, the University of Glasgow, the Craighead Institute, the New Economics Foundation, and the Fraser of Allander Institute. Without the approach taken by Oxfam of building the support of the above organisations, the HKI would not have been as credible and influential. A key issue is the influence that Oxfam has had among a range of other organisations pursuing similar policy objectives. Evidence of this can be taken from Ken Macintosh (Labour MSP's response at the debate on *Our Economy* in September 2013 in which he stated:

*Oxfam is just one of several organisations that are helping to shape a new and more socially just approach in this country. From the Scottish Trades Union Congress to the Church of Scotland, and from the New Economics Foundation to Joseph Stiglitz and the authors of The Spirit Level, there is recognition – a plea even – that surely we should not and cannot, following a banking collapse and five years of recession, allow ourselves to return to the old ways.*

Other organisations lead upon, or contribute towards, wider but related campaigns to that presented by Oxfam Scotland through HKI and *Our Economy*. This includes, for example, the STUC's Better Way Campaign; the work of SCVO; Common Weal; the re-convening of an Alternative Economic Strategy Group by a number of academics; the Scottish Campaign on Welfare Reform; and the on-going activities of groups such as the Poverty Alliance.

While evidence shows that Oxfam is increasingly seen as an informative voice on domestic poverty and economy issues, it is evident that other organisations are seen as more important by Government. This includes the STUC and Unison and relates to some degree, we believe, to the size, representiveness, capacity and resources of such organisations.

However, the relative weight attached to third sector views on how the Scottish Government should manage the economy is still regarded as less important than that of the established business community.

### 5.3.4 Contribution analysis

Outcome	Rating	Short commentary (including reference to other evidence explanations as appropriate)
<p><b>Outcome 3 – The Scottish Government considers an alternative economic approach based on community-led economies that focus on the quality and distribution of growth. This includes specifically influencing the Economy Committee, the Minister for Finance and regeneration actors, as well as creating tolerant attitude towards the creation of a Poverty Commissioner.</b></p>	<p>2</p>	<p>In terms of directly influencing the transition to an alternative economic model there is limited direct evidence that HKI or <i>Our Economy</i> has achieved this.</p> <p>Our direct consultation revealed limited awareness of the content of <i>Our Economy</i>, namely:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Poverty Commissioner</li> <li>• Decent work, including the living wage</li> <li>• Community involvement in decision making</li> <li>• Sustainable Livelihoods Approach.</li> </ul>

The majority of stakeholders consulted held a pre-existing belief (i.e. prior to the publication of HKI and *Our Economy*) for the Government to move from promoting economic growth as the primary purpose of Government to one of addressing socio-economic inequality. There was a degree of pessimism in the view as to whether this will ever be delivered.

In terms of directly influencing the transition to an alternative economic model, there is no direct evidence that HKI or *Our Economy* has achieved this. The Community Empowerment Bill included traces of Oxfam principles, but not specific individual policy areas, and on this basis it is difficult to attribute golden threads to Oxfam’s work.

On the basis of the consultation, it seems that Scottish Government Ministers understand the rationale to tackle inequalities through a different economic model, but are reluctant to divert policy and resources from improving employment and GDP as these headlines will ultimately be what they are judged upon by political opponents and national media. This is going to be difficult to change in the short-term.

On the basis of the consultation it is evident that the political discourse has evolved since 2012 to include a much greater emphasis upon tackling societal inequalities through an alternative economic model. The evidence is clear that the production of the HKI, including the process followed, has had a key influence upon the timing of the debate and the clarity of representations made by many partners around alternative performance measures to GDP.

The referendum debate has given rise to a flurry of research reports that aim to assess the impact of Scottish independence, many of which have focused upon the likely impact upon the current economic model that is driven by GDP. Oxfam has been one voice in this.

The indications are that regardless of the result of the referendum it is likely that increased powers will be granted to the Scottish Parliament. In theory, this means that the Scottish Government will have increasing flexibility over setting its priorities. This could include pursuing an economic model that doesn’t follow the UK Government’s prioritisation on GDP.

In terms of being able to influence the debate as to future economic models, over the last two years there has been a growing appreciation of, and respect for, the knowledge and expertise of third sector organisations and civil society organisations among members of the Scottish Parliament. The Oxfam Scotland response to the Community Empowerment Bill consultation of



24 January 2014 outlined the suggestion to create a Poverty Commissioner encapsulating the voice and influence element inherent within HKI and *Our Economy*. The Poverty Commissioner would have the power to scrutinise the performance of officials, take feedback from communities and investigate complaints. Oxfam have also used the idea of a Poverty Commissioner as an 'entry point' to talk about poverty and state that poverty considerations need to be at the forefront of Government thinking across a range of issues. The Oxfam view, however, has not been taken on board, reflecting wider views gathered as part of this assessment that the Poverty Commissioner has limited appeal politically. Whether the broader aim of making policy makers consider poverty issues has been effective is harder to assess

## 5.4 OUTCOME 4

### 5.4.1 Outcome description

Anti-poverty organisations reframe their agenda by placing the economy as a central issue/topic that needs to be addressed, and acts upon this through campaigning/advocacy.

### 5.4.2 Validation of Outcome 4

There is a weight of evidence that a number of anti-poverty organisations have reframed their agenda by placing the economy as a central issue/topic. To some degree the upcoming referendum has contributed towards civil society organisations raising their gaze and has provided space for thought about what sort of Scotland people want to see. There is evidence of an increasingly coordinated approach across civil society organisations in relation to the economic agenda. This has been represented in organisations stepping outside their normal area of expertise to support the position of peer organisations. Our evidence indicates that Oxfam Scotland is part of this circle.

This activity has clear benefits for each partner in:

- building stronger relationships with peers
- being seen as a more authoritative voice by policy makers.

### 5.4.3 Salient causal stories

The following causal stories were identified and are explored in detail in this section:

- A Oxfam activity has influenced anti-poverty organisations to reframe their agenda by placing the economy as a central issue.
- B Anti-poverty organisations have reframed their agenda by placing the economy as a central issue due to non-Oxfam factors.

<b>Causal story A</b>	Oxfam activity has influenced anti-poverty organisations to reframe their agenda by placing the economy as a central issue.
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There is evidence that, since the publication of HKI, a number of organisations have increasingly recognised their role in campaigning for a more equitable economic model. This includes Unison Scotland and the SCVO. This is a positive trend.

Unison Scotland is explicit in its view that Oxfam Scotland has directly influenced the broadening of its agenda. Previously the focus was upon pursuing an agenda based largely upon the needs of members related to pay awards and conditions, etc. It now regards its role as influencing this agenda, which is beneficial to Oxfam Scotland and all other supporters of the ethos of HKI and *Our Economy*.

The fact that Unison Scotland, which represents more than 150,000 members, has become increasingly aligned to the position endorsed by Oxfam Scotland has the potential for even greater wins. For example, Unison has a direct route into the policy development of the Scottish Labour Party. However, at the time of writing there is no way of robustly testing whether this indirect influencing has affected manifestos, given the relatively early stage in the cycle of manifesto development.

The Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO) is the membership organisation for Scotland's charities, voluntary organisations and social enterprises. SCVO now talks about the broken economic model and need for wider measures of success, in part due to the influence of Oxfam. SCVO strongly references elements of *Our Economy* in its own briefings independently of any request from Oxfam to do so.

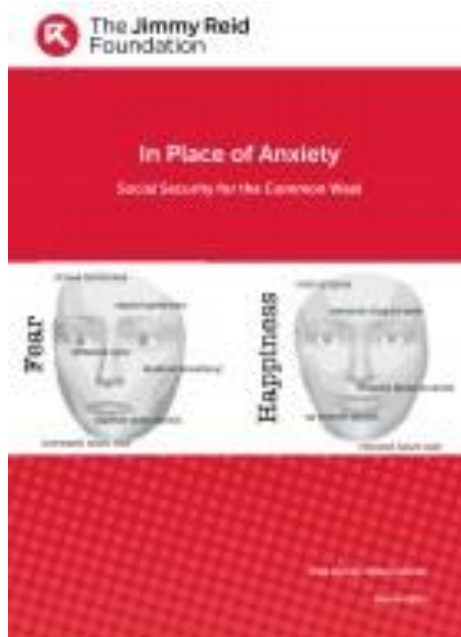
This is evidenced in the recently launched SCVO report *An Economy For All*. The paper presents four principles that could help to underpin a fairer economy, and then considers the various ways in which we could make this more equitable economy happen – all while recognising the realities of the current global economy.



The Introduction reads:

*This is part of SCVO's continued interest in this area, following on from our Alternative Economy event as part of the ESRC's Festival of Social Science, and our event with economists John Kay and Stewart Lansley, and Oxfam GB amongst others at SCVO's Gathering earlier this year. Both of those events were well attended – demonstrating the growing interest in this topic by the third sector, following on from notable work that Oxfam Scotland, Carnegie Trust, Scottish Wildlife Trust, Scottish Environment LINK, STUC and others have been carrying out in the past few years.*

The consultation has revealed that the HKI and *Our Economy* have influenced the priorities of the Jimmy Reid Foundation that continue to develop informative policy documents. This is important as the Jimmy Reid Foundation is highly regarded in policy circles and has featured heavily within the media. An example is provided below:



This March 2014 publication by Willie Sullivan and Ailsa McKay offers a model of social security for Scotland based on humanity and collective security. It argues that a piecemeal tinkering of existing structures of social security is not enough. Stopping a creaking system from falling over means on-going social and economic costs for that patch-up. A whole new integrated system of social security starting with well-paid work, a home to build a life from and a Citizens' Income as the most efficient and secure means of giving a base income, should be created.

Consultation with the author revealed that the Oxfam HKI was a key driver in the structure and basis of the report and this is confirmed in the opening section.

Scottish Environment Link is a third sector Intermediary body comprising 37 non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Within the sector the majority of partners traditionally did not place any emphasis on engaging in an economic agenda, with the exception of Friends of the Earth and the World Wide Fund for Nature. However, our consultation has revealed that the 2012 publication *Environment and the Economy – Helping Scotland to Flourish* was directly influenced by the activity of Oxfam Scotland.

## **Environment and the Economy Helping Scotland to Flourish**



The preparation work for this report was undertaken in parallel with *Our Economy* and the report itself directly references the HKI. The report highlights:

*Economic growth is about increasing wealth and consumption – the very process which, inadequately regulated, has caused inequality and environmental damage.*

*An excessive focus on growth runs counter to the needs of the future, where we will need a more balanced view of progress. It is simply wrong to suggest that this will be delivered simply by economic growth.*

Scottish Environment LINK has now created an economics taskforce and in early 2014 updated and re-published the joint Oxfam, WWF and Friends of the Earth briefing on the NPF from 2011.

Anti-poverty organisations value the work undertaken by Oxfam Scotland, as well as Oxfam’s considerable brand reputation, and this has informed their own representations to Government. For example, at the Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee Session on 18 September 2013 a number of contributing organisations referenced Oxfam’s work, as summarised below:

**UNISON Scotland:** In our evidence, we pointed to the Oxfam Humankind Index and the Carnegie Trust’s very good work in that area, and I agree (with SCVO) that the national performance framework must be a broader document.

**SCVO:** Oxfam’s Humankind Index project has been very successful in reaching some of the communities that other research rarely reaches, and it has found that top among people’s concerns are being able to enjoy the environment around them and having a safe community in which they can get to work and back. If we add to that the health outcomes that can be gained from sustainable transport, I completely agree that it must be one of the priorities. It is another way in which we can achieve health outcomes in a way that does not have to mean building and maintaining new hospitals.

**WWF:** First, we have to integrate the national performance framework with the budget. To date, we do not see that happening, so the committee’s identification of the national performance framework is welcome. Once we have done that, we have to broaden out its purpose and, rather than give it the overriding aim of pursuing GDP, engage with the other measures of wellbeing that I know many members have engaged with in recent years, such as the Oxfam Humankind Index and the ecological footprint index that was at one point part of the national performance framework.

**Causal story B**

Anti-poverty organisations have reframed their agenda by placing the economy as a central issue due to non-Oxfam factors

The evidence gathered demonstrates that a range of anti-poverty organisations have been influenced by non-Oxfam factors. This is demonstrated in the references included in partners’ strategies and plans. Examples used in Causal story A, above, are explicit in referencing those organisations who say their publications have been influenced by Oxfam Scotland’s work. The narrative as part of Outcome 3 outlines the wide range of organisations and publications whose views and priorities have been influenced by Oxfam.

## 5.4.4 Contribution analysis

Outcome	Rating	Short commentary (including reference to other evidence explanations as appropriate)
<b>Outcome 4 – Anti-poverty organisations reframe their agenda by placing the economy as a central issue/topic that needs to be addressed and acts upon this through campaigning/ advocacy.</b>	<b>3</b>	Evidence exists to demonstrate that a range of key anti-poverty organisations have reframed their agenda by placing the economy as a central issue within their organisation.

Through the process of developing *Our Economy* and the HKI, Oxfam has been successful in drawing people into a shared understanding of the key issues based upon robust community involvement and evidence gathering. The scope and scale of influence on different anti-poverty organisations varies significantly. This in part relates to their history and vision for the future.

Oxfam has informed the approach taken by partners and broadened the terms of the discussion about how to measure a successful economy. For many stakeholders, however, the general ethos of Oxfam’s work already aligned with their current views, although HKI in particular provided a tangible way of presenting this, i.e. provided a product to market.

It is evident that anti-poverty organisations have been influenced by a wide range of factors. As mentioned previously this includes highly regarded publications from Joseph Stiglitz, Thomas Piketty, etc.

Oxfam Scotland has been successful in identifying the right partners to work with in the most appropriate way. Involving partners and deprived communities adds value, legitimacy and radicalism to policy work. This has included community-based organisations that work within disadvantaged communities as well as organisations with the capacity and mandate to develop the agenda further.

## 6 CONCLUSION

The 'Beyond the Horizon' project has had considerable impact in stimulating debate and bringing forward active and participative discussion on the future of the NPF. Oxfam Scotland, through the 'Beyond the Horizon' project has facilitated a greater understanding of an alternative economic approach, and there is evidence of individuals and organisations reflecting this thinking within their own activities.

On the basis of the consultation undertaken, the HKI was regarded as having a greater direct influencing impact than *Our Economy*. Oxfam has not strategically focused upon a small number of key issues, with the approach tending to be much wider. This might be viewed negatively as reflecting a lack of understanding about where the biggest and quickest wins could be achieved, or more positively as a deliberate attempt to achieve the broader structural change Oxfam believes is necessary.

*Our Economy* therefore has 'latent potential', but if further traction is to be achieved Oxfam Scotland will need to ensure that appropriate resources are allocated. This will be a challenge in the context of internal restructuring and changes within the organisation.

Since the publication of the *Our Economy* and HKI, the perception of Oxfam Scotland as a key voice on the economy has changed significantly. Prior to the 'Beyond the Horizon' project, Oxfam was most commonly associated with responding to global disasters rather than national economic policy. The project has fundamentally shifted perceptions of Oxfam from a purely internationally focused organisation to one with a valuable contribution to make on domestic issues too. This shift has benefited Oxfam Scotland in terms of its standing amongst policy leaders, MSPs, civil societies and other bodies with a role in anti-poverty and the economy.

The HKI remains a well-regarded product by civil society organisations and within policy circles. Oxfam continues to retain credibility due to its on-going work at a community level, which ensures that its analysis is based on robust and relevant evidence and therefore has authenticity.

The status of Oxfam has increased significantly since the production of the HKI, although this trajectory had already started in the development of the Whose Economy seminar process. Oxfam is now regarded as an authoritative organisation in the poverty field, and increasingly so across wider economic issues. This is demonstrated in the value given to Oxfam representations through planned consultation processes. The view of Oxfam is also proactively sought from a number of MSPs interviewed during this assessment. In addition, the Scottish Labour Party has established a Social Justice Sounding Board and will be inviting Oxfam Scotland to participate.

The HKI has been a valuable tool in raising the profile of Oxfam Scotland as an organisation whose opinion on economic issues is valued. The rising status of Oxfam is demonstrated via invitations to contribute at key political and civil society events. For example, this has included (non-exhaustive list):

- presentations to the Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee, most recently in April 2014;
- presentation at the Scottish TUC policy planning event;
- attending an Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee away day that mapped out the business for the upcoming year. As a direct result of Oxfam involvement Joseph Stiglitz was invited to the committee to give evidence;
- speaking at a plenary event re: *Our Economy* at the 2013 Scottish Labour Conference;

- attending various evidence sessions to Scottish Parliament Committees; and
- attending a round table chaired by the Finance Secretary relating to measuring well-being in Northern Ireland.

As this demonstrates, Oxfam continues to be invited to contribute at a political level. This is evidence that the organisation has an increasing voice. This is important given the common view that the business sector is still widely viewed as the main influencer of Government (relative to the third sector) on economic policy.

Our consultation has revealed that many MSPs have a strong commitment to developing an economic model that places greater value on reducing inequalities as opposed to a sole focus upon overall economic growth. Their views have been largely formed from beliefs and experiences over many years. The degree to which organisations and publications have influenced their view varies from individual to individual. However, it is evident that Oxfam Scotland's publications – HKI and *Our Economy* – fall into an important second tier of most influential documents.

There is a perception, both internally and externally that Oxfam Scotland has lost momentum with a transition of staffing and a period of uncertainty regarding future organisational structure and advocacy priorities. There is a danger that just at the point where Oxfam can have significant influence – and having built up considerable credibility – a reduction in resources may limit what can be achieved.



# APPENDIX 1 DOCUMENTATION REVIEWED

The documentation review included the following:

- Our Economy Activity Timeline
- Our Economy: Towards a New Prosperity report
- Our Economy Advocacy Strategy, July 2013–May 2016
- Our Economy media monitoring report
- The Oxfam Humankind Index
- Links to various Humankind Index and Our Economy outputs
- UK Poverty in Scotland Project Implementation Plan
- Beyond the Horizon Project Closure Report
- HKI Media Plan and detailed Media Strategy
- HKI Process Report
- Selected Oxfam Scotland Briefing Notes and Update Reports
- Steering Group papers
- Revising Scotland's National Performance Framework – A briefing from Friends of the Earth, Oxfam Scotland and WWF Scotland
- Oxfam Scotland responses to Scottish Parliament committees call for evidence
- Scottish Parliament's Official Reports (equivalent to Dehavilland), including Committee reports and records of motions and debates
- Stakeholders responses to Scottish Parliament committees call for evidence
- Helping Scotland to Flourish – Report by Scottish Environment Link
- What Kind of Nation? A Manifesto for a Future Scotland – Report by Evangelical Alliance Scotland
- In Place of Anxiety – The Jimmy Reid Foundation
- Selected Scotland Performs Round Table papers

# APPENDIX 2 LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

## Stakeholders consulted:

- Alison Johnstone MSP, Scottish Green Party
- Andy Milne, Chief Executive, SURF
- Andy Myles, Parliamentary Officer, Scottish Environment LINK
- Bill Scott, Head of Policy, Inclusion Scotland
- Charlie Woods, Director of Scottish Universities Insight Institute
- Chik Collins, Reader, University of West of Scotland
- Dave Watson, Scottish Organiser, UNISON
- David Eyre, Former Media Officer for Oxfam Scotland's UK Poverty Programme
- Douglas White, Acting Head of Policy, The Carnegie Trust
- Francis Stuart, Research and Policy Adviser, Oxfam Scotland
- Iain Thom, Group Researcher, The Green Party
- Ishani Erasmus, SEPA (seconded to the Scottish Parliament Information Centre, SPICe)
- Jackie Baillie MSP, Scottish Labour
- Jean Urquhart MSP, Independent
- Jenny Bloomfield, Policy Officer, SCVO
- John Downie, Director of Public Affairs, SCVO
- John Wilson MSP, Scottish National Party
- Katherine Trebeck, Policy and Research Advisor, Oxfam GB Global Research Team
- Ken Macintosh MSP, Scottish Labour
- Linda Fabiani MSP, Scottish National Party
- Lindsay McColl, Acting Programme Coordinator, Oxfam Scotland
- Noel Dolan, Senior Special Adviser to the Deputy First Minister
- Peter Kelly, Director of the Poverty Alliance and Chair of Scottish Living Wage Campaign
- Stephen Boyd, Assistant Secretary, Scottish Trade Union Congress (STUC)
- Willie Sullivan, Director of the Electoral Reform Society in Scotland and Chair of Compass in Scotland

## Oxfam Effectiveness Reviews

For more information, or to comment on this report, email [ppat@oxfam.org.uk](mailto:ppat@oxfam.org.uk)

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# OXFAM

Oxfam is an international confederation of 17 organisations networked together in more than 90 countries, as part of a global movement for change, to build a future free from the injustice of poverty:

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Oxfam Australia ([www.oxfam.org.au](http://www.oxfam.org.au))  
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