



Oxfam Humankind Index
The new measure of
Scotland's prosperity.



The Oxfam Humankind Index for Scotland

First results

The Fraser of Allander Institute with Oxfam April 2012

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Executive Summary

Through its work with communities, it is clear to Oxfam that the model of the economy that has dominated the UK for most of the last century is outdated and has failed to reduce poverty. Oxfam believes that in order to achieve sustainable livelihoods for all, the range of assets that are important to people must be recognised and taken into account at all levels of government decision-making.

The goal of the Oxfam Humankind Index for Scotland is to assess Scotland's prosperity through a holistic and more representative measure of progress, beyond the dominant economic model which relies on Gross Domestic Product as the main indicator. The Oxfam Humankind Index measures the *real* wealth of Scotland – what really matters to the people of Scotland.

Oxfam engaged in a consultation process with people across Scotland in order to establish what aspects of life make a difference to them. Almost 3,000 people were involved in one way or another (focus groups, community workshops, street stalls, an online survey, and a YouGov poll). Oxfam made a particular effort to reach out to seldom heard communities, those groups whose interests are so often marginalised in the formal policy making process and whose voices are absent from decisions that affect them.

The consultation process produced a weighted set of elements ('sub-domains') that people reported as affecting the ability to live well in their communities.

According to Oxfam's consultations, people identified the following as being the most important assets in their lives:

- An affordable, decent and safe home and good physical and mental health
- Followed by living in a neighbourhood where you can enjoy going outside and having a clean and healthy environment
- Followed by having satisfying work to do (whether paid or unpaid); having good relationships with family and friends; feeling that you and those you care about are safe; access to green and wild spaces; and community spaces and play areas.

The Index revealed that 'local' measures are key to people's ability to live well, particularly those relating to people's immediate neighbourhoods. Local issues, such as, having facilities you need available locally; being part of a community; access to green and wild spaces; and living in a clean and healthy environment, contributed 35% of the total weighting generated by the public consultation.

In contrast, factors related to the economy (Work, Work Satisfaction, Having Enough Money and Financial Security) were relatively less important to the people consulted. In total, these factors contributed about 22% of the total. Crucially however, *sufficiency* and *security* of income is more important than high income, and the satisfaction derived from work was identified as one of the most important factors in people's ability to live well.

The Fraser of Allander Institute at Strathclyde University has measured how Scotland is performing against these factors, taking into account the relative importance of each issue. The resulting Oxfam Humankind Index has been constructed in such a way that in the following years new numbers can be fed in and an updated Index computed. This will gauge movements in Scotland's prosperity over time.

The Oxfam Humankind Index was calculated for 2009-2010 with a comparison made against 2007-2008. Since 2007-2008, Scotland's prosperity has increased by 1.2%, meaning that according to the range of areas that people in Scotland value, Scotland appears to have become more prosperous (even if just marginally).

Scotland's prosperity has been boosted by improvements in health and community spirit. For example, better self-reported health contributed almost 40% of all positive changes. The other major change is reflected in 'Community Spirit', which contributed 17% of the total increase between 2007-2008 and 2009-2010.

Other prosperity increases appear to be linked to better provisions of, or better access to, public services. If we include health, then approximately 70% of increased prosperity is attributable to improved public services, namely health; safety; green spaces; skills; education; transport; and services.

The Index also revealed negative changes in secure work; having enough money; financial security and culture. Most reductions in prosperity arose from deteriorations in issues related to the quality and status of the economy.

The Oxfam Humankind Index indicates that Scotland's most deprived communities are failing to share in improvements to the country's overall prosperity. They lag behind not just in terms of having enough money, but also in the fields of health, housing, the local environment, feeling safe and community spirit. More importantly, there appears to be no single reason, or even set of reasons, that contribute to their overall reduced prosperity.

Overall, the Oxfam Humankind Index offers policy-makers a new tool to measure Scotland's collective prosperity. It represents one of the first times that a multi-dimensional measure of prosperity has been attempted for Scotland and Oxfam hopes that development of the Humankind Index will stimulate debate, enable more appropriate policy responses and future research on how to foster and sustain a good life for all of the people of Scotland.

Introduction to the Oxfam Humankind Index

Since 1996 Oxfam has worked with others to overcome poverty and suffering in Scotland. Oxfam's work includes ensuring everyone has enough to live on, showing how change can happen and challenging policies and structures that perpetuate poverty. Through its work with communities, it is clear to Oxfam that the model of the economy that has dominated the UK for most of the last century has proved itself outdated and that it has failed to reduce poverty and inequality. Despite decades of economic growth, regeneration and anti-poverty policies², many Scots face a life characterised by high mortality, economic inactivity, mental and physical ill-health, poor educational attainment, and increasing exclusion from the dominant mode of economic development. It seems that in pursuing economic growth without sufficient regard to its quality and distribution we are chasing the wrong goal.

Instead, to achieve sustainable livelihoods for all, we need to recognise the range of assets that are important to people. To take account of these assets – which together shape the prosperity of both individuals and communities – we need to better measure our country's progress both over time and within our communities.

The goal of the Oxfam Humankind Index for Scotland is to assess Scotland's prosperity and real wealth – the conditions of wellbeing – by a more holistic and representative measure of progress, one that moves beyond economic growth and increased consumption.

The Oxfam Humankind Index goes beyond the narrow conception of wealth counted by Gross Domestic Product. Instead it focuses on the quality and distribution of growth, utilising and enhancing the assets of communities and the value of individuals to promote social and environmental sustainability. Construction of the Oxfam Humankind Index is about an economy that serves the people, not the other way around.

Oxfam hopes that the development of the Humankind Index for Scotland will stimulate debate, enable more appropriate policy responses and future research on how to foster and sustain a good life for all of the people of Scotland. The Oxfam Humankind Index represents one of the first times that a multi-dimensional measure of prosperity has been attempted for Scotland.³

And because the Oxfam Humankind Index is about valuing the things that really matter to the people of Scotland, we asked the Scottish people about those aspects of life that make a real difference to them. This process⁴ (conducted in 2011) and framed using the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach⁵ was augmented with other evidence regarding what is important to sustainability, prosperity and wellbeing. This consultation process was inclusive, especially with regard to seldom heard groups from across Scotland. Mixed methods were deployed to engage with communities on their terms, in their spaces.

The consultation process generated a range of views which were reviewed by the New Economics Foundation who constructed a weighted set of elements ('sub-domains') that people reported as affecting their ability to live well in their communities.

The final outcome of the consultation is shown in Table 1. The table defines both a set of sub-domains which outline the broad range of factors that people in Scotland believe are necessary to live well in their communities and, of equal importance, creates weightings for each of these that reflect their relative importance to Scottish people. This is one of the key results from the Oxfam Humankind Index project – it details a set of sub-domains which those who took part in the consultation indicated create prosperity in their lives. The composition of the Oxfam Humankind Index for Scotland is thus a reflection of the priorities of the people of Scotland.⁶

To what extent those conditions are met, and to what extent different people are able to enjoy these assets, is the subject of this report.

Results of the consultation

Table 4

Oxfam Humankind Index

| Order | Subdomain W | leighting (%) |
|-------|--|---------------|
| =1 | Affordable,decent and safe home | |
| = 1 (| Physical and mental health | |
| 2 | Living in a neighbourhood where you can enjoy going outside and hav a clean and healthy environment | ring |
| = 3 | Having satisfying work to do (whether paid or unpaid) | |
| = 3 | Having good relationships with family and friends | min 7 |
| = 4 | Feeling that you and those you care about are safe | |
| = 4 | Access to green and wild spaces; community spaces and play areas | |
| = 5 | Secure work and suitable work | 5 |
| = 5 | Having enough money to pay the bills and buy what you need | £ (5) |
| = 5 | Having a secure source of money | 5 |
| = 5 | Access to arts, hobbies and leisure activities | 85 5 |
| = 6 | Having the facilities you need locally | |
| = 6 | Getting enough skills and education to live a good life | |
| = 6 | Being part of a community | 1 |
| = 6 | Having good transport to get to where you need to go | 4 |
| 7 | Being able to access high-quality services | 1 3 |
| = 8 | Human rights, freedom from discrimination, acceptance and respect | 2 |
| = 8 | Feeling good | |

What the consultation tells us about people's priorities

Significantly, Table 1 also shows the relative importance of the various factors which people say are important to being able to live well in their communities. It indicates, for example, that housing and health are equally valued and that both are valued more than other subdomains such as having satisfying work or having the correct skills to live a good life. Living in a neighbourhood where you can enjoy going outside and having a clean and healthy environment is high on people's priorities, as is good relationships.

The consultation also shows that monetary factors are not people's top priority and that sufficiency and security of income is more important than gross amounts. It further highlights that the quality of work (particularly work that is satisfying) is an important consideration.

The quotes below are taken from the public consultation and give a sense of how people described the importance of the eighteen sub-domains.

| Affordable, decent and safe home | Being able to have the right to council housing [is important] as too many people [are] staying in private rented accommodation that they can't really afford. | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| | A secure place that people can call their own, control access to and build a life from. | | |
| Physical and | When I got ill I felt very isolated, alone. | | |
| mental health | Without good health you cannot work and [you cannot] help your family and community. Without health you cannot be positive or achieve your dreams. | | |
| | Health, including a healthy diet and lifestyle and local support in all your health needs, including mental [health]. | | |
| Living in a neighbourhood where you can | The environment's important to me, it makes me happy. It affects my mental health, it's inspirational, it supports my income and my family's income. | | |
| enjoy going outside | Pleasant, safe green spaces/ easy access to nature. | | |
| and having a clean and healthy environment | Well planned, aesthetically pleasing, old and new quality buildings giving a sense of place. | | |
| Having satisfying work to do | Having not just a secure job but one that feels worthwhile – not drudgery. | | |
| (whether paid or | Satisfying work – or at least work that does not make you ill. | | |
| unpaid) | Local and meaningful employment. | | |
| | Job opportunities that are fulfilling. | | |
| Having good relationships with | Strong supportive family relationships (children, parents and grandparents). | | |
| family and friends | Need to feel valued and happy, have great relationships with family and close friends. | | |
| | A stable network of supportive, caring, loving relationships to encourage, console, enthuse and otherwise support people throughlife and living[sic] it to the full. | | |

| Feeling that you | You want the kids to be safe when [they are] outside. | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|--|--|
| and those you care about are safe | If you are always watching your back, it saps your energy, you're not living your life as you're that busy worrying. | | | | |
| Access to green and wild spaces; | Space to participate in community life without necessarily spending money. | | | | |
| community spaces and play areas | Enough greenspace to allow them and theirs to have fresh air. | | | | |
| and play areas | Play areas for children and pets. | | | | |
| Secure work and | Good quality employment/ employers. | | | | |
| suitable work | The key issues for people in Barra and Vatersay is in provision of secure, worthwhile employment opportunities. | | | | |
| Having enough money to pay the bills and buy what | Me, my partner and little boy have to live on £75 [a week]. I sometimes don't eat so my little boy can eat – we don't have money for basics or extras – I had to sacrifice to save up for Gran's 80th birthday. | | | | |
| you need | Knowing that I will be able to survive, economically, when retired. | | | | |
| | Sufficient income to pay bills but also enjoy cultural or other activities (pastimes, hobbies). | | | | |
| Having a secure source of money | A man goes to work full time and still has to get the social [benefits] because wages is [sic] so low; he needed that money to keep his kids. | | | | |
| | An economy that supports everyone. | | | | |
| Access to arts, hobbies and leisure activities | Some stuff to do – activity clubs instead of using drugs and alcohol; community centre (archery, football, pool, dancing, squash); air cadets and army cadets. | | | | |
| | Culture – whether on TV or live. | | | | |
| | A vibrant, inclusive, exciting cultural life that reflects their own history and environment. | | | | |
| Having the facilities you need | The most important services are [the] post office: because it's handy, and has nice people. | | | | |
| available locally | Having somewhere local to socialise, cafe, Pub, restaurant, etc. | | | | |
| | Shops, bookies, doctors, dentist all nearby. | | | | |
| Getting enough skills and | If you don't have the skill you need there is a barrier between you and society. | | | | |
| education to live a good life | [Education] enables you to advocate for yourself and [it] brings hope. | | | | |
| good me | Access to education for all ages. Literacy and the ability to engage in social dialogue are critical. | | | | |
| Being part of a community | Atmosphere; feel happy to go to all the wee shops and talk to people. Good bus service. | | | | |
| | You get to know everybody and all my friends live here as well. | | | | |
| | Ability to know neighbours and be able to help and be helped. | | | | |
| Having good transport to get to | Getting a job is a nightmare. There's no transport after 7pm or at weekends so I can't work at weekends. | | | | |
| where you need to go | I go 45 minutes on the bus to get to the Job Centre – travel costs are high, sometimes I have to go twice a week. | | | | |
| | | | | | |

| Being able to access high-quality services | It's a blessing that we have basic services like clean water in this country when there are countries around the world that do not. High quality health and social services. Services that are properly accountable to service users. |
|---|---|
| Human rights, freedom from discrimination; acceptance and respect | Freedom from violence and discrimination. Freedom to associate, organise and representthe right to organise politically. |
| Feeling good | Being happy with who you are. |

Measuring Scotland's prosperity

The role of the Fraser of Allander Institute was to take the values provided by the consultation (as distilled by the New Economics Foundation⁷) and use these to define an index of Scotland's collective prosperity, the Oxfam Humankind Index for Scotland. This has been done by matching the sub-domains shown in Table 1 to appropriate measures using the best available data for Scotland. The next section discusses this approach and the measures used in detail. Following this, several variants of the Humankind Index are set out. The various indices outlined below allow assessment of prosperity in Scotland, examination of recent changes in prosperity (between 2007-2008 and 2009-2010) and comparison of Scotland as a whole with the position of deprived communities in Scotland.

Measures used

This section looks at the sub-domains defined by the people of Scotland as important factors in their prosperity, and discusses how they have been matched to Scottish data which could then be used to calculate the overall Humankind Index for Scotland.

All sub-domains are measured as percentages. The data sets used describe whether people are satisfied with their position with respect to the relevant sub-domain, for example, the percentage of people who reported that they were satisfied with their home (Sub-domain 1), or whether they were satisfied with local amenities (Sub-domain 12). Where satisfaction measures were not available or appropriate, a relevant percentage has been calculated, for example, the probability that an individual is in work (Sub-domain 8).

Some measures are not direct or perfect representations of the sub-domains that comprise the Oxfam Humankind Index. This shows that the way we currently measure what is important to the people of Scotland is patchy at best. Our recommendations to the Scottish Government regarding improved data collection are set out at the end.

Criteria for selecting data

The primary objective was to construct the Oxfam Humankind Index itself, to obtain for the first time an overall measure which adequately reflected the diverse priorities of people in Scotland. However, there was also a need to extend the Index in several useful ways that illustrate the changes and trends in Scotland's prosperity.

Firstly, comparison of the Index over time was undertaken. Data limitations meant that consideration of only one time period was possible. Nonetheless, the difference in the Index over this period is of considerable interest because it appears to capture the influence of a deteriorating economy after 2008, yet it highlights that overall prosperity increased in 2009-2010 despite lower economic activity in Scotland.

Given this, it is unfortunate that changes in the data⁸ meant that the comparison could not track back further. However, what is now established is a baseline that will allow measurement of the extent to which policy helps to meet people's priorities in the future.

Secondly, given Oxfam's focus on tackling poverty in Scotland, comparing the Index for deprived communities in Scotland against Scotland as a whole is crucial. As discussed in detail below, the Index clearly captures the substantial differences between deprived communities and all of Scotland and also identifies those areas where deprived communities suffer a deficit.

Thirdly, consideration of prosperity in Local Authority areas was undertaken (this is the subject of a future report).

The requirement that the Oxfam Humankind Index could be disaggregated in these three ways means that some data sets were not able to be used. The need for better data is discussed further below.



Sub-domain 1 – Affordable, decent home and safe home to live in

Clearly, this sub-domain (which was given a high weight by people engaged in the consultation) is intended to measure the satisfaction people obtain from the type of home they live in, and the three attributes listed (affordability, standard and security) presumably represent the most important qualities that people require from their home. There are difficulties in attempting to find one measure which satisfies all three of these requirements, and the data available was not sufficiently rich to

provide an individual measure for each of these three key factors. Given this, an overall measure of people's satisfaction with their housing situation was used (which may not strictly capture all three aspects of housing, but does provide a sense to which housing is satisfactory according to people's own priorities). The specific measure used to evaluate this first sub-domain was obtained from the Scottish Government's 'Scottish House Condition Survey' (specifically Table 3.11) in which respondents were asked whether they were satisfied with their home. The figure for those answering 'Very Satisfied' is used. In 2009-2010, 54.1% of Scottish respondents reported that they were very satisfied with their house.



Sub-domain 2 - Physical and mental health

Being in good health, both physically and mentally, ranked equally highly amongst people engaged in the public consultation. Given the well-known problems and inequalities in Scotland's health, one might have expected this measure to rank lowly on the overall Humankind Index score, despite its importance according to the people of Scotland. However, the health score in the Humankind Index (993.2) constitutes 18% of the total prosperity score – that is, almost 20% of overall prosperity results from good health.⁹

This is partly due to the way in which good health has been measured for the purposes of the Oxfam Humankind Index. The specific measure used was obtained from the Scottish Household Survey (SHS). The 2009-2010 Annual Report (specifically Table 10.6) asks individuals to self-assess the state of their health at a point in time, the possible responses being 'Very Good/Good', 'Fair' and 'Very Bad/Bad'. The proportion answering 'Very Good/Good' is used here.

Using this measure typically results in a high score for health, for example, 88% responded that their (self-assessed) health was good or very good in the 2007/08 survey and 93% did

so in 2009/10. These figures do tend to suggest that most people are in fact satisfied with the state of their health, despite Scotland's well-known health problems and health inequalities.

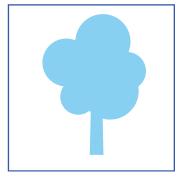
The SHS figures are also available over time and the difference between 2007-2008 and 2009-2010 (88% compared to 93%) does point to an improvement in self-reported health over this period.

Finally, the SHS provides this measure for both Scotland as a whole and for deprived communities in Scotland, and allows us to compare these groups – an important aspect of the Oxfam Humankind Index project.

An alternative data source for health was considered: life expectancy. However, in 2011, the Scottish Government introduced a new method of calculating life expectancy and now produces figures on Healthy Life Expectancy (HLE) instead of Life Expectancy (LE). ¹⁰ This new measure allows Scottish HLE estimates to be compared with EU and UK estimates, but prevents comparisons with the previous trend, something which is crucial in calculating the Oxfam Humankind Index. In addition, the most recently available figures for life expectancy in deprived areas only allow comparison of Scotland with deprived areas in either 2005-06 or 2007-2008, not 2009-2010 which is the time period under consideration here.

Given the above, the SHS figures are used. Crucially, these figures do capture differences between Scotland as a whole and deprived communities in Scotland – for example, Table 8 below estimates that 10% of the overall difference in the Humankind Index score between Scotland as a whole and deprived areas in Scotland is due to better health in Scotland as a whole. The measure also picks up known improvements in health over time – for example, life expectancy in deprived communities increased both in deprived communities (by 3.8% between 1999-2008) and in Scotland as a whole (by 3.4% over the same period). The Oxfam Humankind Index similarly detects an improvement in self-reported health in the two periods under consideration.

A self-reported measure is also consistent with the majority of other measures used in constructing the Oxfam Humankind Index, most of which represent people's opinions on those sub-domains which people consider to affect their prosperity.



Sub-domain 3 – Living in a neighbourhood where you can enjoy going outside and having a clean and healthy environment

This is measured by another SHS indicator. Specifically, Table 4.3 (various years) in the SHS asks respondents to consider aspects of their neighbourhood that they particularly like. One option is that they feel that they live in a 'Pleasant environment', and this is the best measure to capture the sense of living in a neighbourhood where you can enjoy going outside and a clean and healthy environment. In 2009-2010, 59% of

people in Scotland felt that they lived in a pleasant environment, and this figure was used to calculate the score for this sub-domain for that year.



Sub-domain 4 – Having satisfying work to do (paid or unpaid)

This is measured by a statistic published in the 2010 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (SAS). Table 3.4 of the SAS reports mean scores for satisfaction with different aspects of life in 2010, and the reported mean scores for respondent's satisfaction with their job are used. The SAS does not, however, report whether

the work involved was paid or unpaid. In 2009-2010 70.8% of people were satisfied with their job.



Sub-domain 5 – Having good relationships with family and friends

Attempting to measure the extent to which people have 'good' relationships creates several problems. The first is that it is intrinsically difficult to measure. Secondly, there appears to be no data source that currently measures how good (or bad) any relationships in Scotland are, and it is simply not possible to include a direct measure of this sub-domain in the Index. In principle, this sub-domain could be measured (for example, as

part of the biennial Scottish Household Survey) and we urge the Scottish Government to consider doing this to better capture this important factor of prosperity.

The measure used here partly assesses the extent to which people in Scotland are able to sustain close relationships. Economists usually consider that people choose between work time and leisure time on the basis of wage rates, with a higher wage meaning that the opportunity cost of leisure increases. While admittedly not an entirely obvious assumption, the measure used here assumes that the less time people spend at work the more they are able to sustain close relationships with family and friends. This corresponds at best only tangentially to the meaning of the sub-domain used in public consultation and we urge the Scottish Government to explore creating better measures of the quality of relationships in Scotland.

The ONS publication 'Regional Labour Market Statistics' provides data on the average working week in Scotland and shows that people work, on average, 86.2% of a forty-hour week. The time spent not at work is used here as a proxy measure of the extra time available for time with family and friends. This gives a low overall score to this sub-domain - it contributes 1.8% of the total Index score - which seems appropriate given the difficulty in measuring this sub-domain and the lack of data available to do so accurately.



Sub-domain 6 - Feeling that you and those you care about are safe

A reasonable approximation for this sub-domain was readily available, again from the Scottish Household Survey. Table 4.3 (see above) also asks respondents whether they feel they live in a safe area, and the response for Scotland as a whole was entered into the main Humankind Index. It is interesting to note that this question tended to receive a low score across all groups - for example, only 20% of respondents to the 2009-2010 survey felt they lived in a safe area (up from 19% in 2007/2008). Feeling safe therefore scores low in most of the Indices discussed below.



Sub-domain 7 - Access to green and wild spaces; community spaces and play areas

The SHS again provided a readily available and an acceptable correlate for this sub-domain. Specifically, Table 7.6 (various years) in the SHS surveyed both the availability of play areas in the neighbourhood and whether respondents lived close to a natural environment or wooded area. These figures are used to calculate the local availability of both, which equates to 43.5% for 2009-2010.



Sub-domain 8 – Secure work and suitable work

This actually measures three factors relating to the issue of work (security, suitability and work in and of itself). Given the obvious difficulties this presents, and the lack of usable data, we focussed on whether people are in employment or not. Specifically, the probability that an individual picked at random in an area (e.g. Scotland) is in employment was calculated, and this ratio (91.6%) was entered into the total Index.

This does mean that a high score is attached to the work subdomain, and some may argue that this does not reflect the current economic situation in Scotland. However, it is the case that the majority of the workforce is currently in employment and, given that most people obtain satisfaction from working, this does suggest that attaching a high score to this sub-domain is appropriate, if not a perfect representation of the full meaning of the sub-domain.

Crucially, however, the recent increase in unemployment is captured in examining the change in the Index between 2007-2008 and 2009-2010.

The lack of sufficiently nuanced data regarding the security and suitability of employment in Scotland highlights the need for more appropriate statistics to be gathered in the future.



Sub-domain 9 – Having enough money to pay the bills and buy what you need

Working and managing financially were treated separately by respondents to the public consultation underlying this project. This reflects that the extent to which people have enough money is not simply a function of income derived through work, but also income from other sources such as statutory benefits, investments and gifts. Also, the sufficiency of these income sources is contingent on the prices of goods and services people wish to buy.

The data is again drawn from the SHS. Specifically, Table 6.1 (various years) in the SHS asks households to respond to the question: 'How the household is managing financially this year?' This appears to correspond very closely to the issues of having enough money to pay the bills and buy what you need.

In 2009-2010, 49% answered 'Very Well' compared to 52% in 2007-2008.



Sub-domain 10 - Having a secure source of money

Financial security has been interpreted here as employment security (though the sub-domain describes financial security beyond employment - security of benefits and so on). The limitations of available data means that 'having a secure source of money' has been measured as the change in the probability, compared to the previous year, that a person picked at random will be unemployed. A negative figure represents an increase in the probability of unemployment, and therefore a fall in income security. A positive figure would reflect a fall in the probability

of being unemployment and therefore an increase in income security. Unemployment figures are taken from 'Local Area Labour Markets in Scotland, Statistics from the Annual Population Survey 2010', specifically Table 2.1. The relatively low figure again reflects that the majority of the workforce remains in employment, despite an increase in unemployment in Scotland from 4.9% to 7.7% between 2007-2008 and 2009-2010.

The lack of sufficiently nuanced data about whether people have a secure source of money highlights the need for more appropriate statistics to be gathered in the future.



Sub-domain 11 – Access to arts, hobbies and leisure activities

The SHS includes two responses which measure participation in both sport and culture (specifically, Table 13.1: participation in any cultural activity, and Table 13.10: participation in any sporting activity). Scottish participation in both activities was used to construct an overall measure for this sub-domain. In 2009-2010 61% of Scottish people participated in sport and culture.



Sub-domain 12 – Having the facilities you need available locally

'Facilities' could entail different things for different people, and therefore a decision had to be made regarding which ones to assess here. A response which seemed to address this issue at a general level was used. Specifically, Table 4.3 of the SHS asks respondents to assess whether they feel that their neighbourhood has 'good amenities' and this is used to assess the availability of local facilities. In 2009-2010 45% of Scottish people felt their neighbourhoods had good amenities.



Sub-domain 13 – Getting enough skills and education to live a good life

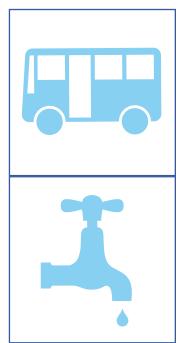
This sub-domain was proxied by the proportion of respective populations who have a degree and/or a professional qualification. It may be argued that this relates only to 'highlevel' skills (which, strictly speaking, are more than what is necessarily required to 'live a good life'), but using this measure allows examination of differences in education over time and between areas. Similar differences were also evident when using the only other available measure (degree/professional

qualification) plus (Higher National Certificate/ Higher National Diploma or equivalent). In 2009-2010 26% of Scottish people had a degree and/or professional qualification.



Sub-domain 14 - Being part of a community

Table 4.3 of the SHS asks respondents whether they feel their area has a 'Sense of community/friendly people', which appears to capture the essential meaning of this sub-domain. In 2009-2010 72% of people felt that their area had sense of community/ friendly people.



Sub-domain 15 – Having good transport to get to where you need to go

and

Sub-domain 16 - Being able to access high-quality services

Both transport and high-quality services were proxied by SHS figures. Specifically, Table 11.1 of the SHS (various years) provides details on the proportion of people 'very satisfied' or 'fairly satisfied' with the quality of public services delivered (local health services, local schools and public transport). Satisfaction with Transport was used for Sub-domain 15 (transport) and satisfaction with all Services was used for subdomain 16 (high quality services). In 2009-2010 75% of Scottish people were 'very satisfied' or 'fairly satisfied' with the quality of transport and 64.9% of Scottish people 'very satisfied' or 'fairly satisfied' with all services.

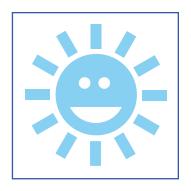


Sub-domain 17 - Human rights, freedom from discrimination; acceptance and respect

For the purposes of measurement, this sub-domain has been interpreted as describing the extent to which people in Scotland are tolerant of other cultures, opinions and lifestyles. This does not, perhaps surprisingly, appear to be something which is measured regularly, and only one acceptable measure could be obtained. The measure used here was taken from the findings of a special report by the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (SAS). The 2010 SAS reported the results of a poll which asked

whether people felt that 'Scotland should get rid of all prejudice' (see Table 2.1). 66% of respondents agreed, and this is used to measure the extent of tolerance across Scotland.

Because of a lack of data, this could not be tracked back to 2007-2008. This is an area where we urge the Scottish Government to compile data on changes in human rights, freedom from discrimination; acceptance and respect that can be compared over time, compared in deprived areas and across Local Authorities.



Sub-domain 18 – Feeling good

This was measured using the responses to another SHS question (specifically Table 10.10) where people were asked to rank 'Satisfaction with life as a whole nowadays' on a 1-10 scale. The majority of respondents ranked happiness as 7 or above, and the proportion scoring above 7 (in 2009-2010 81%) was used in order to pick up differences between respondents.

The Oxfam Humankind Index for 2009-2010

Table 2 below details the initial Oxfam Humankind Index for Scotland, measured in 2009-2010, which was constructed by multiplying together the weights from the public consultation with the measures for each sub-domain as discussed above.

The overall score (5,492) is not significant in itself – it could easily be rescaled to 5.492, 100, 1 or any other number. Its principal use, however measured, should be to examine how different sub-domains create prosperity and differences in prosperity between groups, areas and over time.

Table 3: 2009-10 Oxfam Humankind Index For Scotland

| Variable | Weight | Measure | Score |
|---------------------------|--------|---------|-------|
| Housing | 11 | 54.1 | 578 |
| Health | 11 | 93.0 | 993 |
| Neighbourhood/Environment | 9 | 59.0 | 516 |
| Work Satisfaction | 7 | 70.8 | 496 |
| Good Relationships | 7 | 13.2 | 90 |
| Safety | 6 | 20.0 | 117 |
| Green Spaces | 6 | 43.5 | 253 |
| Secure/Suitable Work | 6 | 91.6 | 534 |
| Having enough money | 6 | 49.0 | 285 |
| Financial Security | 5 | - 10.2 | -50 |
| Culture/Hobbies | 5 | 61.0 | 296 |
| Local Facilities | 4 | 45.0 | 175 |
| Skills and Education | 4 | 26.0 | 101 |
| Community Spirit | 4 | 72.0 | 280 |
| Good Transport | 4 | 75.0 | 291 |
| Good Services | 3 | 64.9 | 189 |
| Tolerance | 3 | 66.0 | 192 |
| Feeling good | 2 | 81.0 | 157 |
| | | Total | 5,492 |

Table 3 below shows the relative contribution of each sub-domain to overall prosperity. For example, 11% is due to satisfaction with housing, which is calculated as 578/5,492, taking the figures from Table 2. Using the same method, health contributes 18%, neighbourhood/environment 9%, and so on. The relative weight of each component in the Index itself is therefore a combination of both its weighting that was derived from the public consultation and the extent to which Scotland enjoys each factor of prosperity. For example, a sub-domain like health – which has both a high weight (11) and a high score (93%) – will make a significant contribution to overall prosperity (health contributes 18% to total prosperity.

Table 3: 2009-2010 Humankind Index for Scotland

| Sub domain | % Contribution |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| Health | 18 |
| Housing | 11 |
| Secure/Suitable Work | 10 |
| Neighbourhood/Environment | 9 |
| Work Satisfaction | 9 |
| Green Spaces | 5 |
| Having enough money | 5 |
| Culture/Hobbies | 5 |
| Community Spirit | 5 |
| Good Transport | 5 |
| Local facilities | 3 |
| Good Services | 3 |
| Tolerance | 3 |
| Feeling Good | 3 |
| Good relationships | 2 |
| Safety | 2 |
| Skills and Education | 2 |
| Financial Security | -1 ¹² |
| Total | 100 |

One important finding in Table 3 is the relatively low contribution of 'economic' subdomains (Work, Work Satisfaction, Having Enough Money and Financial Security). This primarily reflects the overall weight given to these by the Scottish people. In total, these four sub-domains contribute about 22% of the total weight value and 23% of the total Index score. The Index therefore presents some support for arguments that economic factors are only moderately important in contributing to people's overall wellbeing and our collective prosperity. 13 What is clear is that people are precise about what they want out of the economy - security, sufficiency and, above all, satisfying work.

Another key point is the importance of 'local' measures, particularly those relating to people's immediate neighbourhood. Many of the sub-domains that the people of Scotland have identified as contributing to their prosperity related to local issues. ¹⁴ These local issues contributed 35% of the total weights generated by the public consultation and 33% of the total Index score.

However, while there are high scores for several neighbourhood sub-domains (such as living in a neighbourhood where you can enjoy going outside/clean environment, where 59% of people appeared satisfied), other local sub-domains score much lower. For example, only 45% of respondents felt that their area had good amenities and there were low scores for access to the natural environment and, particularly, safety. Feeling safe accounted for 6% of the consultation weights, but for only 2.1% of the overall Index score. As discussed above, a majority of respondents did not feel safe in their local area. 15

Changes since 2007-2008

Table 4: 2007-2008 Oxfam Humankind Index for Scotland

| Variable | Weight | Measure | Score |
|---------------------------|--------|---------|-------|
| Housing | 11 | 54.1 | 578 |
| Health | 11 | 88.0 | 940 |
| Neighbourhood/Environment | 9 | 58.0 | 507 |
| Work Satisfaction | 7 | 70.8 | 496 |
| Good Relationships | 7 | 13.2 | 90 |
| Safety | 6 | 19.0 | 111 |
| Green Spaces | 6 | 41.5 | 242 |
| Secure/Suitable Work | 6 | 94.8 | 552 |
| Having enough money | 6 | 52.0 | 303 |
| Financial Security | 5 | - 3.9 | - 19 |
| Culture/Hobbies | 5 | 62.0 | 301 |
| Local Facilities | 4 | 43.0 | 167 |
| Skills and Education | 4 | 24.0 | 93 |
| Community Spirit | 4 | 66.0 | 256 |
| Good Transport | 4 | 72.8 | 283 |
| Good Services | 3 | 61.8 | 180 |
| Tolerance | 3 | 66.0 | 192 |
| Feeling good | 2 | 81.0 | 157 |
| | | Total | 5,428 |

Table 4 above details the Oxfam Humankind Index in 2007-2008. ¹⁶ The first point to note is that prosperity measured in 2009-2010 is 1.2% higher than the 2007-8 figure. That is to say, where prosperity is measured across the whole range of areas that people in Scotland value, Scotland appears to have become more prosperous. As discussed next, positive changes mainly resulted from change in non-economic sub-domains, while those measuring economic change deteriorated.

In total, the Index increased by 64 Humankind Index points between 2007-2008 and 2009-2010. There were nine sub-domains in which the prosperity increased, against five in which it decreased. Positive change, which improved the Index score by 136 points, exceeded negative change, which brought down the Index score by 72 points.

Negative changes in the Oxfam Humankind Index

This section looks at those sub-domains which fell over the period and which therefore decreased Scotland's collective prosperity. Table 5 shows, for those sub-domains which fell between 2007-2008 and 2009-2010, the proportionate contribution of each to the total reduction of 72 HKI points. For example, 24% of that reduction was due to a fall in respondents' feeling that they had enough money to get by.

Table 5: Oxfam Humankind Index for Scotland

| Negative Changes (2007-2008 - 2009- 2010) | % Contribution |
|--|----------------|
| Housing | 0.1 |
| Health | |
| Neighbourhood/Environment | |
| Work Satisfaction | |
| Good relationships | |
| Safety | |
| Green Spaces | |
| Secure/Suitable Work | 26 |
| Having enough money | 24 |
| Financial Security | 43 |
| Culture/Hobbies | 7 |
| Local Facilities | |
| Skills and Education | |
| Community Spirit | |
| Good Transport | |
| Good services | |
| Tolerance | |
| Feeling Good | |
| Total | 100 |

The figures show a very small deterioration in the Housing sub-domain – the data from Scottish Housing Statistics shows that satisfaction with housing fell from 54.132% to 54.126%, so there was effectively no change in this measure. There is also a small decrease in the number participating in sports and hobbies.

Otherwise, what emerges very clearly from Table 5 is that most (93%) of the reduction in prosperity arose from deteriorations in economic sub-domains. This result plainly reflects changes in the economic situation in Scotland over the period, and the fact that the Oxfam Humankind Index picks this up so clearly strengthens the argument that it reflects actual changes in issues that affect what people feel influence their prosperity, many of which could be attributed to difficulties in people's financial circumstances.

The actual change in both the number in work and the number finding it more difficult to manage financially, reflected in Table 5, almost certainly reflects an actual deterioration in the economy. However, the largest negative effect comes from a reduction in financial security, which contributed 43% of the total. As noted, a proxy is used: the increase in the probability of becoming unemployed.

Positive changes in the Oxfam Humankind Index

Table 6 details positive changes between 2007-2008 and 2009-2010, where prosperity increased due to increases in some measures. The table shows the percentage contribution of each sub-domain to all positive change (136 HKI points) between 2007-2008 and 2009-2010.

The most important change is clearly due to better self-reported health, which contributed almost 40% (39.3%) of all positive changes – as noted above, this results from both the high weight placed on health by respondents in the public consultation, and the increase in those reporting 'Very Good/Good' health between the two periods. It also reflects the improvement in actual health within Scotland over this period.¹⁷

The other major change is in 'Community Spirit', which contributed 17% of the total increase, due to an increase in the proportion of respondents who felt that their neighbourhood possessed a 'Sense of community/friendly people' between 2007-2008 and 2009-2010.

Table 6: Oxfam Humankind Index for Scotland

| Positive Changes (2007-2008 - 2009- | % Contribution |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| 2010) | |
| Housing | |
| Health | 39 |
| Neighbourhood/Environment | 6 |
| Work Satisfaction | |
| Good relationships | |
| Safety | 4 |
| Green Spaces | 9 |
| Secure/Suitable Work | |
| Having enough money | |
| Financial Security | |
| Culture/Hobbies | |
| Local Facilities | 6 |
| Skills and Education | 6 |
| Community Spirit | 17 |
| Good Transport | 6 |
| Good services | 7 |
| Tolerance | |
| Feeling Good | |
| Total | 100 |

Otherwise, most of the increases appear to be linked to better provision of, or better access to, public services (if health is included, then approximately 70% of increased prosperity is attributable to improved public services, namely health, safety, green spaces, skills, education, transport and services). There was a small improvement in the score for safety, due to a slight increase in those reporting feeling safe between 2007-2008 and 2009-2010.

Comparisons with deprived communities

Table 7 below details the Oxfam Humankind Index for deprived communities, as defined by the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation, which provides measures for the 15% most deprived communities in Scotland. Note that all sub-domains are given the same weight in both deprived communities and in Scotland as a whole, and the overall difference in prosperity consequently comes only from differences in the extent to which people in deprived communities enjoy these factors compared to the experience of Scotland as a whole. ¹⁸

Table 7 – Humankind Index for Deprived Communities (2009-2010)

| Variable | Weights | Measure | Score |
|---------------------------|-------------|---------|-------|
| Housing | | 50.2 | 537 |
| Health | | 87.0 | 929 |
| Neighbourhood/Environment | 9 | 45.0 | 393 |
| Work Satisfaction | 7 | 70.8 | 496 |
| Good Relationships | ŤŤ T | 13.2 | 90 |
| Safety | | 9.0 | 52 |
| Green Spaces | | 32.5 | 189 |
| Secure/Suitable Work | | 89.9 | 524 |
| Having enough money | £ 6 | 32.0 | 186 |
| Financial Security | 5 | - 5.8 | - 28 |
| Culture/Hobbies | 65 5 | 50.5 | 245 |
| Local Facilities | | 41.0 | 159 |
| Skills and Education | | 18.5 | 72 |
| Community Spirit | | 58.0 | 225 |
| Good Transport | | 80.4 | 312 |
| Good Services | 1 3 | 67.5 | 197 |
| Tolerance | | 66.0 | 192 |
| Feeling good | | 78.5 | 152 |

The first point to note is that deprived communities score significantly below Scotland. From Table 7, deprived areas had a measured prosperity (in terms of HKI points) 10% below the figure for Scotland as a whole. The reasons behind this disparity are now examined in greater detail.

Table 8 shows where deprived areas do worse compared to the whole of Scotland. What is immediately clear is that deprived communities score lower across a wide range of measures – there appears to be no single reason, or even set of reasons, that contribute to their overall lower prosperity. Deprived communities come off worse on 12 of the 15 subdomains for which differences between the two communities were able to be measured.

As discussed, a significant amount of the prosperity across all of Scotland, as identified by the public consultation, relates to more immediate local issues such as being able to enjoy going outside, living in a healthy environment, the availability of green spaces and local amenities. Together, these contributed more than one-third of the total weight of the Index for all of Scotland, and it is therefore no great surprise that the main differences between deprived areas and the whole of Scotland occur with respect to neighbourhood subdomains.

The major disparities are in terms of whether people are able to enjoy going outside and having a clean and healthy environment; access to green spaces and play areas; and safety. These three areas account for just over 40% of the difference between deprived communities and all of Scotland. People living in deprived communities are also less likely to feel they are part of a community, and overall the majority of the deficit thus arises from differences in the quality of life in the local area.

As noted above, the Indices also pick up on differences in health, which accounts for 10% of the difference in scores between deprived areas and the whole of Scotland. The other key difference is that deprived communities are more likely to struggle financially, which accounted for 16% of the total gap compared to Scotland as a whole. The trend relating to the Financial Security sub-domain is discussed in more detail below.

Table 8: Oxfam Humankind Index for Scotland (2009-2010)

| All Scotland v Deprived communities | % Contribution |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| (Scotland above Deprived) | |
| Housing | 7 |
| Health | 10 |
| Neighbourhood/Environment | 20 |
| Work Satisfaction | |
| Good relationships | |
| Safety | 10 |
| Green Spaces | 10 |
| Secure/Suitable Work | 2 |
| Having enough money | 16 |
| Financial Security | |
| Culture/Hobbies | 8 |
| Local Facilities | 3 |
| Skills and Education | 5 |
| Community Spirit | 9 |
| Good Transport | |
| Good services | |
| Tolerance | |
| Feeling Good | 1 |
| Total | 100 |

Deprived communities do outscore Scotland on a relatively limited number of measures, and Table 9 details the areas where deprived communities appear to do better.

However, the results in Table 9 require interpretation. The most important measure is better financial security. Table 9 shows that prosperity in the deprived communities apparently increased due to better financial security, which accounted for more than 40% of their higher position relative to all of Scotland. Crucially though, this arises because Scotland as a whole suffered more in terms of the change experienced in unemployment than deprived communities. Given the already high level of unemployment in deprived areas, this simply means that Scotland came closer to the position that deprived areas already occupied. While deprived communities do therefore come off better, this is only because they were already in a poor position, thus in relative terms their situation has improved *relatively* as the rest of Scotland deteriorated. As detailed in Table 5 above, Scotland as a whole has seen a very substantial fall in financial security in the last few years.

Table 9: Oxfam Humankind Index for Scotland (2009-2010)

| All Scotland v Deprived communities | % Contribution |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| (Deprived above Scotland) | |
| Housing | |
| Health | |
| Neighbourhood/Environment | |
| Work Satisfaction | |
| Good relationships | |
| Safety | |
| Green Spaces | |
| Secure/Suitable Work | |
| Having enough money | |
| Financial Security | 43 |
| Culture/Hobbies | |
| Local Facilities | |
| Skills and Education | |
| Community Spirit | |
| Good Transport | 42 |
| Good services | 15 |
| Tolerance | |
| Feeling Good | |
| Total | 100 |

The other key difference (Transport) also requires interpretation. The measure used here was satisfaction with public transport – given that access to cars is almost certainly higher across Scotland as a whole, higher satisfaction with public transport may simply reflect greater use, and those living in deprived areas may simply be more likely to express an opinion.

Reflections on the data

Clearly, some difficult decisions had to be made in terms of what data to use. Some measures are not direct representations of the sub-domains that the people of Scotland reported as being important to living well in their communities. They are instead measured using the best possible data currently available which fitted our need to compare two different time periods, Scotland as a whole with Scotland's most deprived areas, and Scotland's local authority areas. ¹⁹ In those areas where the best available data remains only

a tangential representation of the sub-domain, we urge the Scottish Government to explore gathering better information that can be disaggregated as required. These areas are:

- Relationships with family and friends
- Secure work
- Suitable work
- Security of income
- Human rights/freedom from discrimination/acceptance/respect

We hope that the production of the Oxfam Humankind Index will become an ongoing activity monitoring the real prosperity of the Scottish people. In this respect, it can be expected that improvements in basic information will emerge. Such improvements need to occur both in terms of more precise and frequent government data collection; the ability to disaggregate the data across areas and between genders; and refinement of the measures for the particular sub-domains identified as important to Scotland's prosperity.

Conclusion

The Oxfam Humankind Index is a reflection of prosperity not just in terms of the economy, but in terms of resilience, wellbeing and sustainability which current measures fail to take into account effectively. Created through widespread public consultation, the Oxfam Humankind Index complements established economic indicators to give a richer, more accurate picture of Scottish prosperity. The Oxfam Humankind Index is about valuing the things that really matter to the people of Scotland. It enables Scotland to measure itself by those aspects of life that make a real difference to people, factors that Scottish people identify as important to them.

It shows us how our prosperity has changed between 2007 and 2010, and how our most deprived communities are faring compared to the rest of Scotland. While our prosperity has increased slightly between 2007-2008 and 2009-2010, this is because non-economic factors have 'protected' our prosperity against the deterioration in the economy. These are areas that risk being undermined by the continuation of an economic model that perpetuates inequalities and undermines community assets. ²⁰ They are also areas that need to be sustained as Scotland emerges from the financial recession.

It also shows that Scotland's most deprived areas lag behind the rest of Scotland, across a range of factors of prosperity.

We hope that this process will provide policy makers with a framework for their decisions so they can ensure they make policies that serve the real prosperity of Scotland. Such policies will be better for the people of Scotland – they will support Scottish communities, individuals and the environment. They will help us achieve a socially just and sustainable Scotland.

Notes

¹ The key data source, from which many of statistics were taken, (the Scottish Household Survey) is published biennially and we have used the two most recently available editions.

- ³ Other regional and national wellbeing research in Scotland includes the Health and Wellbeing Indicators for Glasgow and the 'Forward Scotland' consultation on wellbeing.
- ⁴ See Oxfam Humankind Index for Scotland Technical Annex at www.oxfam.org.uk/humankindindex
- ⁵ See

http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/ukpoverty/downloads/Sustainable%20Livelihoods%20Handbook2.pdf?cid=aff_affwd

- ⁶ The weights in Table 1, subsequently used in all tables, are rounded up or down, as appropriate, to whole numbers. This rounding means that they do not exactly sum to 100.
- ⁷ See Technical Annex at www.oxfam.org.uk/humankindindex
- ⁸ The majority of such changes in the data arise because of changes in the Scottish Household Survey, either because some questions were not repeated in in every edition or because some questions were asked in different ways. Where figures were not available for 2007-2008, 2009-2010 data was used, thus the change in some sub-domains could not be tracked over time.
- ⁹ Note that there may be some inconsistency between the health figures reported in the Scottish Government's National Performance Framework (NPF) and those reported in in the Scottish Household Survey (SHS) which are used in this study. The NPF data (available at http://www.scotland.gov.uk/About/scotPerforms/indicator/generalhealth) gives figures for self-reported health and reports that 75% of people in Scotland assess their health as "Good/Very Good" in both 2008 and 2010. The Oxfam Humankind Index uses SHS data on self-assessed health for both 2007-2008 and 2009-2010. However, the basis on which the figures are measured differed between the two SHS reporting periods. The 2007-2008 SHS reported self-assessed health as "Good" and "Fairly Good", while the 2009-2010 version reported figures as either "Very Good/Good" or "Fair". ¹⁰ See Scottish Government, September 2011, 'Health of Scotland's Population Life Expectancy', available at http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/Browse/Health/TrendLifeExpectancy. ¹¹ See the chart entitled 'HLE by SIMD data' in the publication cited in footnote 10 above.
- ¹² See explanation within Methods Section Sub-domain 10.
- ¹³ This is the key argument made in the Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi report ('Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress', 2009), whose main argument is for a lesser focus on increasing GDP.
- ¹⁴ Namely living in a neighbourhood where you can enjoy going outside; having a clean and healthy environment; feeling that you and those you care about are safe; access to green and wild spaces; community and play areas; having the facilities you need available locally; being part of a community; having good transport to get to where you need to go; and being able to access high-quality services.
- ¹⁵ Only 20% of respondents across Scotland as a whole reported felt that they lived in a safe environment (see SHS, 2009-2010, Table 3.4).
- ¹⁶ Note that some measures (Work Satisfaction, Good Relationships, Tolerance, and Feeling Good) have not changed over the two periods since these were only available for one year (2009-2010). These unchanging sub-domains covered 19% of the weighting and 17% of the total score in 2009-2010.
- ¹⁷ See discussion within Methods Section Sub-domain 2 Physical and mental health.
- ¹⁸ Note there is no difference in three measures (Work Satisfaction, Good Relationships and Tolerance) since these were not available for deprived communities. These sub-domains where we have no separate measure for deprived areas make up 17% of the weighting and 14% of the total score in the Scottish Humankind Index for deprived areas.
- ¹⁹ The results of the Humankind Index for Local Authority areas will be released approximately one month after the release of the main Oxfam Humankind Index.
- ²⁰ See Oxfam's forthcoming policy paper, 'Our Economy'.

² See Oxfam's Whose Economy? discussion papers: http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/search?i=1;q=*;q1=publications;q2=whose+economy+papers;x1=page_type;x2=series

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