

Fair Public Policies for All Generations

An assessment framework

SOIF – School of International Futures



FUTUREFORUM

PROMOTING FAIR PUBLIC POLICIES FOR ALL GENERATIONS

The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and the School of International Futures have spent two years developing a methodology that helps policy-makers, media, think-tanks and civil society assess the impact of public policies on present and future generations.

We all generally want the same things for ourselves and our children and their children: good health, meaningful work, a sense of security, vibrant community, freedom to make our own choices and a vibrant and diverse natural environment. We want these things now. We want these things in the future. For all people.

Ensuring this wellbeing often involves taking long-term decisions. However, long-term thinking is difficult; the future is uncertain, and the present is challenging, so we deal with whatever is most urgent and demanding. We make decisions so we can get on with things, but they aren't always good choices for us in the long term or fair to everybody involved, in the present and in the future.

Citizens and politicians both agree that fairness between generations is important, but it is hard to accomplish because future generations aren't represented and there is not much information available about the long-term impact of public policies.

In response to this challenge, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and the School of International Futures have spent two years developing a methodology that helps policy-makers, media, think-tanks and civil society assess the impact of public policies on present and future generations.

FRAMEWORK FOR INTERGENERATIONAL FAIRNESS

WHAT IS IT?

The Framework for Intergenerational Fairness is a tool for systematic and impartial assessment of public policies for their impact on all generations, present and future, to identify potential intergenerational imbalances.



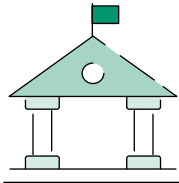
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What is it used for?

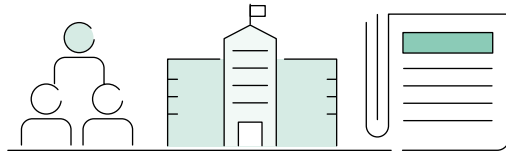
- To provide information about policies' impacts over the long-term
- To encourage policy makers to consider intergenerational impacts when defining public policies
- To promote informed discussion about difficult decisions, making the political choices clearer
- Include voices and perspectives not currently heard
- To mobilise citizens as a constituency
- To align with initiatives from international organisations such as the EU and OECD to improve policy making

2

To whom is it addressed?



Public sector experts, whose function is to develop opinions and formal recommendations to the government.



Civil society: universities, think-tanks, media and other entities or citizens, whose purpose is to make their own judgement, to be better informed and to pressure political power.

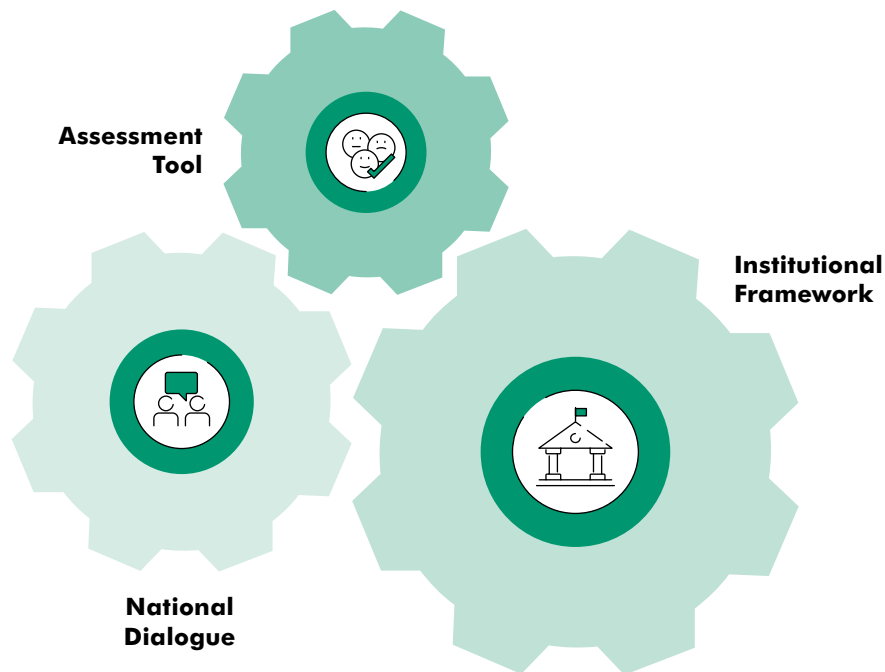
3

How it was designed:

- It is based on the best and most recent practices in policy assessment, risk management and strategic foresight
- It is inspired by successful international experiences, from countries like Japan, Singapore, Wales and France
- It was reviewed by experts in law, philosophy, economics, sustainability, design, forecast and public deliberation.
- It was tested out and applied to real questions happening in Portugal right now, and reviewed by national and international institutional experts

4 How it is structured:

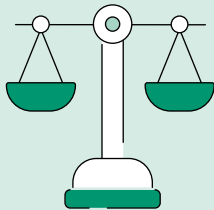
- It starts with an **institutional framework**, that ensures:
 - Legitimacy within representative democracy
 - Independence of the process
 - Ownership by civil society
- It requires **inclusive dialogue at the national scale** that enables:
 - Wide comprehension of how inequality, privilege and exclusion are transmitted through generations
 - Identification of different perspectives between generations and groups of people
 - Negotiation of a collective vision of what is fair for future generations and any trade-offs between the present and future
 - The shaping of collective objectives for the future of Portugal
- It works through a **useful and practical** policy assessment **tool**, that provides:
 - Concrete criteria to policy assessment based on the vision of the future that society has for Portugal
 - Greater clarity about questions of intergenerational fairness associated with each policy
 - Detailed recommendations for any changes necessary to make the policy fairer



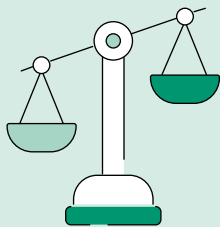
FRAMEWORK FOR INTERGENERATIONAL FAIRNESS

HOW DOES IT WORK?

What is a fair policy to all generations?



A policy is **fair** to all generations when it allows people of all ages to meet their needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs¹.



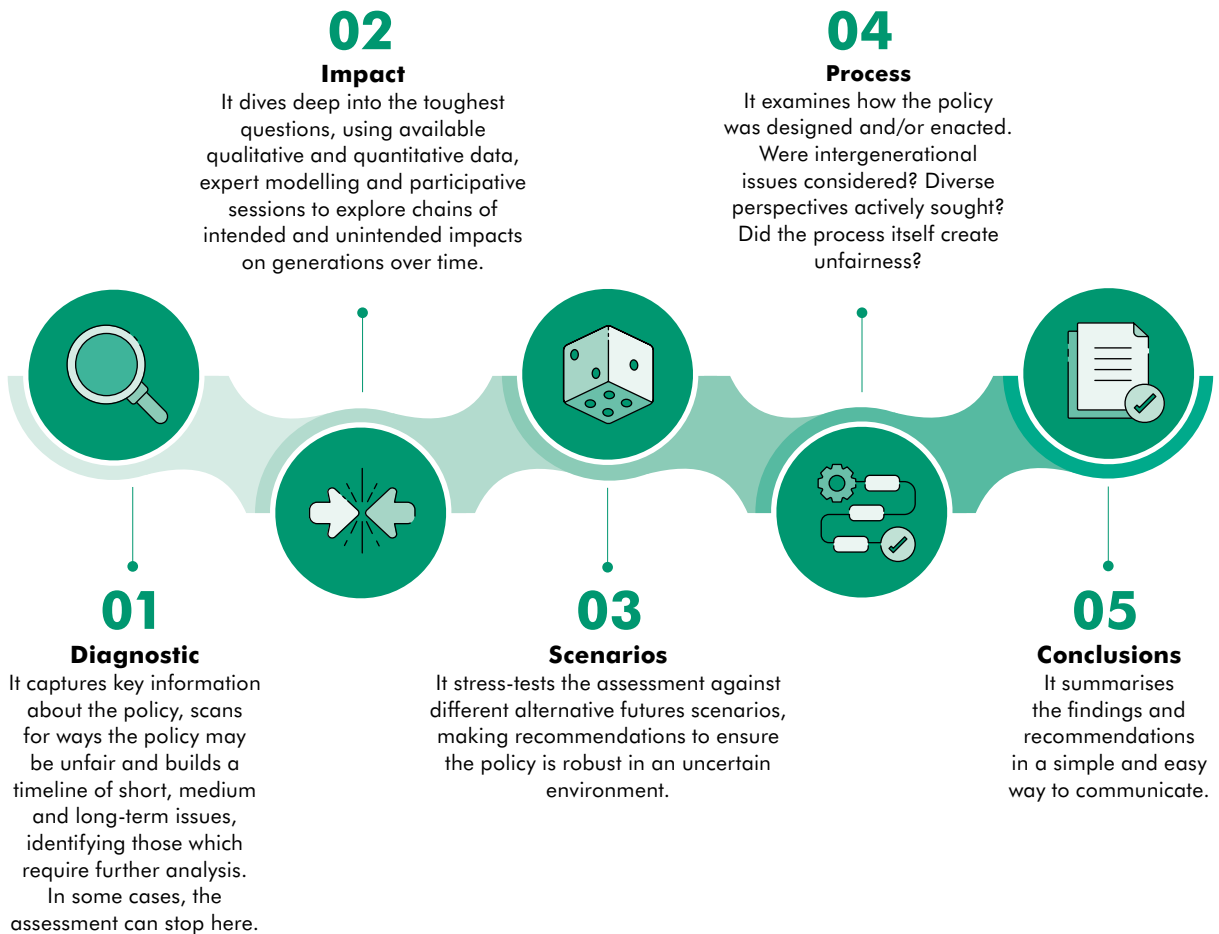
A policy is **intergenerationally unfair** when:

- Moves Portugal away from its vision for the future.
- Disadvantages any generations, alive now or in the future.
- Disadvantages people at any specific life stage.
- Strengthens the transmission of inequality through generations.
- Restricts the choices of future generations.

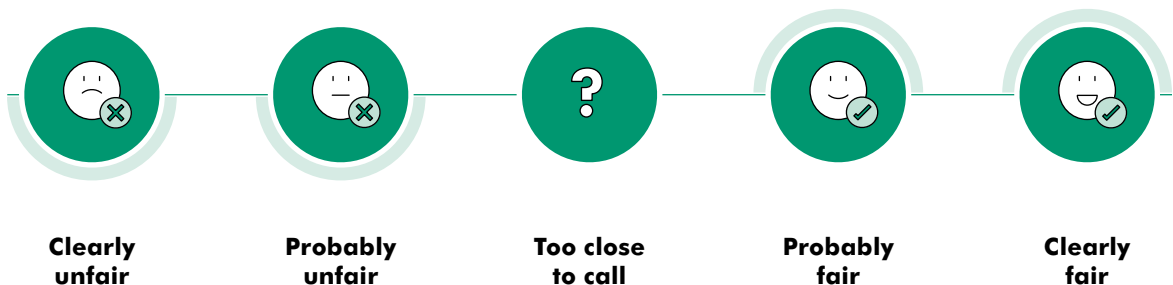
1. Adapted from the Brundtland Report "Our Common Future" (1987)

This tool attempts to identify the diverse consequences of any public policy on people's lives and in the environment they live in, in the short, medium and long term. Recognizing that the future is uncertain, it tests the policy in different future scenarios to ensure it is resilient to change.

It includes **five flexible stages** that may be applied to any kind of policy or strategic decision.



The findings of each assessment are reported with recommendations for policy-makers and an overall conclusion:



FRAMEWORK FOR INTERGENERATIONAL FAIRNESS

NEXT STEPS

This tool was designed for the long-term; it will adapt and evolve over time to reflect dynamic realities and changes in society's values.

Although it doesn't replace the decision making processes, this tool adds information and aims to promote fair decisions and public policies for all generations: the eldest, the youngest and the ones that aren't born yet.

This is a tangible first step to face the growing tensions triggered by financial crisis and climate changes, and amplified by the COVID-19 pandemic. These crisis, although diverse in nature, share a common threat to present and future

wellbeing, increasing inequalities and foreshadowing conflict between generations.

The increasing sense that the future will be worse than the present, that our contract to leave a better world for our children is broken, represents a great danger for democracy in the 21st century.

This new framework, available to the political system and civil society to promote better intergenerational equity, places Portugal at the forefront of an international movement to make our democracy more resilient to the upcoming challenges.

What resources are available?

The *Framework for Intergenerational Fairness* and its Policy Assessment Tool are available under Creative Commons license for non-commercial use.

There is a **Specialist Report** for individuals and organizations who want to learn more about implementing and adapting the framework, and a detailed **How-To Guide** with step-by-step instructions for assessing a policy.

These resources are a contribution to promote better decisions and public policies for the different generations.

For any question you can get in touch with:

Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation: jintergeracional@gulbenkian.pt

School of International Futures: igf@soif.org.uk

ANNEXES



FRAMEWORK FOR INTERGENERATIONAL FAIRNESS

SPECIALIST REPORT



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This work is adapted from the Framework for Intergenerational Fairness created by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and School of International Futures, which can be found at www.soif.org.uk/igf and <https://gulbenkian.pt/de-hoje-para-amanha/>



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ABOUT THIS REPORT

This report is a product of a multi-year collaboration between the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and the School of International Futures to define a framework for the systematic evaluation of public policies according to what is fair and unfair for all generations. Together, we are making these resources available under Creative Commons license in order to drive awareness and support for long-term decision making in public policy.

The framework was created for Portugal but is principles-driven and designed for adaptation to a broad range of applications. It can be applied by national and local government, international organisations, foundations, businesses and special interest groups who want to ensure their decisions made today are fair to current and future generations.



**For more information
on these resources email**
igf@soif.org.uk

ABOUT THE CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN FOUNDATION

The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation was created in 1956 by the last will and testament of Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian, a philanthropist of Armenian origin who lived in Lisbon between 1942 and the year of his death, 1955. The Foundation is of perpetual duration and works for the entire mankind, having as main purpose to improve the quality of life through art, charity, science and education.

The Gulbenkian Foundation, and in particular the Gulbenkian Future Forum, aims to identify and anticipate the fundamental challenges of society, promote critical mass, and put major issues on public debate.

In this context, the Foundation launched in 2018 an initiative to explore the importance of Intergenerational Justice to the Portuguese public and political agenda, encouraging policy makers to consider intergenerational justice criteria when defining public policies.

The Foundation assumes itself as a privileged entity to address this issue, since the very concept of intergenerational justice is part of its essence as a perpetual institution. You can read more at <https://gulbenkian.pt/de-hoje-para-amanha/>

ABOUT SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL FUTURES

The School of International Futures is a non-profit practice that exists to help policy makers and business leaders improve the present and the future by using foresight and futures methods to make better strategic choices about the future, to improve the quality of their innovation, and make their organisations more resilient by better understanding and managing risk.

SOIF was founded in 2012. It is headquartered in London and operates globally, using diverse teams to work with organisations and communities to make change for the better. You can read more about SOIF and its Intergenerational Fairness Practice at www.soif.org.uk/igf

FOREWORD

From the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation

The growing tensions triggered by financial crisis and climate change, and amplified by the COVID-19 pandemic, are foreshadowing a conflict between generations.

The gradual sensation that the future will be worse than the present – that the contract to leave a better world for our children is being broken – represents great danger for democracy in the 21st century.

Ensuring that the best decisions possible are made today is a way of preserving the democratic legacy. That means policies should consider the needs of all generations: the eldest, the youngest and the ones that aren't born yet.



Luís Lobo Xavier
Director
Strategy and Planning

In this regard, the Gulbenkian Foundation, in the scope of the Gulbenkian Future Forum, is developing an initiative that intends to bring Intergenerational Fairness to the public discussion and to the political agenda, and encourage the policy-makers to consider intergenerational fairness criteria in the definition of public policies.

A broad diagnostic about this topic and its presence on the political debate was conducted, inquiring politicians and citizens, and analysing the occurrence of the issue on the parliamentary and media speeches. Studies were also developed to assess eventual inequalities between generations in structural and long term areas that impact people lives, such as access to home ownership and to labour market, public finances and ecological limits.

Finally, for the last two years, with the support of the School of International Futures (UK) and the engagement of diverse national and international partners, a methodology was designed to allow the policy-makers, media, think-tanks, and the civil society to systematically assess the distributional impact of public policies on present and future generations, in order to help preventing future intergenerational imbalances.

This tool aims to raise awareness from the Portuguese citizens and to leverage future external demands (such as from EU and OECD) to pressure the political system towards bigger equity between generations.

Naturally, change does not happen with only this initiative. But this is the first tangible step to ease the tensions that threatens ourselves and our children, making our democracy more resilient to the upcoming challenges.

Luís Lobo Xavier

Director of the Strategy and Planning Office
Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation

FOREWORD

From the School of International Futures

In our line of work – strategic foresight - we have seen concerns about intergenerational fairness climb up the priority ladder over the past decade. These include questions about the distribution of costs and benefits across generations, the legacy of the “good ancestor” and how we build back better in a way where no one is left behind, including people who are not yet born. 2020 is the year this debate has become mainstream. Policy makers and politicians are looking for solutions on how to steward for the long-term in an uncertain environment. And citizens are looking for solidarity.

This framework is our contribution to ensuring this debate is a constructive one. We hope to inspire leaders to stress-test that their plans work for all generations: in order to avoid mortgaging our children’s future and in order to harness the wisdom and legacy of the aged in our communities. We aim to make it easy for citizens to hold decision-makers to account for the long-term consequences of their plans. And we seek to inspire collaborative exchanges where human creativity and energy can address temporal distributional problems before they arise.

Our 2025 vision for this work is as follows:

- This framework is fully implemented within Portugal and adopted internationally. A cohort of civil servants, local authorities, philanthropists and businesses use the methodology to develop and evaluate the intergenerational fairness and long-term impacts of their work.
- Intergenerational fairness and solidarity become part of mainstream public dialogue, measured by an annual intergenerational fairness barometer, with people imagining fairer futures and constructive ways to achieve them. Journalists, academics and civil society organisations are active participants and apply the framework in their work.
- Political parties, manifestos and legislative agendas reflect intergenerationally fair policies – and those commitments are tracked. Big public and private investments (for example supporting COVID-19 recovery, Just Transitions or Sustainability) are made using intergenerational fairness assessment criteria.
- International standards and other frameworks such as the UN SDGs (sustainable development goals) incorporate intergenerational fairness considerations, including in international reporting and accounting standards and ISO audits.
- An international community builds up to advocate for intergenerational fairness globally, including an alliance of foundations and a multi-stakeholder Friends of Intergenerational Fairness group of leading countries, local authorities and companies.



Cat Tully
Managing Director

We hope this framework ignites a virtuous circle, building a democratic culture where longer-term and distributional issues are consistently taken into account. A truly “Anticipatory Democracy,” in the words of Alvin Toffler. And Portugal – an innovator in drug policy, green energy, ocean and space exploration, and inclusive, refugee-friendly COVID-19 response – is taking a big step forward with this approach.

This assessment framework is only one part of the solution. Other supporting reforms and changes are needed: from ensuring data availability, to building new institutions and rights for the long-term, to curriculum reform that supports civic education and awareness about the future as well as our past. But we hope it can act as a catalyst to drive long-overdue change.

Cat Tully

Managing Director

School of International Futures

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We are grateful to...

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- Ana Furtado and Teresa Ferreira (TRIBUNAL DE CONTAS)
- Manuel Cabugueira (UTAIL)
- Rui Nuno Baleiras (UTAO)

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And to each of over 400 experts, citizens, researchers and policymakers who contributed to this work through roundtables, interviews, reviews and pilot testing of the framework.

SUMMARY

In response to concerns its research uncovered, the Gulbenkian Foundation set an aim to build intergenerational fairness interest and action by Portuguese citizens, institutions, government and civil servants. As a practical step, the Foundation commissioned the School of International Futures to develop a framework for systematic assessment of Portuguese public policies according to what is fair and unfair to people alive today and future generations through time. The resulting framework is applicable not just to Portugal, but to any local, national, or international context, not just for governments, but also civil society, media, investment communities and interest groups.

Intergenerational fairness is emerging as a defining theme of our time. Although most politicians and citizens value fairness, society doesn't have a systematic way to assess the impact we're having on future generations and advocate for them. This **Framework for Intergenerational Fairness** is an enabling mechanism that contributes to this objective and intersects other mechanisms such as the UN SDGs (sustainable development goals). While the framework can't solve the problem of intergenerational fairness, it can expose unfairness where it exists and provide information to make hard choices clearer.

The framework consists of three inter-linked elements:

1. Guidance for **institutional ownership** that provides legitimacy within the political system and accountability to the public.
2. A blueprint for **national dialogue** to collectively consider society's vision for the future.
3. A **policy assessment toolkit** that applies latest best practice to provide useful clarity on the questions of intergenerational fairness.

The first section of this report traces the origins of the framework and why it's important within the broader discussion of intergenerational fairness. The second section explores the framework and each of its three elements in detail. The third section provides insights and recommendations for applying the framework in practice. The annexes outline the theoretical foundations of this framework and illustrative outputs created for a national dialogue on *The Portugal We Want*.

Throughout the framework, we use a simple definition of intergenerational fairness that builds on the work of the Brundtland Commission Report on Sustainable Development (1987), while being meaningfully auditable and assessable.

Policies that are fair from an intergenerational standpoint:

- allow people of all ages to meet their needs
- meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

Beyond its technical role within the policy making system, this framework addresses the need to drive public interest and national debate on topics of intergenerational fairness amongst citizens, media, civil society and industry **to create sustained change, for now and for the future.**

SECTION ONE

Purpose of the Framework for Intergenerational Fairness

In this section, we discuss why the framework was created, what it is for, how it fits into the broader debate around intergenerational fairness, key principles considered in its design, and our definition of success.

INTERGENERATIONAL FAIRNESS IS AN ISSUE OF GROWING CONCERN AS DEMOCRACY FACES A CROSSROADS

Research from the Gulbenkian Foundation traces rising global concerns around "the relative impoverishment of the new generation vis-a-vis that of their parents, and the depletion of natural resources, among others."¹

Belief in fairness between the generations is not new. For example, American economist James Tobin put forward a theory of intergenerational justice in 1974.² The Brundtland Report, 'Our Common Future', some 13 years later, made the needs of future generations core to the sustainable development debate.

But there have been discernible shifts in the debate over the past 10 years. Intergenerational fairness is increasingly discussed not just as part of sustainable development and planetary boundaries, but also as an issue in its own right. Today, intergenerational fairness is also about social security and housing (for example, the rise of "Generation Rent."). It is about fair and sustainable pensions, and public services that unfairly disadvantage people as they age. It is about education and student debt. It is about employment and the precarity of the gig economy.

As the debate becomes more wide-ranging it has also become more vocal. Thousands of youth protesters, including Swedish teenager Greta Thunberg, are coming together for school strikes, and German Chancellor Angela Merkel, on the eve of European elections, was admitting she was under pressure from the young for her failure to meet EU carbon emissions targets. In the United States, the Juliana lawsuit is being brought by 21 youth plaintiffs who claim successive American administrations have violated youths' rights by allowing activities that harm the environment.

The political scientist Roman Krznaric writes that, "We are in the midst of a historic political shift. It is clear that a movement for the rights and interests of future generations is beginning to emerge on a global scale".³

Intergenerational fairness will rise further up the political agenda in 2020 and 2021, accelerated by COVID-19 and its significant intergenerational implications. It will be critical to shape a constructive and kind national dialogue on this issue.

One of two diametrically-opposed narratives will emerge and shape politics and society over the decade, and there is a limited window of opportunity to influence this:

- Tensions and conflict between generations results in a zero-sum game, with competing claims around which generation is most "losing out."
- Solidarity and cohesion create a win-win dynamic where tensions are dissipated between living and future (including unborn) generations, for the benefit of all.

This is particularly salient in Portugal, given the rapidly aging population and legacy of the Global Financial Crisis, but also relevant to political and social debates in all countries around the world. A survey of citizens in 10 European countries, carried out by the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales (ICAEW) concludes that, “Ensuring intergenerational fairness is one of the biggest challenges facing policy-makers today.”⁴ The OECD has recently published a *Global Report on Youth Empowerment and Intergenerational Justice*, highlighting the need for governments to address inequalities within and between generations and ensure the wellbeing of future generations in the context of uncertainty.⁵

Throughout the development of this framework, we have learned from and contributed to the movements forming to change the ways we think, not only about policy-making practices, but wider questions about democracy itself in a time of turbulence and technological innovation that both requires and enables new forms of collective representation. The question underlying the framework is simple yet deep. How do we give under-represented people – including future generations - a voice to feedback on the long-term consequences of policy decisions today?

BARRIERS TO INTERGENERATIONAL FAIRNESS IN POLICYMAKING AND OUR RESPONSE

Key insights on this question emerged from the Gulbenkian Foundation’s research with Portuguese politicians.⁶ It indicated there is strong support for increased intergenerational fairness within society. However, they reported a lack of information around how policies may impact generations over the long term. Politicians described needing an incentive to engage. There is no constituency for the unborn, people too young to vote, or people excluded from the existing system.

Beyond Portugal, there is increased global recognition of these issues and a growing movement to evolve democracy for both this data gap and constituency challenge. Politicians and business are innovating new models of governance for future generations, including the Welsh Commissioner for Future Generations and different bodies in Hungary, New Zealand, and beyond, trying to achieve similar outcomes.

The ultimate objective of these initiatives is a democracy that is not just representational and reactive, but more anticipatory and participative. One that looks forward and builds capability for the future we want to shape, including those who don’t have a voice today.

Crucially, although fairness is a commonly-held concept, achieving a fair outcome needs to be negotiated, depending on both the specific context and perspectives of people involved, recognising their different and complex situations. Intergenerational fairness is not a technocratic judgment call, but one built on dialogue between citizens (the body politic) on a desirable vision for society.

The Framework for Intergenerational Fairness is an enabling mechanism that contributes to that much bigger vision. Across cultures and generations, we commonly desire many of the same things for ourselves and our children: health, meaningful work, security, community, freedom and opportunity, in a healthy natural environment. Government should work to ensure this wellbeing for the long-term, but it doesn’t always have the information necessary to make fair decisions for current and future generations.

Our response was to develop a simple, useful framework and toolkit for intergenerational fairness policy assessment to close the information gap highlighted by politicians and to create a constituency for generations who aren’t yet represented in the democratic system. While we can’t solve the problem of intergenerational fairness, we can drive awareness and support for long-term decision making that addresses intergenerational fairness and ultimately increases the resilience of democratic systems and society.

COMMUNITIES THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE FRAMEWORK

To design this framework, we drew upon a 50-year legacy of different communities who have wrestled with the questions of effective long-term decision-making. We also dove deep into the worlds of different audiences for the framework to explore how they would apply the framework in order to create change.

We learned from the vocabulary, tools, frameworks, governance insights, and case-studies of very different epistemic and practitioner communities to develop a resilient and effective approach and broaden our influences beyond one specific model.

We mapped the different communities, language, tools, definitions, and policy levers in the EU, OECD, Portugal and beyond. We engaged with over 400 experts and stakeholders in interviews, roundtables, through our advisory board, and our pilot assessment and peer review process.



For more information see:

[Annex A: Foundations for the Framework for Intergenerational Fairness.](#)

COMMUNITY	EXAMPLES AND MECHANISMS
Governance Institutions	Network of Institutions for Wellbeing of Future Generations
Lawyers	Global Justice, International Law, Legislative Framework
Economists	Macroeconomic General Equilibrium Models, Silver Economy, Youth Economy, Household or Lifecycle Economy, Wellbeing Economy, Doughnut economics Behavioural Economists, Behavioural insights, Nudge units
Psychology	Mental Health and Empathy
Governance	Policy Coherence Development
Regulators and Assessors	Integrated social, environment and economic assessments; Balancing rights protection with regulatory efficiency (BRE); impact assessments
Auditors, Accountants and Actuaries	Balance sheet accounting, Natural Capital Valuation, Participatory audits, Discount rates and Cost-benefit analysis, behavioural audits
Complexity scientists	Assessment of Complex Adaptive Systems
Philosophers	Intergenerational Moral Philosophy, Veil of Ignorance, Maxi-Min
Environmentalists	Sustainability, Climate Change Studies, Planetary Boundaries:
Civil society groups	Representation, inclusion and societal values, intersectionality

From this research we developed a composite approach that draws on theory, method and practice that may not normally be found together, but that in combination helped us form “a simplicity that lies on the other side of complexity.”

There is no single silver bullet or technical solution, but there is a pragmatic approach, heterogeneous and inclusive, accommodating both quantitative and qualitative data, and following a replicable, systematic approach. The information developed through this approach will lead to informed and thorough dialogue, supported by facts, to help people reach their own conclusions.

INTENDED USES AND USERS OF THE FRAMEWORK

Although grounded in theory, the Framework for Intergenerational Fairness is intended for active use on live policy questions, in dynamic, real-world situations. The framework helps experts or informed citizens conduct prospective and retrospective (ex-ante and ex-post) analysis of specific policies and communicate the outcomes of those assessments to drive change.

The framework may be used in very different scenarios to understand how intergenerationally fair a policy is, or is likely to be, including:

- **politicians** creating manifestos and legislative agendas or scrutinising policies,
- **civil servants** developing policy,
- external and internal **assessors** assessing policy design or assessing results,
- concerned **citizens and interest groups** campaigning about policies' potential or actual impact, and
- **media** reporting about policies.

Although developed in Portugal, the framework was designed to be adaptable far beyond that context. We encourage principled application within:

- institutions within other countries or regions.
- ombudsmen or watchdogs representing current or future generations.
- interest groups who want to organise around specific instances of intergenerational unfairness. For example, youth, older people, teachers, or environmental activists.
- international organisations setting standards and regulations around sustainable development or innovating new forms of governance.
- academics and research groups focused on topics of sustainable development, distributional justice, policy making and decision systems.
- business and investment groups needing to understand the long-term impact of funding decisions, investments, product design, land-use and urban planning.
- foundations working to ensure the long-term future of people, the planet, and democratic systems.

REQUIREMENTS AND PRINCIPLES FOR DESIGN

Our research into the intended uses and users of the framework informed the following four principles (and associated requirements) to ensure the Framework for Intergenerational Fairness is grounded, actionable and effective.

PRINCIPLE 1: Adaptable over time

A framework for intergenerational fairness needs to itself be relevant for a generation or more. The methodology must adapt over time to reflect:

- dynamic political realities and levels of commitment to the process
- emerging evidence, indicators and models that will improve the methodology
- changing values in the population over time
- ongoing monitoring and evaluation of the framework itself

PRINCIPLE 2: Feasible to implement

The framework needs to be adopted within a complex system that we can influence, but not control. The framework must have a clear path for implementation, in feasible and incremental steps, that build over time.

PRINCIPLE 3: Reflecting latest practice

The framework should reflect the latest practice in policy assessment, risk management, foresight, monitoring and evaluation, and complexity:

- fostering a culture of assessment vs results-based management processes.
- focusing on outcomes and processes rather than fixed metrics of success.
- applying systemic assessment principles such as systems mapping and understanding user needs through participative approaches.
- using a heterogeneous approach that draws from various communities.

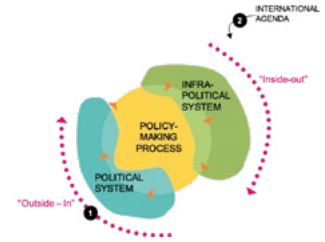


Figure. This is the policy-making process as described by the OECD. The pink arrows show the general direction of flow within the system.

PRINCIPLE 4: Aligned to the theory of change

Our analysis highlighted three key pressure points for increased intergenerational fairness: inside the political system, where manifestos are forged, agendas set, and legislation proposed, debated, implemented and assessed; outside, from public debate, media, civil society and industry; and internationally, through global standards and agreements (for example, EU and OECD).

Although politicians and civil servants can and will be welcome allies in this process, change is unlikely to originate within the political system. The framework must leverage interest amongst citizens and external requirements to exert pressure on the political system for more intergenerational fairness. This means that citizens and civil society need to be co-designers of the framework, informed of assessment conclusions (and apply it themselves) and mobilised to influence the political system.

It also means that this framework needs to stay connected to and intersect live discussions and technical guidance being developed by international organisations interested in improving policy making in the long-term, particularly in the assessment and foresight communities in OECD and EU.

Once interest occurs, there are three key influence points within the political system: ex-ante policy design and better regulation; ex-ante scrutiny by parliament and public; and ex-post assessment by evaluation community.

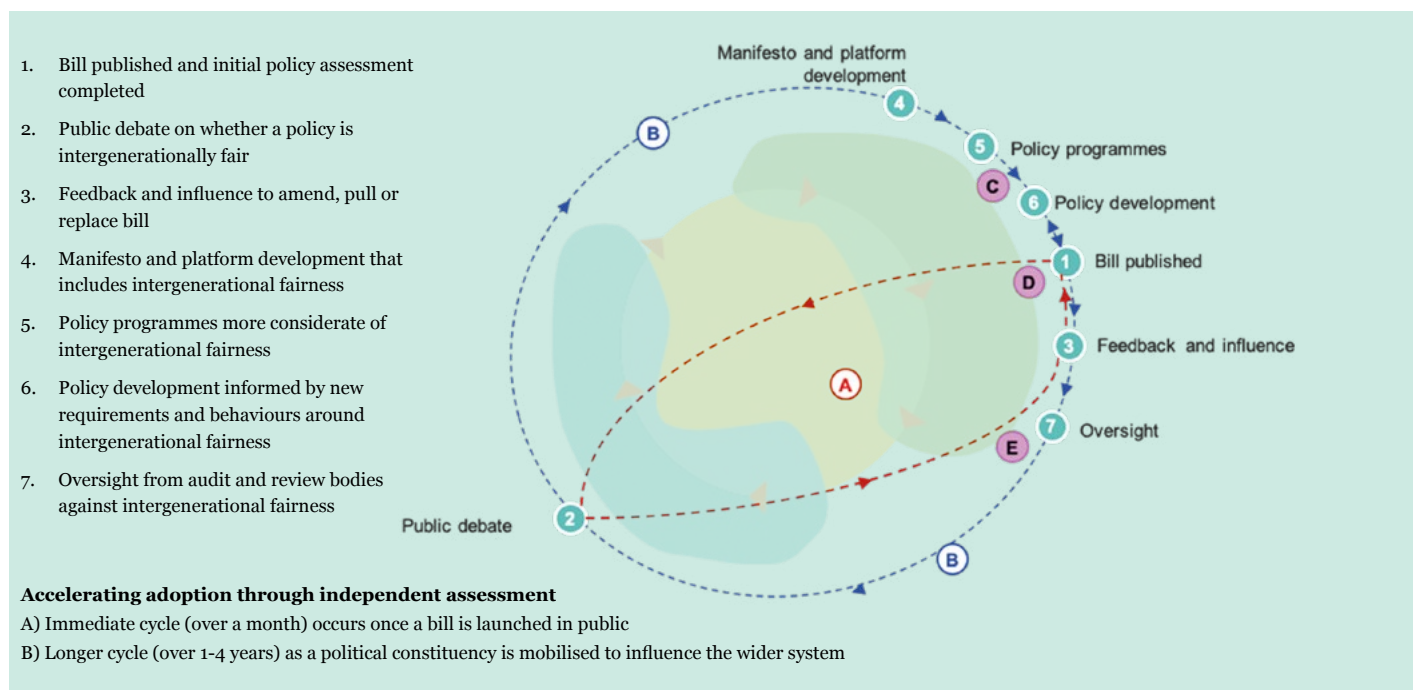


Figure. The numbers indicate key points at which issues of intergenerational fairness can intercept the policy cycle. Assessment can happen a) ex-ante and b) ex-post.

OBJECTIVES FOR SUCCESS

In summary, the Framework for Intergenerational Fairness aims to highlight and expose difficult or complex trade-offs and enable a thorough discussion of long-term decisions across the political system and society. The framework should increase political incentives to address intergenerational fairness by providing information about policies' impacts and mobilise citizens as a constituency. Given the origins, aspirations, and role of this framework, it will be successful by:

1. Bringing new perspectives through a systematic approach

Considering the long-term impact of decisions is something that most people consider desirable but is often difficult in practice. The framework should generate new perspectives that aren't readily available through other means and that reflect a systemic understanding. This includes:

- Highlighting impact on those least able to advocate for themselves, especially those least well off in the future.
- Ensuring that certain voices are not systematically excluded.
- Focusing on unanticipated or implicit damaging consequences.
- Allowing for in-depth review and constructive multi-disciplinary deliberation.

2. In a consistent and auditable process

Marshalling quantitative and qualitative data and following a replicable, systemic approach, informed thorough dialogue, supported by facts and an accessible to help people reach their own conclusions.

3. Resulting in action and impact

Setting clear parameters to ensure that the framework has impact on Portuguese policy-making and is translatable to other contexts internationally. Success criteria are:

- An effective framework and toolkit with useful checklists and guidance for policy practitioners to perform a meaningful intergenerational impact assessment of real-world policies.
- Positive uptake and engagement within the Portuguese parliament and policy-making communities.
- Significant public dialogue, awareness and support for intergenerational fairness in Portugal and internationally.
- Clear observable progress towards achieving intergenerational fairness in society.

TO EXPLORE THE FRAMEWORK FURTHER

To learn more about the elements of the framework, including principles and methodology, continue with *Section 2*.

For lessons from our initial testing of the framework and policy assessment toolkit, read *Section 3*.

To conduct a policy assessment or peer review, use the *How To Guide* in the toolkit for step-by-step instructions.



**For more information
on these resources email**

igf@soif.org.uk

SECTION TWO

The Three Elements of the Framework

In this section, we introduce the elements of the framework and the definitions we use to assess intergenerational fairness. This includes a detailed description of each element and important inter-relationships between the elements.

OVERVIEW OF THE FRAMEWORK AND KEY CONCEPTS FOR INTERGENERATIONAL FAIRNESS

The framework has three essential and inter-linked elements

INSTITUTIONAL OWNERSHIP

This element ensures the resilience of the intergenerational fairness methodology by embedding the processes that make up the framework in multiple institutions within government and society. It helps achieve political legitimacy and administrative commitment. Without this element, there is a risk that the other elements do not translate into clear policy impact or are not taken seriously. It holds the design of the framework over time and ensures its long-term viability. Without an institutional anchor, the framework will cease to exist after a few years time.

NATIONAL DIALOGUE

This element is a participative foresight process to enable citizens to form a desired vision for the future society they want. It also generates a deeper understanding of drivers of change, their interdependencies, how inequality is transmitted through generations and a set of potential alternative futures. We envisage this being undertaken as a regular process every few years, with potential for far-reaching public engagement.

POLICY ASSESSMENT TOOL

This element is the process used to assess whether a specific policy is intergenerationally fair. There are five stages which draw on the outputs from the national dialogue and feed into the institutional owners. The process is documented within a spreadsheet-based tool.



Figure. Questions of intergenerational fairness policy assessment are deeply linked to the institutions carrying out those assessments and the specific cultural and societal context in which they take place.



HOW DO WE STAGE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ELEMENTS?

All three elements are essential, but they can't be implemented at the same pace. A policy assessment takes hours or days to complete, a national dialogue spans months and years, and the institutional ownership will evolve over decades.

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Right Now. The policy assessment tool is available based on illustrative outputs for the national dialogue and has been tested by an informal network of institutional stakeholders in Portugal. The principles outlined in this report and the accompanying *How To Guide* guide enable adoption and implementation in different contexts.

Next. This report provides a blueprint for the national dialogue and institutional ownership, including informal and transitional arrangements. We will continue collaborating with the Gulbenkian Foundation to implement these in Portugal and with other interested organisations around the world.

HOW DO WE DEFINE AND ASSESS INTERGENERATIONAL FAIRNESS?

Across the framework, we use a simple definition that builds on common sense and the work of the Brundtland Commission Report on Sustainable Development (1987), while still being meaningfully auditable and assessable.

Policies that are fair from an intergenerational standpoint:

- Allow people of all ages to meet their needs
- Meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

It is a simple definition, but not simplistic, suitable for use with all of the different audiences for policy assessment. The definition connects an intuitive understanding of fairness based around principles of solidarity, responsibility, care and transparency to standards with international recognition and legitimacy. Based on our definition, a policy is unfair when it:

- Disadvantages people at any particular life stage.
- Disadvantages people at any period in time, present or future.
- Increases the chances of inequality being passed on through time.
- Restricts the choices of people in the future.
- Moves society further away from its vision for the future.

The policy assessment tool looks for any instances of unfairness caused by the policy in alternative future scenarios, explicitly considering each of the five aspects of unfairness captured in the definition. It also provides an overall assessment of whether, on balance, the policy is clearly fair or unfair, probably fair or unfair, or "too close to call" while allowing people to make their own political judgments based on the identified impacts.



Figure. The policy assessment tool creates a simple and actionable message around intergenerational unfairness without hiding key nuances or difficult trade-offs.

ELEMENT ONE: INSTITUTIONAL OWNERSHIP

Institutional Ownership is core to the framework, rather than sitting outside of it, because it provides the essential link between political legitimacy and public accountability.

The institutional owners oversee resourcing, commissioning, reporting and monitoring and evaluation of the policy assessments and national dialogue. This includes engaging with the media, citizens, politicians, civil service and other assessment bodies.

Ownership can be held by a single institution or shared across a network of multiple organisations in society, including independent bodies with links to government and members from civil society and academia, held together through a range of formal or informal agreements. For example, we have illustrated a Future Generations Network in the figure to the right.

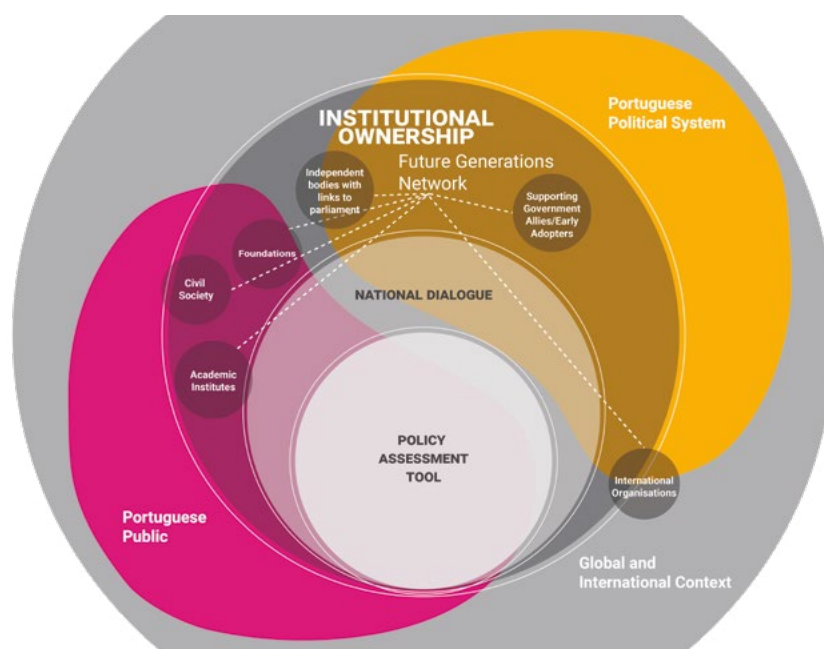


Figure. Taking our theory of change into account, ownership must span both the political system and the public at large, with active links into the global and international context.

OWNERSHIP PRINCIPLES

- Institutional ownership is important enough to the outcome that it is designed as an integral part of the framework, not a contextual footnote.
- Different parts of the system have a role to play in supporting the framework whilst ensuring a smooth transition from one leading institution to another. An ecosystem approach will help ensure the framework is resilient and effective over time.
- Independence from government and the avoidance of conflict of interest should be ensured, for instance by creating checks and balances in the system.
- Institutional solutions need to be financially secure but also democratically embedded.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE INSTITUTIONAL OWNERS

The institutional owners should hold the design of the assessment framework as it progresses over time and a process for applying its seal to completed assessments. Responsibilities include:

- Build a governance culture that is aware of intergenerational fairness.
- Commission the National Dialogue.
- Lead the Policy Assessment processes.
- Implement a robust monitoring and evaluation to assess the framework itself.
- Have a watch dog function where complaints and concerns about assessment independence or subsequent implementation can be brought.
- Produce an annual report to identify intergenerational concerns and areas for focus – including the need to readjust policies in the face of significant changes in trends.

STRUCTURE OF THE INSTITUTIONAL OWNERSHIP

To be resilient over time, the institutional ownership must balance independence and legitimacy. There are many examples of various ownership arrangements, like the Welsh Commissioner for Future Generations, as well as similar bodies in Hungary, New Zealand, and beyond. Our preferred arrangement in Portugal, particularly in the short to mid-term, is a networked model – an ecosystem with clear roles and responsibilities and designated leadership, perhaps assigned on a rotating basis. The network includes a set of independent bodies, supporting government and public policy early adopters, and key civil society and academic members (involved in championing and peer-reviewing).

The network requires clear definition of the leading operational institution and its tasks, with a proper endowment of human, technical and financial resources. Partisan independence is essential. The same goes for autonomy with respect to political and administrative hierarchies and sponsoring/funding sources. The OECD Guiding Principles for Independent Financial Institutions is a good starting point for further guidance, with the necessary adaptations to the subject of Intergenerational Fairness.⁷

RESOURCING POLICY ASSESSMENTS

We recommend that for each Policy Assessment, there is a multidisciplinary team pulled together under a single lead, who conducts the entire process, with an associated independent peer-review.

- A single lead enables the process to be more efficient, and the analysis to be richer.
- A multi-disciplinary team will help ensure that policy impacts are thought through from different angles.
- The independence of the person/institution carrying out the assessment is critical.
- All outputs should be independently peer-reviewed.

The outputs from each stage must include sufficient detail to allow a detailed independent review: including the decisions made, sources of information, logic and reasoning behind the analysis, and any assumptions.

MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Institutional ownership should embrace a culture of rigour, continuous improvement, and holding both the framework and the government to account. In addition to commissioning independent peer-review of each policy assessment, the institutional owners should:

- Use lessons learned from individual assessments to improve the methodology. (These are captured in the conclusions stage of each assessment and should be tracked and considered in each revision of the methodology.)
- Revisit assessments to test how well the assessment identified actual impacts, and improve the methodology accordingly.
- Hold the government to account for how the policy was implemented in practice.
- Identify when particular alternative scenarios might be holding true, so that decisions can be taken based on changes to the policy in the wider context.
- Publish an annual report setting out activities, lessons learned and progress against success indicators.

ASSESSMENTS OUTSIDE OF INSTITUTIONAL OWNERSHIP

Institutional ownership of assessments ensures legitimacy within the political system. There is also a role for civil society, special interest groups and the media to adapt the framework to create “outside in” assessments of important issues. In these instances, care should be taken to follow the same principles of documentation, peer review and reporting used by formal institutional owners.

ELEMENT TWO: NATIONAL DIALOGUE

The national dialogue creates conversation between living and future generations (by proxy) to form collective goals for the future. This ensures policy assessment is not a technocratic judgement, but based on citizen views of what is fair and desirable.

The dialogue helps the institutional owners of the framework understand what the public define as a desirable and fair future. The Policy Assessment Tool uses outputs from the dialogue to judge what is fair and unfair.

The dialogue should occur at least twice per decade to keep the framework relevant and the public engaged in its work. Each dialogue should consider a timeframe of at least one generation out (for example, a dialogue held in 2020 should consider the future of 2050).

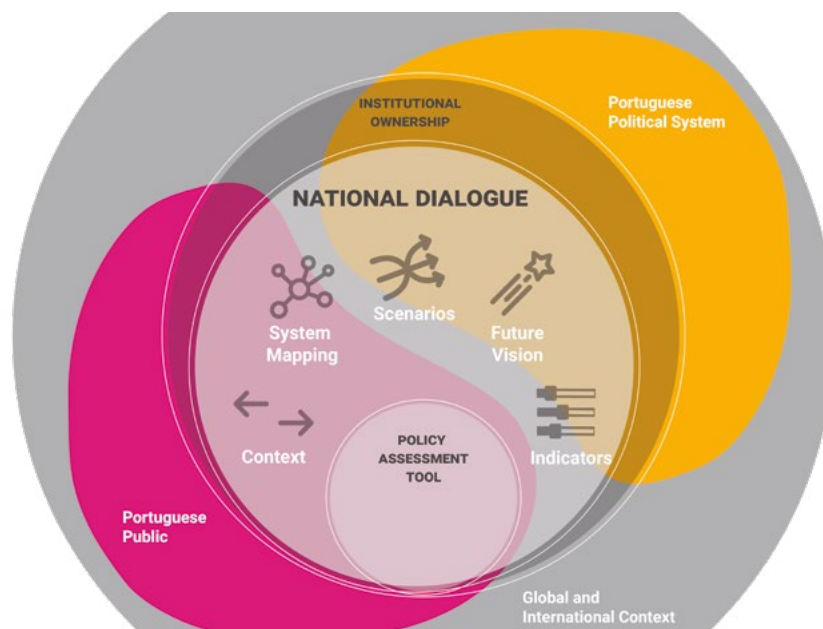


Figure. Outputs from each stage of the dialogue inform the structure and content of the policy assessment tool. Overall findings from the dialogue guide the institutional owners.

DIALOGUE PRINCIPLES

These principles ensure that the dialogue brings to light issues specific to intergenerational fairness and works effectively within the framework to inform both institutional ownership and policy assessment.

- Participation is critical to the structure and success of the framework.
- To respect the complex, systemic and interdependent nature of the society we are in, one where many alternatives may occur in the future, systems analysis and scenarios work alongside participative methods.
- Indicators are selected participatively to track progress against outcomes, rather than being the objective in and of itself.
- Although the dialogue includes many approaches, it is an integrated methodology that should be designed and stewarded by a single coalition, with inputs from others.
- The outputs must be communicated openly and transparently.

METHODOLOGY

The dialogue is a five-stage participatory foresight process running over approximately 12 months. Throughout the process, expert and citizen input is combined to inform and shape the outputs.

- 1. Context** defines the issues and drivers of change that shape the future of this specific society and its place in the wider world.
- 2. Systems Map** analyses how these factors interrelate to each other in this society, including way in which inequality is transferred through time.
- 3. Scenarios** describe a set of distinctly different, alternative futures. They stimulate deliberation around these futures to inform the collective vision.
- 4. Vision** creates a desirable vision for this society informed from the previous stages.
- 5. Indicators** identify the means to track progress against the vision.

INTEGRATING TOP DOWN AND BOTTOM UP METHODOLOGIES

The national dialogue should not presume what society values and believes to be fair today, nor expect the public to have a comprehensive understanding of the needs and desires of future generations. No single view, data set, or methodology can adequately represent this complex and dynamic system. Therefore, each stage of the process complements more top-down and expert-led perspectives with bottom-up and participatory inputs. The systems mapping methodology creates unifying links between participative inputs and strategic outputs that can be used within the policy assessment tool.

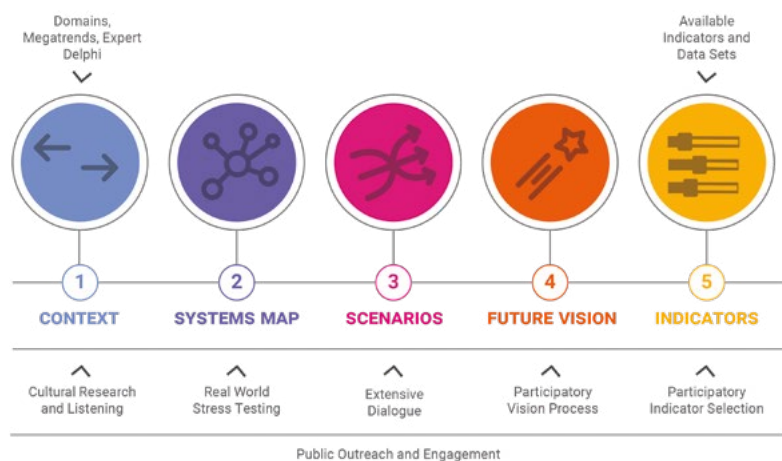


Figure. Examples of tops-down inputs into expert-led methodologies, fed and validated continuously with participative processes and public engagement.

In particular, the dialogue must manage the tension between existing national and cultural concerns and newer or emerging ways of defining the context of a society, its culture and concerns for fairness. For example, future generations may define their society by planetary boundaries, not national borders, or include the needs and desires of non-human citizens such as robots, artificial intelligence, animals, or environmental and ecological features. As populations age, new life stages will emerge and new technologies and data models will extend human capabilities and decision making. As the climate continues to change, needs for food, housing and security will evolve. These possibilities must be brought into dialogue and conversation with the needs of today's population in order to negotiate the complexity, rather than deny it.



For more information see:

[Annex B: Illustrative Outputs from a National Dialogue](#)

OUTPUTS OF THE DIALOGUE

The dialogue can be used for different purposes, both within and outside of this framework. These include:

- Populating the Policy Assessment Tool with specific information necessary to judge whether a policy intergenerationally fair or unfair for this society.
- Generating broad-based, mainstream engagement and conversation on the topic of intergenerational fairness.
- Informing policy strategy, future risk management and visioning for policy makers and communities at both the national and local level.
- Guiding the institutional owners, as they decide where to focus resources and how to communicate their work.

The table below provides an overview of how the outputs of the methodology within the dialogue become inputs to the policy assessment tool.

In summary, the national dialogue defines a vision for the future that functions as an aspirational beacon to help policy-makers design policies that will move society towards this preferred future over time. The vision plus indicators provide a mechanism for society to track its own progress over time. It also drives the structure and content of policy assessment tool.

Dialogue Methodology	Link to Policy Assessment	Description
Context	Diagnostic: Domains	The policy assessment tool includes a set of human and ecological domains used to identify impacts over life stages and time. These are drawn from Doughnut Economics and the UN Sustainable Development Goals. The dialogue validates that the domains and their definitions are relevant to this society and extends domains if necessary, to account for issues specific to this context.
	Impacts: Supporting tool	The systems map can be used by assessors in the to explore second and third order impacts of the policy in question.
Systems Map	Diagnostic: Vectors that transmit inequality through generations	Policies are intergenerationally unfair if they increase the chances of inequality being passed on through time. Systems mapping identifies the specific inter-relationships within this society which tend to transmit inequality, such as inheritance tax or education.
	Scenarios: List of scenarios and definition of each	The dialogue generates a set of alternative scenarios for this society's future that are used to stress test the policy to ensure both the impact analysis and recommendations in the assessment are robust.
Scenarios	Diagnostic: Vision for each domain	Vision statements for each domain allow assessment of whether the policy moves society towards its desired outcomes and ensures the vision is specific, granular and actionable rather than generic.
	Conclusion	Policies are intergenerationally unfair if they move society further away from its vision for the future.
Vision	Impacts: Supporting tool	Recommend relevant data sources for monitoring actual impacts
	Diagnostic: Domains	Establish indicators for each domain
Indicators		

APPLYING BEST PRACTICE TO PARTICIPATION

If the dialogue is not informed by rigorous foresight or conducted using best practice for deliberative dialogue, the results will be generic and difficult to action. The dialogue design is based on extensive experience and international best practice from many countries including Japan, Singapore, Wales, and France and input from leading experts in law, philosophy, economics, sustainability, design, foresight and public deliberation.

Considerations include:

- **Ensuring diverse participation.** Diversity can be supported by collaborating with stakeholders across society in the design and execution of citizen participation, including non-traditional partners. For example, the “Wales We Want” dialogue relied on local business entities acting as project champions, while the City of Mexico’s constitution project included well-known individuals such as artists, sports figures and scholars.
- **Importance of inclusivity.** Inclusion can be thought of in multiple ways, including different generations and the unborn, digital accessibility, diverse geographical locations, and different levels of economic participation and ability, alongside more familiar lenses of gender, ethnicity and religious communities.
- **Considering a human-centred design approach.** The framework is culturally embedded and needs to take into account context-specific ethnography and primary research. Citizens should be involved in the design of the dialogue, as well as participate in it.
- **Avoid generational capture.** For every new dialogue, ensure that the majority of team members are new to avoid it being captured by a previous generation.
- **Importance of independence.** From the examples, it is evident that the design of the dialogue and its execution must be seen to be independent and impartial. Genuine, recognized independence is the only way to guarantee public ownership and success.

ELEMENT THREE: POLICY ASSESSMENT TOOLKIT

The policy assessment toolkit can be applied flexibly to any type of policy or strategic decision, ex-ante (prospectively) or ex-post (retrospectively). The tool assesses whether a specific policy is intergenerationally fair by answering:

- Does the policy disadvantage people at any particular life stages?
- Does the policy disadvantage people at any period in time, present or future?
- Does the policy increase the chances of inequality being passed on through time?
- Does the policy restrict the choices of future generations?
- Does the policy move society further away from its vision for the future?

It then considers all aspects of unfairness together with the benefits of the policy as assesses whether, on balance, the policy is fair or unfair.

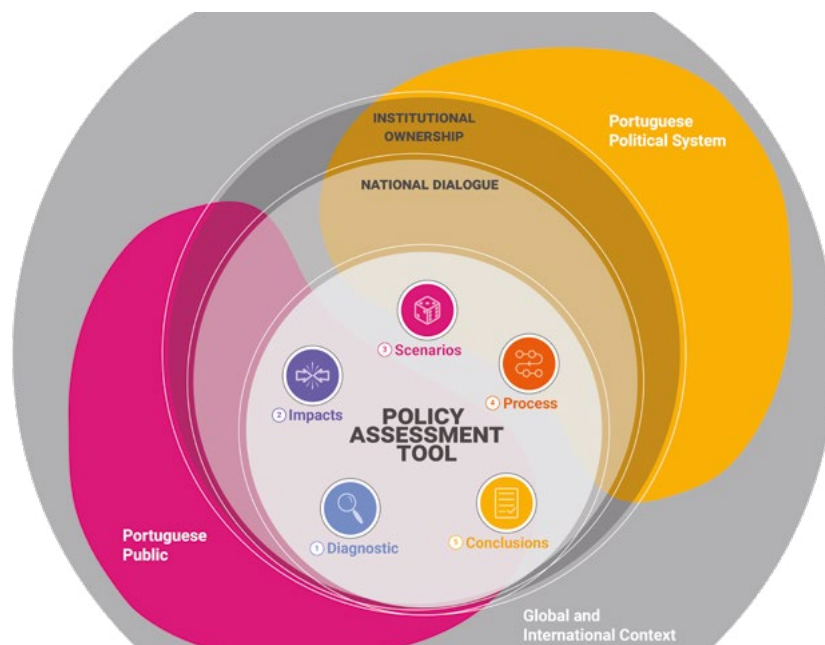


Figure. Outputs from each stage of the dialogue inform the structure and content of the policy assessment tool. Overall findings from the dialogue guide the institutional owners.

ASSESSMENT PRINCIPLES

The assessment tool is designed to apply to a wide variety of policy types and policy areas and cannot anticipate everything that it may need to deal with. These 10 principles should be used to guide decisions about how the tool is applied in practice.

- Target resources to maximise impact
- Set a consistent time horizon
- Get clear on the counterfactual
- Assess impacts with impartiality
- Consider the policy in context
- Take a “snag-hunting” approach
- Avoid the “fallacy of misplaced concreteness”
- Ensure auditability
- Allow for differences in political perspective
- Communicate engagingly

METHODOLOGY

- 1. Diagnostics** stage captures key information about the policy, scans for ways the policy may be unfair and builds a timeline of short, medium and long-term issues, identifying those which require further analysis. In some cases, the assessment can stop here.
- 2. Impacts** stage dives deep into the toughest questions, using available qualitative and quantitative data, expert modelling and participative sessions to explore chains of intended and unintended impacts on generations over time.
- 3. Scenarios** stage stress-tests the assessment against different alternative futures scenarios, making recommendations to ensure the policy is robust in an uncertain environment.
- 4. Process** stage examines how the policy was designed and/or enacted. Were intergenerational issues considered? Diverse perspectives actively sought? Did the process itself create unfairness?
- 5. Conclusions** stage summarises the findings and recommendations for further communication.

THE RESULTS OF THE DIAGNOSTIC STAGE SHAPE THE FULL ASSESSMENT

The diagnostic stage gathers sufficient information to determine whether the policy is likely to be intergenerationally fair, and how the rest of the assessment should be planned.

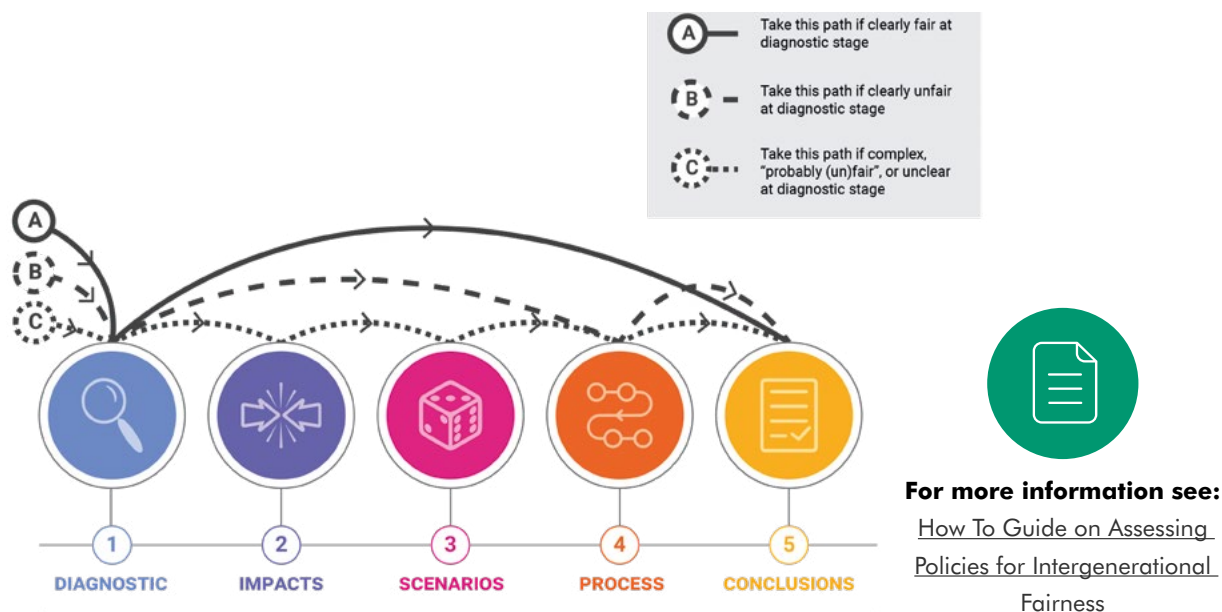


Figure. Different paths through the policy assessment methodology.

In particular, the assessor will need to decide:

- **Whether to continue to a full assessment.** For some policies the outcome is clear once the diagnostic is complete. For policies that are clearly fair or clearly unfair at this stage there is no need to complete the rest of the assessment, with one exception: it can be helpful to complete the process stage for policies that are clearly unfair, as this can shine a light on the aspects of policy-making that led to the unfairness.
- **How impacts will be assessed.** The diagnostic assumes access to sufficient knowledge of the policy in question. How the impacts are explored further in the impacts stage will depend on the type of policy, the availability of qualitative or quantitative data or models to support impact analysis, and the time and resources available. Where possible, this knowledge should be integrated across a multi-disciplinary team of experts involved in the assessment.

Structured dialogue with groups of citizens and experts is a valuable tool to explore chains of impact over time and from different points of view. Participative approaches should always be considered for impact assessment, and particularly when a national dialogue is not available. This is because achieving a fair outcome needs to be negotiated, depending on both the specific context and perspectives of people involved, recognising their different and complex situations. We have provided detailed guidance on structuring these types of discussion in the *How To Guide*.

PEER REVIEW

The role of the peer reviewer is to consider the rigour and judgment applied to the policy in question. Has the assessment been conducted properly? Does the outcome contribute meaningfully to the societal conversation about the policy?

Given the subjective nature of assessments for intergenerational fairness, an independent reviewer should be appointed for every assessment completed. The assessor should document sufficient information to allow the peer reviewer to understand how they reached their conclusions. This should include both giving the reviewer access to source materials and data and writing down all assumptions and judgements made during the assessment.

Where possible, the final assessment should be a co-creation where both the assessor and reviewer are comfortable with the outcome, with the reviewer providing additional that case it may be helpful to complete a short second review to confirm that changes have been made as agreed.

REPORTING AND COMMUNICATIONS

Outcomes from a policy assessment should be reported and communicated to create full transparency and pressure on the political system for action. These may include:

- Technical output from the policy assessment
- A report or briefing designed for use within the political system
- Communications designed to engage citizens.



Figure. Example reports from the Policy Assessment Toolkit that may be used as inspiration for both technical and public reporting.

Contents. The conclusions stage within the policy assessment tool provides the technical output for reporting, including:

- Background and context
- Overall rating of intergenerational fairness: clearly fair, probably fair, too close to call, probably unfair, clearly unfair
- Summary of the positive and negative intergenerational impacts of the policy
- Assessment for each of the five aspects of intergenerational fairness
- Recommendations relating to:
 - Wider context (e.g. related policies)
 - Policy design

- Future-awareness and alerting
- Policy-making process
- Recommended indicators for tracking actual impacts.

Principles. Regardless of the format or audience, one should apply these principles for clear and inclusive messaging:

- Link to the dialogue to enhance the public conversation about intergenerational fairness.
- Report within a timeframe that is compatible with public decision making. Sometimes this will mean moving fast.
- Creates a shared understanding of the values and intent of the assessment. Leverage successful pre-established channels of communication.
- Clearly set out the intergenerational fairness impacts and the intergenerational fairness trade-offs that should inform decision making.
- Look beyond just a written and visual format to formats such as audio, video, social media, etc.
- Diversity in the cultural fabric must be taken into consideration. For example, making the report multi-lingual.
- Help the audience zoom in and zoom out while interacting with the content. Modular sections will help tailor the messaging to specific target audiences.

SUMMARY OF LINKS AND FEEDBACK LOOPS BETWEEN THE THREE ELEMENTS

The **institutional owners** oversee resourcing, commissioning, reporting and monitoring and evaluation of the policy assessments and national dialogue.

The **national dialogue** defines a vision for the future that functions as an aspirational beacon across all elements of the framework. It guides the institutional owners, as they decide where to focus resources and how to communicate their work and populates the policy assessment toolkit with the specific information necessary to judge whether a policy intergenerationally fair or unfair for this society.

The **policy assessment tool** generates specific recommendations for the institutional owners to act upon and highlights challenging trade-offs and decisions that the next national dialogue should deliberate.

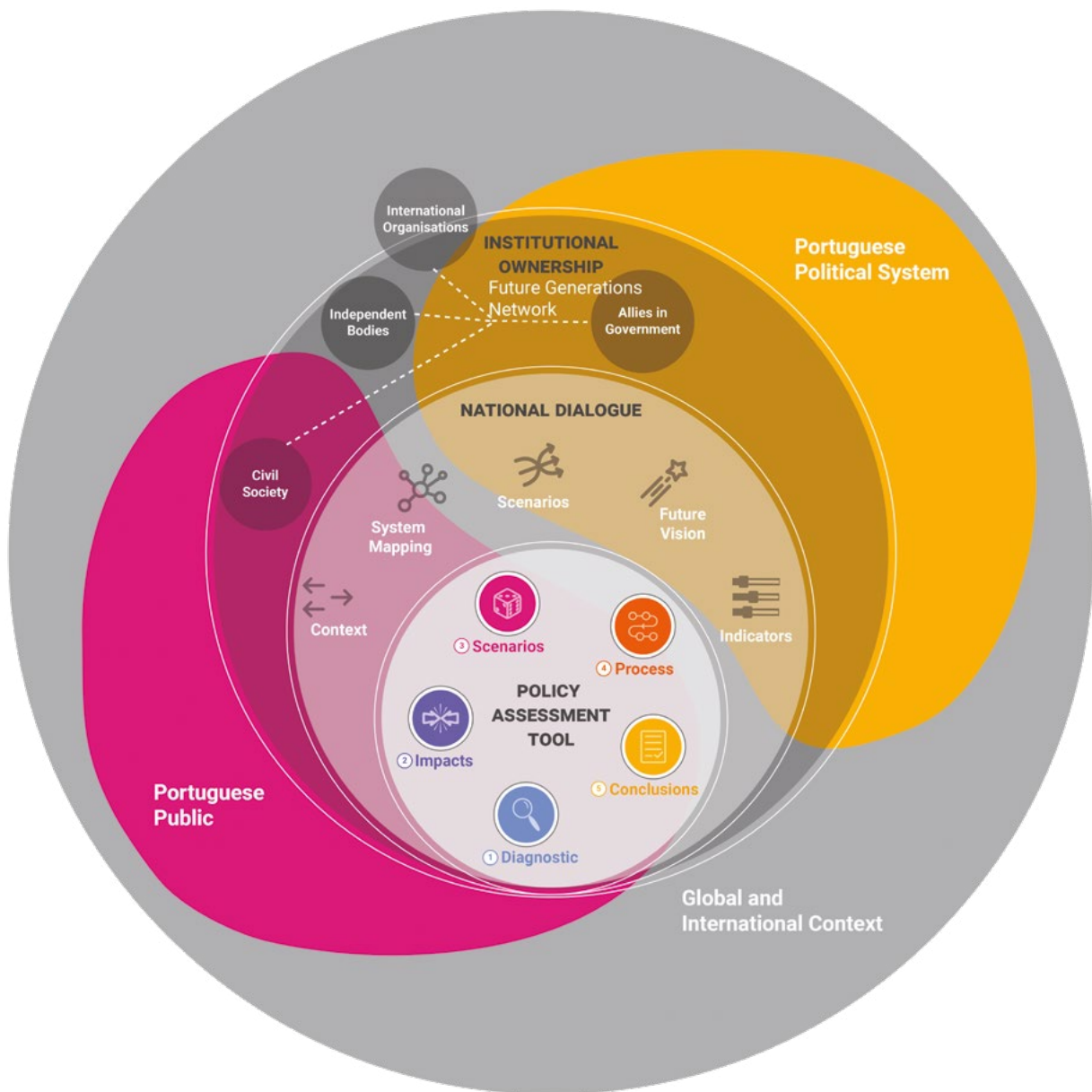


Figure. Outputs from each stage of the dialogue inform the structure and content of the policy assessment tool. Overall findings from the dialogue guide the institutional owners.

SECTION THREE

Lessons for Applying the Framework

In this section, we report key findings from our use of the framework to assess live policy issues in Portugal, recommendations for implementation, and links to further resources.

As part of the development process, we stress-tested the framework and policy assessment toolkit on live policy issues in Portugal. The pilots were selected to ensure they were conducted by assessors with varied backgrounds and covered a diverse range of policy types.

Pilot testing took place during June-September 2020, which required a flexible approach to the emergent situation created by COVID-19, both in terms of the policies considered and the resources available to undertake the assessments. This in itself contributed many useful findings to ensure the process is fit-for-purpose in real-world applications.

The policy assessment tool was iterated between each pilot, with changes tested in the following assessment to ensure issues were resolved successfully.



Download the Policy Assessment Toolkit at
<http://soif.org.uk/igf>

PILOT POLICIES AND PARTICIPANTS

The pilot assessments ranged from policies designed to alleviate the COVID-19 crises over a period of months, the impacts of pension reforms that have been in play for over a decade and new infrastructure that could change the landscape of the next fifty years.

Each assessing institution provided a team of at least two assessors, who worked together to discuss, debate, and document their reasoning and judgment. The completed assessments were reviewed by experts both inside and outside of Portugal (including the European Commission, Future Generations Office Wales and Canada), providing valuable feedback on both the content of the assessment and the process itself.

Policy	Assessment Type	Assessors
COVID-19 Layoff Measures	Diagnostic ex-post	Court of Auditors
Hydrogen Energy Strategy	Diagnostic ex-ante	General Secretariat for the Environment and Climate Action
Pensions Reform 2007	Full ex-post	Banco de Portugal

COVID-19 LAYOFF MEASURES

Our first test explored emergency measures put in place by the Council of Ministers in March 2020, designed to support maintenance of employment contracts during the pandemic. Employees receive 2/3rds of their income, up to a cap. Employers pay 30% of that themselves, and receive the other 70% from social security to pass onto employees. The assessment assumed a counterfactual to the policy of no measures during the pandemic, resulting in greater redundancies and loss of income.

The diagnostic was conducted in real-time between the 5-person assessment team from the Court of Auditors and the School of International Futures technical lead. This identified a number of usability issues which have been addressed in later versions of the tool. In particular, we added more detail around the policy, its context, the counterfactual, and the timing of impacts over the short, medium and long-term.

The assessment itself revealed eight domains which require further impact analysis and a number of questions around age groups who may be affected and impacts over time. The diagnostic was unable to reach a conclusion on whether the policy is intergenerationally fair without exploring these issues in more detail.

The assessment team reported that the process highlighted risks that they would not have previously considered and would be a good tool to add to their existing risk identification processes.

HYDROGEN ENERGY STRATEGY

The revised policy assessment diagnostic was tested on a government strategy to produce hydrogen energy and distribute it across the network for industry and transport. The impacts are expected to play out over a 50-year time horizon. The diagnostic was conducted with a 2-person foresight team within government.

The diagnostic indicated the need for further analysis to reach a final conclusion. It highlighted a number of human and ecological domains which may be positively impacted over the long-term, but also raised some serious issues with social equity, maritime security, and water supplies.

The assessment team reported that the process deepened their consideration of the policy, contrasting scepticism they held about short-term feasibility with greater understanding of the benefits such an investment may provide to future generations.

PENSIONS REFORM

The Banco de Portugal completed our first full policy assessment, using an early version of the toolkit. They conducted a detailed, ex-post assessment of a policy that has been in place for over 10 years:

The maturing of (a generous) public pension system in a context of ageing population had put the financial sustainability of the Portuguese PAYG system at high risk. Therefore, in 2006 the Government and Social Partners reached an agreement to reform the pension system. The four most representative measures of the reform were: i) the introduction of a “sustainability factor” relating the calculation of new pensions to life expectancy at age of 65; ii) an earlier transition to the new formula for pension calculation that takes into account the full contributive career; iii) a new rule for updating pensions as a function of consumer inflation, depending on the real growth of GDP and on the amount of the pension; iv) a larger financial penalty for early retirement. These measures were applied to both the Social Security General Regime (that covers the private sector employees and public employees enrolled since 2006) and to the former public employees subsystem (Caixa Geral de Aposentações).

The 2-person assessment team used a number of external models, data sources and references to consider long-term impacts of the policy versus a situation in which taxes would need to increase to fund pensions.

They concluded that the policy overall is probably fair, but with some key exceptions.

The impact of the reform is quite different among generations. For those who had retired up to 2007 it had almost no impact (only less generous yearly updates). The replacement rates (RR) of their pensions were high (only last contributive years were considered). For those who retired from 2008 on the RR

has been descendant in a gradual way and the age of retirement has been increasing. The same applies to those that are about to retire. They had contributed at the same rate than previous pensioners but will be working more and receive lower pensions. However, according to the Government assessment made in 2006, without the reform, the public pension system would turn financially unsustainable in 10 years. This means that higher social contributions or taxes would have to take place to finance the system. Therefore younger workers or even younger generations would have to support the burden. The transitory regime of the 2007 reform allowed the smoothing of this burden and turned the system more sustainable.

The assessment team appreciated the deep discussion the tool provoked, and believed it complements their more usual quantitative methods. They also found it flexible and scalable. However, they underscored that the subjective nature of the process means that independent peer review or multiple independent assessments are crucial in practice.

An example one-page report on this assessment is included on page 38.

PEER REVIEW FEEDBACK

Our pilot peer reviewers were selected from a range of backgrounds (economics, auditing, sustainability, foresight, and future generations governance) and familiarity levels with the policy areas in question. They worked entirely from the materials referenced within the assessment and were asked to consider:

- Has the assessment been conducted properly?
- Does the outcome contribute meaningfully to the societal conversation about the policy?

Overall, peer reviewers agreed with the assessments reached, with some specific concerns highlighted around the strength of the counterfactuals and depth of diagnostic analysis, which were addressed in later versions of the tool.

Peer reviewers particularly highlighted the importance of ensuring the voices and needs of the most vulnerable and disadvantaged populations are adequately considered.

KEY FINDINGS ON THE POLICY ASSESSMENT TOOLKIT

Most importantly, we found that the methodology and tool works in real-world practice. Assessors could use the tool, form a judgement on multi-generational fairness, and found value in the process.

Assessors found the approach to be flexible and scalable. Diagnostics can generally be completed within two to four hours, with sufficient knowledge of the policy in question. The impacts stage provides flexibility for different styles of analysis, depth of exploration, and inclusion of external models.

The tool presents an effective way to integrate quantitative and qualitative data from different domains. The tool requires a rigorous peer review process and/or the use of multiple, independent assessments to balance the subjective and qualitative elements of the approach.

Assessors reported that the process challenges assumptions. All assessments surfaced issues these experts wouldn't normally consider and provoked thoughtful dialogue amongst the assessment team. Overall, pilot participants found that assessing for intergenerational fairness strengthened existing work practices.

These findings encourage us to believe that this process for assessing policies for intergenerational fairness can be incorporated into the work practices of participating institutions without creating excessive burden and can deliver intrinsic value to their remit as well as the overall objectives of the framework.

Public Pension System Reform

Overall assessment of intergenerational fairness:
Probably Fair



WHAT PROBLEM DOES THE POLICY AIM TO SOLVE?

The maturing of a (generous) public pension system in a context of ageing population had put the financial sustainability of the Portuguese PAYG system at high risk. Therefore, in 2006 the Government and Social Partners reached an agreement to reform the pension system.

OVERALL INTERGENERATIONAL FAIRNESS ASSESSMENT

Taking into account the objectives of the reform (partially achieved) and the clearly unfair outcome in the no-reform scenario (very high and increasing taxes for future generations), this reform is probably fair: disadvantaged people are probably better off than in the no (or alternative) reform scenario.

SHORT TERM

Transitory Period (Until 2016)

- Almost no impact on those who retired up to 2007 (other than less generous annual updates). For those who retired from 2008 the replacement rates of their pensions (compared to final salary) have gradually descended, and the age of retirement has been increasing. This generation contributed at the same rate as previous pensioners, but will be working longer and receiving lower pensions.

MEDIUM TERM

Full Effect of Reform Reached (2016-2042)

- According to the government assessment made in 2006, without the reform the public pension system would have been financially unsustainable by 2016. This means that higher social contributions or taxes would have been needed to finance the system. Therefore younger workers or even younger generations would have to support the entire burden. The transitory regime of the 2007 reform allowed the smoothing of this burden and turned the system more sustainable.

LONG TERM

Full Effects in Place (2042+)

- Most new pensions at this time will be calculated using the new formula. New pensioners will have had 35 years to plan for their retirement on the basis of the reformed system.

DOES THIS POLICY DO ANY OF THE FOLLOWING?

- 1. Disadvantage people at any particular life stages?** The reform particularly disadvantages pensioners. It shifts the burden of keeping the pension system sustainable onto retirees. **Yes**
- 2. Disadvantage people at any period in time, present or future?** New pensioners will progressively face higher age of retirement and lower replacement rates. But without the pension reform, younger workers or even younger generations would have to support the entire burden. **Yes**
- 3. Increase the chances of inequality being passed on through time?** The available studies point to progressively lower inequality over time. **No**
- 4. Restrict the choices of future generations?** It may be necessary to adapt the current pensions regime depending on its social adequacy and fiscal sustainability in the relevant scenarios. **Probably Not**
- 5. Move society further away from its vision for the future?** This reform contributes to several "Portugal we want" dimensions: promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economy, national wealth to be distributed fairly and reduce inequality; a Portugal that makes decisions with the people by directly listening to communities and engaging with them. **Probably Not**

For list of recommendations and detailed assessment, please visit soif.org.uk/igf OR scan the QR Code using your mobile device



Figure. Example report from pilot assessments

USING PARTICIPATIVE IMPACT ASSESSMENTS

The pilot testing reinforced that it is useful to include participative approaches within the assessment, and not just within the national dialogue element. For example, it may be useful to convene deliberation across experts from different disciplines, populations who may be impacted by the policy, local governments and special interest groups, and different life stages and generations.

There are many techniques to gather insights from citizens to help with the assessment. In person or online workshops are well suited to this type of policy assessment. Surveys or interviews may also be useful to tools to explore some issues. To support our pilot assessments, we created a structured method for participative impact assessment that is included in the toolkit and described in the [How To Guide](#).

A participative assessment involves representatives from all the groups of people affected by the policy under assessment. If it is not possible for some affected groups to take part directly (for example unborn future generations) exercises can ask participants to explicitly consider impacts from those unrepresented points of view.

Using a participative approach will improve the quality of the policy assessment. By listening to a full range of voices affected by the policy in different ways you will gain new insights and identify impacts that may not have surfaced otherwise. You will gain a richer and deeper understanding of how the impacts will play out over time, and how they will affect groups of people differently.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPLEMENTERS

Real world use underlines many of the principles and recommendations outlined in earlier sections, with particular consideration to the following issues.

Before an assessment is conducted, you need to have sufficient information on the policy and define the counterfactual. The process is flexible for many policy types but requires a specific proposal to assess.

You also need to consider the short, medium and long-term time horizon the policy should be assessed within and make sure both this and the counterfactual are used consistently across assessment stages and multiple, independent assessments.

The assessors are required to bring their own subjective view and expertise to the process. Think about who is doing the assessment, their relationship to the policy in question, and any potential bias which should be mitigated through peer review or multiple independent assessments. Time should be allocated to allow for discussion and update to the assessment as a result of the peer review process.

Always consider how you can use deliberative dialogue and participative data to strengthen the policy assessment process. It's particularly important in the absence of a national dialogue or equivalent exercise.

What will you do with the assessment results? Policy assessments should only be undertaken if there is an audience for their outcomes, a path to impact and influence the policy design, and a system for oversight and transparency.

Consider the time you have available. If in doubt, start with the diagnostic stage, and that will help you work out what to do next.

RESOURCES

POLICY ASSESSMENT TOOLKIT

The assessment tool and accompanying [How-To Guide](#), which includes examples from our pilot and recommendations for communicating findings of an assessment to both technical audiences and the general public. This is free to use and adapt under creative commons license for non-commercial purposes.

TRAINING

We convene a series of roundtables and events on the topics of intergenerational fairness, which you can access and register for through our web site: www.soif.org.uk/igf. We can create bespoke training programs for your organisation, ranging from half-day workshops through to week-long masterclasses.

FACILITATED ASSESSMENTS

If you have identified a large-scale issue of intergenerational fairness that requires an independent assessment, we can lead a full assessment, including the appointment of experts, convening participative dialogue, coordinating peer review and designing engaging and actionable communication.

ORGANISATIONAL TRANSFORMATION

Ultimately, the issues of intergenerational fairness are about the systemic barriers to long-term decision making, but also fruitful dialogue between different age groups who may have very different needs and values from each other. We can work with you to map your own system and create the capability and governance necessary in your organisation to make decisions that meet the needs of the present while still allowing future generations to meet their own needs.

CONCLUSION

This project sought to deliver practical methodologies for intergenerational fairness policy assessment that could be held independently and adapt over time. The Framework for Intergenerational Fairness delivers this, plus a far-reaching strategy for embedding intergenerational fairness within the public conversation and the Portuguese policy landscape.

The timing couldn't be more apt. Just as intergenerational tensions become more visible and questions concerning justice between generations are becoming increasingly heated. From housing to healthcare, pensions to transportation, the consequences and costs of everyday political decisions will be experienced radically differently across generations. Climate change and COVID-19 only intensify this stark reality. Many of our decisions today will weigh disproportionately on those who can't yet vote or haven't yet been born.

The Framework for Intergenerational Fairness is designed to help ensure that policy makers consider the wellbeing and interests of all generations, including future generations who currently don't have a voice in the political process. It does this by creating a systematic way to assess the impact we're having on future generations and advocate for them. While we can't solve the problem of intergenerational fairness, we can expose unfairness where it exists and provide information to make hard choices clearer.

This approach is powerful because policies are tested against the public's own views of what a desirable future looks like, recognising that it is public interest that drives deep-rooted change. It is further strengthened by stress-testing the assessment against alternative futures and long-term planning assumptions. This makes it practical to implement in the short-term and adaptable to changes in politics, culture and demand in the long-term.

We understand that a shift of this magnitude arises primarily from citizens. Changes in values in society (for example the suffrage or anti-slavery movements) come from the periphery and drive political and institutional changes at the centre. Sustained political attention on intergenerational fairness requires citizen focus.

This framework addresses the need to drive public interest and national debate amongst citizens, media, society and industry to create real change. To respond to a divisive debate with a unifying solution and to safeguard our democratic legacy for now and for the future.

ANNEX A

Foundations for the Framework for Intergenerational Fairness

Throughout our work in developing each element of this framework we have learnt from best practice both internationally and in Portugal. This Annex sets out the key institutions, frameworks, participatory exercises, economic models and technical reports that form the foundations for our work.

INSTITUTIONAL OWNERSHIP

In addition to ongoing consultation with key institutional stakeholders both in Portugal and internationally, we researched existing national and international institutions and frameworks dealing with the long term. These include, but are not limited to, the following.

National institutions and frameworks:

- The Wellbeing of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015
- Parliamentary Commissioner for Future Generations in Hungary, established in 2008
- The UK Sustainable Development Commission (SDC), which existed from 2000 to 2011. It was a non-departmental public body linked to the Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA), with an independent and partly public advisory role
- Finnish Parliamentary Committee for the Future, established in 1993

International institutions, strategies and events:

- Network of Institutions for Wellbeing of Future Generations
- UN Sustainable Development Goals
- High-level political forum on sustainable development in 2020 <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/hlpf/2020>
- OECD Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development <http://www.oecd.org/gov/pcsd/>
- The reporting requirements of the European Semester on economic policy coordination use an inclusive definition of economic policy that speaks to environmental and social policy.
- EU 2050 long-term strategy “A clean planet for all” <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TX-T/?uri=CELEX:52018DC0773>

NATIONAL DIALOGUE: FRAMEWORK

SOIF is highly experienced in carrying out participative foresight exercises of this nature, including the 2020 UK Strategy for Next Generations. <https://soif.org.uk/leading-thinking/a-national-strategy-for-the-next-generations/>

We have also learned from many case studies foresight and participatory exercises. Here are some of the most important international examples:

- Vision for 2050, Slovenia.
- Research Institute for Future Design, Kochi University of Technology, Municipal workshop reconciling intergenerational conflicts with imaginary future generations.

- Wales we Want public dialogue leading to the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act.
- Our Singapore Conversation. Government of Singapore, 2012
- Crowdsourcing to draft the constitution of Mexico City.
- Continuous in France, by the Commission Nationale du Débat Public (CNDP). Public debate about planned large-scale infrastructure developments.
- PACITA (Parliaments and Civil Society in Technology Assessment), one-day deliberations gathering insights into the views of ordinary citizens across the European Union.

Examples of participatory approaches from Portugal:

- Participatory budget process in City of Cascais, Portugal
- Dream Teens allows the voice of youth to be heard by politicians in Portugal.
- Continuous by Fórum dos Cidadãos in Portugal. Citizen forums provided deliberation opportunities on important issues.
- Business Council of Sustainable Development in partnership with Instituto Superior Técnico. MEET2030 used systems thinking and incorporates indicators when thinking about the future

NATIONAL DIALOGUE: ILLUSTRATIVE OUTPUTS

Inputs used to build the illustrative national dialogue outputs include:

- Adams, E. 2019. Cascais Participatory Budget, Medium magazine. [Link](#).
- Álvaro Vasoncelos. 2015. Conference description: Global trends 2030. The futures of Portugal. [Link](#)
- Antunes, Rocha & Catita. 2019. Coastal Flood Assessment due to Sea Level Rise and Extreme Storm Events: A Case Study of the Atlantic Coast of Portugal's Mainland. [Link](#)
- Business Council for Sustainable Development. 2016. Meet 2030. Business, climate change and economic growth. [Link](#)
- Cascais Municipality. 2017. A city starts with people. [Link](#)
- Cabannes Y. 2014. Contribution of Participatory Budgeting to provision and management of basic services. Municipal practices and evidence from the field. [Link](#)
- Commission National du debat public. Commission website. [Link](#)
- Dream Teens. Project Participation Rules. [Link](#)
- European Union. CORDIS Research Results. 2015. Final Report Summary - PACITA (Parliaments and Civil Society in Technology Assessment) [Link](#)
- Frاسquilho, D et al. 2016. Dream Teens: Adolescents-Led Participatory Project in Portugal in the Context of the Economic Recession. Society for Public Health Education. [Link](#)
- Ferreira da Silva, Jaime. 2015. Portugal's interest in the context of security and defence policy and maritime affairs . [Link](#)
- Forum Dos Cidadãos. Organisation website. [Link](#)
- Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia. 2018. Portugal Space 2030. [Link](#)
- Henriques J. 2018. Migrações: «É preciso dar mais tempo e voz aos cidadãos para perceber os seus medos.» Publico. [Link](#)
- Humanitarian Futures Programme. 2018. Baselines and paradigms. Bridging generational divides. The Generational Project Roundtable Report. [Link](#)
- Lim Seok Hui & Adrian W. J. Kuah. 2014. After Our Singapore Conversation: The Futures of Governance. Opinion piece. Civil Service College Singapore. [Link](#)
- National initiative on digital skills. 2019. AI Portugal 2030. [Link](#)
- NESTA. 2019. Our futures for the people by the people. [Link](#)
- Observatory of Public Sector Innovation. 2018. Crowdsourcing the Mexico City Constitution. OPSI. [Link](#)

- Portugal Foresight, Planning and International Affairs Department . 2012. Scenarios for the Portuguese Economy 2050. Link
- PACITA Project. 2015(1) Policy-Oriented Technology Assessment Across Europe. Expanding Capacities. United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.
- PACITA Project. 2015(2) Policy Report. Europe-wide views on sustainable consumption. From European Citizens to Policy Makers. Link
- Participedia. 2017. Case: The First Fórum dos Cidadãos Citizens' Assembly (Lisbon, Portugal). Link
- Rosário et al. Regional trends in ageing and health for Portugal, 2011-2031. Link
- Republic of Slovenia. 2015. Vizija Slovenije 2050. Link.
- State of the Environment Portal, Portugal . Updated 2019. Macroeconomic Scenarios for Portugal. Link
- Takura Osamu & Saijo Tatsuyoshi. 2019. Future Design. Japan Foreign Policy Forum. Link
- Secretariat of Our Singapore Conversation. Our Singapore Conversation. Singapore Government. Link
- Secretariat of Our Singapore Conversation. Reflections of Our Singapore Conversation. Singapore Government. Link
- Tim Marshall. 2016. Learning from France: using public deliberation to tackle infrastructure planning issues. International Planning Studies. Link

POLICY ASSESSMENT TOOL

We examined the following economic tools, frameworks and indices when designing the content for the policy assessment tool:

- Doughnut economics combines the natural science analysis of ecological 'planetary boundaries' provided by Johan Rockstrom⁸ and colleagues with a set of social indicators based on the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. <https://www.kateraworth.com/doughnut/>
- Cost-benefit analysis. Orthodox economics recommends the use of cost-benefit analysis as a guide to policy making. It does not simply provide a list of costs and benefits of different policy options, but also offers a means of comparing them and arriving at a conclusion about whether total costs exceed total benefits or vice-versa.
- Natural capital accounting, which essentially applies cost-benefit analysis to the natural world
- EU circular economy indicators monitoring framework <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/circular-economy/indicators/monitoring-framework>
- Sustainable development Index (Jason Hickel, 2019)
- European Intergenerational Fairness Index (Intergenerational Foundation, 2016)
- Social Justice Index (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016)
- Intergenerational Solidarity Index (Jamie McQuilkin, 2018)
- Measuring Sustainable Development (Joint UNECE/OECD/Eurostat Working Group on Statistics for Sustainable Development, 2014)

The human and ecological domains included in the tool were based on the set of social and ecological domains from the Doughnut Economics model as a starting point.

To get to our final set of human domains, international security and maritime security were added as we identified them as important through our national dialogue illustrative outputs. Culture & heritage, family policy, and well-being all appear in different frameworks looking at the long term, and we considered them all to be relevant to Portugal. The Doughnut Economics framework is the most comprehensive in terms of ecological domains. We have included these in our illustrative set of domains without amendment.

We chose not to go down the route of cost-benefit analysis, natural capital valuation, and other economic models that attempt to put an economic value on all elements of a decision. In part this decision was due to the problems inherent in valuing social and environmental costs and benefits (what is the value of a human life or a wetland habitat used by migrating birds?). However the major factor was a decision to focus the assessment on the things that directly matter to people and planet, leaving purely economic factors as means to achieve those ends, rather than ends in themselves. Several of the indices we considered include economic indicators, such as the level of expenditure on research and development, or the level of public debt. We have not included these in our illustrative set of domains as in general we do not consider a shift in any of these in and of itself to be a marker of intergenerational fairness.

Demographics is the other area of indicators that we have not included in our domain set. Rather we have taken a similar approach to the Joint UNECE/OECD/Eurostat Working Group and consider demographics to be context indicators that should be considered at the Impacts Stage.

Finally, to build the Process Stage checklist, in addition to bringing out the key factors in the policy-making process that we have identified as important to long-term decision making throughout all of our work in developing this intergenerational framework, we looked at the following reports:

- Making Policy Better, Institute for Government, UK <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/Making%20Policy%20Better.pdf>
- EU Quality of Public Administration – A Toolbox for Practitioners: Theme 1: Better policy-making. <https://ec.europa.eu/esf/BlobServlet?docId=13944&langId=en>
- Evidence-based policymaking collaborative. Principles of Evidence-Based Policymaking. 2016. https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/99739/principles_of_evidence-based_policymaking.pdf
- What is a ‘policy’ – and what is good policymaking? FT article <https://www.ft.com/content/f1c-f47a4-4af6-39bd-a5b9-8b9ce0315e05>

CULTURAL LENSES ON TIME AND LONG-TERM DECISIONS

A collection of concepts and examples discussed below may be helpful in understanding socio-cultural contexts within which a conversation about intergenerational fairness can effectively and meaningfully take place.

DIFFERENCES IN PERCEPTION OF TIME

Several studies, predominantly in the fields of psychology and linguistics, have tried to understand how different cultures visualize time. The spatial conceptions of time are said to be reflected in both verbal and body language. For example, in English people look “forward” to the future and “back” on the past. However, speakers of certain languages such as Aymara (an Andean language) and certain dialects of Arabic spoken in Morocco, have been shown to have an opposite space-time mapping such that they gesture towards the back while talking about the future.

Another way of classifying cultural attitudes to time prevalent in literature is time orientation. “Future orientation,” can be understood as the extent to which a culture encourages and rewards such behaviour as delaying gratification, planning, and investing in the future.

The third system of classification of cultures based on time perceptions is Chronemics, the study of the use of time, and the way it is perceived and valued by individuals and cultures, particularly as regards non-verbal communication.

Looking at the above three types of classification of cultures based on how time is visualized, valued, and used it becomes important to appreciate that individual and societal attitudes and perceptions of time/future are varied across the world.

When engaging the public in a conversation about the importance and relevance of intergenerational fairness, it may be useful to explicitly surface and address these concerns and assumptions.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST INTERGENERATIONAL FAIRNESS

When considering the cultural arguments for intergenerational fairness, it’s also important to understand the common reasons people may argue against it.

John Nolt, a US-based philosophy professor discusses the following common arguments and mindsets⁹ against intergenerational fairness:

- Argument from temporal location: Future people do not yet exist. We have no obligations to anything that doesn’t yet exist. We have no obligations to future people.
- Argument from ignorance: We can have obligations to beings only if we can know what those beings are like and what they need or desire. We can’t know what future people will be like or what they will need or desire. It is impossible to benefit distant future generations.
- Disappearing beneficiaries argument: Different actions will result in different people living in the distant future. When different actions result in different people, we cannot make any particular person better or worse off. We cannot make any particular person in the distant future better or worse off.

WHY (DO WE) CARE ABOUT THE LONG TERM/ FUTURE GENERATIONS

Another important aspect to explore is why do/should communities care about intergenerational fairness and well-being of the unborn citizens. Beatrice Pembroke & Ella Saltmarshe of The Long Time project have identified “The Five Long Term Paths”¹⁰ These are summarised and discussed below:

- Deep Time: a sense of awe by engaging in the epic geological history of the universe (and the planet).
- Multi-generational Emotions: deep emotional connection with generations past, present, and yet to be born.
- Legacy: think about the legacy that will be left behind for generations to come.
- Non-anthropocentric Worldview: respect the interconnectedness of all species on the planet, do not see the world as something available for humans to extract from/exploit.
- Duty based Identity: “protectors of their elements” and therefore, see it as their duty to preserve the natural environment for generations to come.

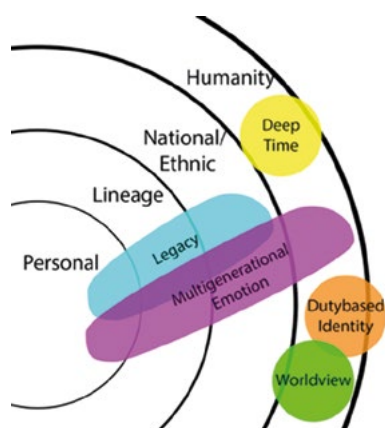


Figure. Map of lenses of long term lenses overlaid on cultural domains that affect perceptions and beliefs about time.

ANNEX B

Illustrative Outputs from a National Dialogue on “The Portugal We Want”

In order to implement the policy assessment toolkit, we needed to create an illustrative set of outputs from the national dialogue. This stress-tested the methodology and created a useful starting point, grounded in available resources outlined in Annex A.

This Annex highlights some of the details of executing the methodology and the outputs used in the policy assessment toolkit and the pilot testing in Portugal.

MATCHING DIALOGUE OUTPUT WITH THE ASSESSMENT DOMAINS

The policy assessment tool makes use of the Doughnut Economic Model consisting of human and ecological domains. These domains provide a useful framework to test a policy on a granular level and are closely related to the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

It is critical that no important domains are missing from the assessment, as that could lead to unidentified impacts. Therefore, we have added domains specific to Portugal such as international and maritime security, cultural heritage and family policy to these existing models.

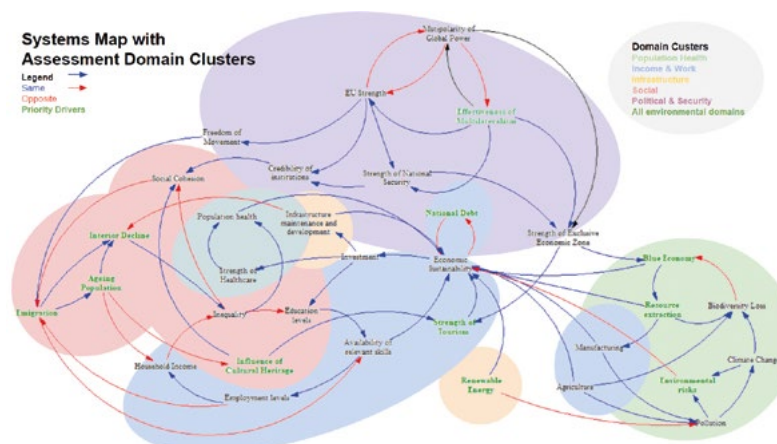
The outputs from the national dialogue that feed into the assessment tool are explicitly linked to these domains to ensure a comprehensive and meaningful connection between the elements.

These domains are also clustered where necessary to simplify the connection and improve compatibility between the systems and foresight disciplines and the assessment framework.

SYSTEMS MAPPING TO SUPPORT IMPACT ASSESSMENT

A systems map makes clear the interdependencies of the prioritised drivers within the defined context. The map not only enables the creation of plausible future scenarios, but functions as additional tool to explore the second and third order policy impacts.

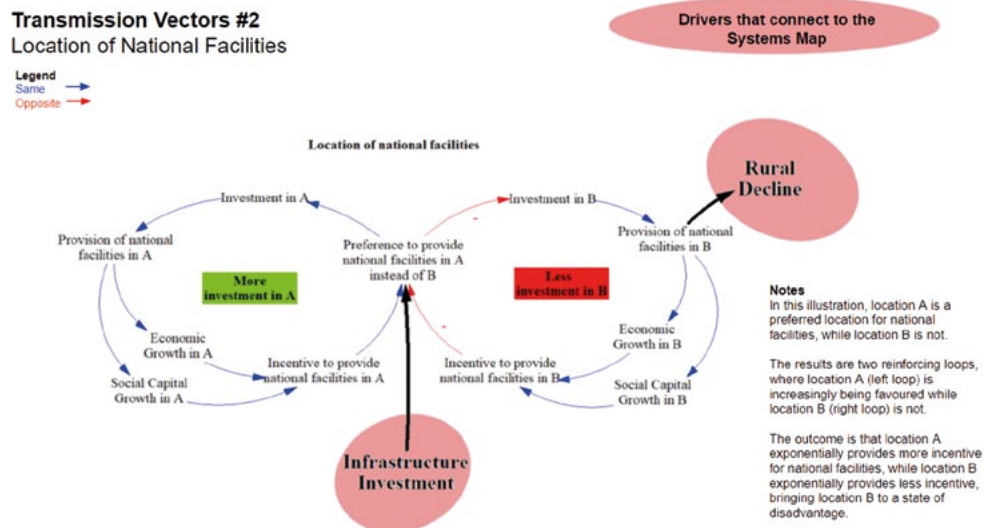
Below is a systems map using the prioritised drivers for Portugal. The colour overlays indicate the various domain clusters (which will be described in more detail in the next paragraphs).



TRANSMISSION VECTORS OF INEQUALITY

Expert opinion and research in conjunction with systems analysis and the systems map support the identification of the key transmission vectors of intergenerational inequality explored within the policy assessment tool.

The extract below illustrates the systems dynamics of how the location of national facilities tends to pass on inequity because of the way they are distributed geographically.



EXPLORING ALTERNATIVE FUTURE SCENARIOS

Alternative futures are an integral part of the dialogue and explored in a set of scenarios. During the dialogue, the scenarios support the identification of the hopes and fears of citizens. As the future will most likely be a combination of various characteristics found in a range of possible futures, it is prudent to test the policy against these distinct futures and see how it would fare, should nuances of these different scenarios come about.

Growth	Collapse	Discipline	Transform
<p>The world recovers well after the COVID-19 pandemic and Portugal experiences strong economic growth in its tourism, ocean-related and mining industries, allowing it to repay its sovereign debt reasonably quickly. Portugal's continued growth is further bolstered by its well-developed renewable energy industry and its diplomatic prowess on the European and global stage.</p>	<p>Portugal never manages to recover from the 2020 economic recession and defaults on its debt. At the same time, increased natural disasters exacerbate the situation. These shocks severely impact all industries and Portugal gradually experiences social collapse. Mass-scale emigration leaves behind an ageing population and an interior with little means to take care of itself. Portugal now looks outward for collaboration and to foster relationships, but in this climate, the rest of the world remains in isolation and is not yet ready.</p>	<p>Portugal slowly arises in the second quarter of the century through austerity. Although its tourism and ocean economy never manage to return to those levels at the start of the century and trade is but a shadow of what it was, it was still able to minimise its debt over time. Survival means conservative and careful management of expenditure and economic shocks. It therefore proactively deals with the energy transition to prevent loss of employment and mounting debt due to stranded energy assets. The situation is not preferred, but austerity ensures survival.</p>	<p>A series of shocks in the first half of the century - a pandemic, defaulting on national debt, climate change and shifts in the global compact - changed the norms and values of society today. Portugal's historic, cultural connection to the ocean informs the bedrock of values that drive its green energy transition and an emerging environmental restoration industry. Although predominantly self-sufficient, it trades eagerly as demonstration of sound relationships. Its societal cohesion is dynamic yet stable as democracy is supported by a society willing to engage meaningfully with one another and with the nature itself.</p>

The assessment domains will also exhibit different outcomes within each scenario and can be further explored. To interlink domains with the scenario process, domains can be clustered to more closely match the driver categories as well as the various zones on the systems map.

Defining a vision statement and indicators for each domain

The outcome of the dialogue is the Portugal we want 2050 vision. The vision can be applied to the domains to describe them as aspirational statements to compliment the vision. For each domain, relevant indicators are identified to track, on a granular level, whether the policy moves society towards or away from this vision over time. These indicators could also be selected through a participative process when constructing the vision.

Below are the aspirational domain statements with suggested indicators used in the illustrative outputs for Portugal.

Human domains	Vision statements	Indicator Examples
<p>Food</p>	<p>A Portugal where all residents have access to affordable healthy food, eliminating malnourishment through adequate food production, distribution systems (rural/urban) and urban planning that prevents food deserts in poor areas</p>	<p>Consumer Price Index (CPI) for Food; child stunting, malnourishment data, micronutrient and vitamin deficiencies.</p>

Health	A Portugal that protects the health of its people by providing equitable access to affordable health care, uses safe medical and information technologies, promotes healthy lifestyles and prevents harm through responsible government policies	Average mortality rate WHO diseases index
Education	A Portugal where all children, irrespective of their background, social or economic status, have equal opportunity for, and access to, education within an environment conducive to learning, and where life-long learning made possible and promoted as a value.	Adults lacking any formal qualifications Secondary school completion rates
Income and Work	A Portugal where economic stability provides sustained opportunity for citizens to find employment and self-actualisation and reap the fruit of their activities. This act as incentive for return from the diaspora and for new business and innovation ventures.	Employment rates Households below a threshold % of average income after housing costs
Drinking Water and Sanitation	A Portugal where all people has access to safe and clean water for nourishment, washing, sanitation and hygiene.	Percentage of population that has access to clean water
Energy	A Portugal that promotes cheap, affordable renewable energy through innovation and responsible use of natural resources, and intentionally manages the transition away from fossil fuels by reskilling the workforce and guaranteeing employment.	Percentage of national energy generated from renewables
Networks - social capital	A Portugal that encourages the flow of social capital by being a safe and secure country where citizens are able to trust and support one another in daily life, and share their collective, diverse experiences to create a sense of cohesion	Social Mobility Index National crime rates
Networks - Infrastructure	A Portugal where all residents connect online with ease, have physical access to public services and easily travel around the country	Size of infrastructure investments Quality of roads Efficiency of train services
Housing	A Portugal where no one lives in vulnerable circumstances or are so poor that they need shelter because all residents have access to affordable housing, including in urban areas where tourism artificially inflates property prices	House Price Index Housing index Overcrowding levels
Gender equality	A Portugal where every citizen, regardless of gender, is provided unfettered access to resources, equal opportunity to work and self-actualise, and enjoys equal decision-making opportunities	Gender Equality Index Percentage of workforce women Percentage of women in senior positions

Social equity	A Portugal where public policy embodies fairness, justice and equality to all people irrespective of their background or social status, and is created in a participatory manner by listening to the voices of those affected by the policies	Diversity of leadership
Political voice	A Portugal where all citizens are able to participate in democracy and have the opportunity to be heard without retribution	National Democracy Index Human Freedom Index Number of political protests
National peace and justice	A Portugal that upholds peace and justice and prefers nonviolent solutions by utilising its strong, trusted institutions to uphold the rule of law in a transparent manner.	National and local voter percentages Corruption Perceptions Index
International security	A Portugal that prefers a multilateral approach as first strategy of protecting its territory, people, values, institutions and overall prosperity. However, it's armed forces are able to protect itself against any direct attack on its sovereignty and can sustain resilience against virtual attacks or effects of natural disasters.	State Fragility Index Proposed State Sovereignty Index Military Spending
Maritime security	A Portugal that values the Exclusive Economic Zone and coastal areas as symbols of Portuguese heritage and important means of wealth distribution, and therefore protects its safety and environmental sustainability.	Maritime security index Coastal security spending
Culture/heritage	A Portugal that protects its legacy and celebrates its lively cultural heritage and the diverse ways it is expressed as an inclusive, shared identity.	Heritage Microclimate Risk Cultural activities GDP contribution Cultural employment Naturalisation of immigrants
Family policy	A Portugal that cares deeply for every generation, reinforcing early childhood development as a first gift to new generations, but also promotes inclusivity of all generations, meeting the needs of both the young and the elderly.	Early Child Development Index Family Policy Index Child and Youth Well-being Index
Well-being	A Portugal with high life-expectancy as people have a sense of opportunity, happiness and a lack of stress, and are content on a physical, emotional, and social level.	Years of Healthy Life Expectancy Happiness Index
Ecological domains		
Climate Change	A Portugal where innovation and national cooperation is at the centre of a social compact between government, business and the public to actively reduce emissions and mitigate Climate Change effects	Emission and consumption of CO ₂

Ocean acidification	A Portugal that has net zero carbon emissions and is steadily shifting to a carbon Negative Carbon economy through innovation and Circular Economy principles	Average water temperature Average size of fish from fish stock
Chemical pollution	A Portugal where the outcome of government, industry and science partnerships result in successful, innovative transformation of applications that once were responsible for chemical pollution. Policies are in place to direct household and small business behaviour away from historic use of harmful chemicals.	Particulate concentration (PM10) Composition of run-off water
Nitrogen and Phosphorus	A Portugal where negative effects on the environment is managed by innovative agriculture and animal farming methods, environmentally friendly wastewater management practices and stormwater management that limits pollution from water rundown	Reactive nitrogen and phosphorus run off into rivers, lakes and oceans
Freshwater	A Portugal that treasures freshwater resources and protects them from harmful industrial practices by managing its use responsibly as a limited resource.	Water table levels Chemical composition of fresh water
Land conversion	A Portugal that conserves its natural habitats as crucial constituents to life on earth and protects them from conversion to man-made habitats	Percentage of land use (ha)Rezoning applications percentages
Biodiversity loss	A Portugal that actively restores and manages biodiversity (both in land and water ecosystems) in cooperation with responsible resource use and extraction practices	Fauna and Flora Indices
Air pollution	A Portugal that values clean air as a necessity for health and enforces strict policies to promote innovation and prevent pollutants	Particulate concentration (PM10)
Ozone layer depletion	A Portugal that effectively regulates the manufacturing and business sector to prevent the use of ozone-depleting substances (ODS)	Ozone-depleting substances (ODS) use

ENDNOTES

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