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Conceptual Framework and Structure of a European System of Social Indicators

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Table of Contents

		page
1.	Introduction	6
2.	Concepts of Welfare and Goals of Societal Development: Elements of a Conceptual Framework	8
2.1	Welfare Concepts	8
2.1.1	Quality of Life Concepts	8
2.1.2	Concepts of the Quality of Societies	12
	2.1.2.1 Livability and the Quality of Nations	12
	2.1.2.2 Social Cohesion, Social Exclusion, Social Capital	13
	2.1.2.2.1 Social Cohesion	13
	2.1.2.2.2 Social Exclusion	15
	2.1.2.2.3 Social Capital	18
	2.1.2.3 Sustainability	21
	2.1.2.4 Human Development	24
	2.1.2.5 Social Quality	26
2.2	Goals and Objectives of European Policy	28
2.3	The Conceptual Framework	37
2.3.1	Welfare Concepts and Goal Dimensions Considered	37
2.3.2	Overlaps and Relations between Welfare Concepts at the Level of Goal and Measurement Dimensions	40

page

3. Structural Aspects 44

3.1 Life Domains, Goal Dimensions and Measurement Dimensions 44

3.2 Countries and Regional Disaggregation 58

3.3 Starting Point and Periodicity of Observations 63

4. Summary and Conclusions 64

References 65

List of EuReporting Working Papers 73

1. Introduction

In recent years social reporting activities - efforts to monitor and systematically describe and analyse the current state of and changes in living conditions and the quality of life - have been given new priority. The process of European integration has obviously stimulated the development of such monitoring and reporting activities not only at the supranational, but also at national and sub-national levels. The improvement of living conditions and the quality of life in the member states are among the main goals of the European Union, as stated for example in the Maastricht treaty. Accordingly, the availability of appropriate knowledge and systematic information on social conditions within and across European societies as provided by social monitoring and reporting will be of crucial importance to enhance European integration and cohesion and to create the ”Social Europe” of the 21st century.

Establishing a science based European system of social reporting is the overall objective of the EuReporting project. As part of this project an „European System of Social Indicators” is going to be developed. As a result of our research the scientific community, policy makers as well as other potential users shall be provided with a theoretically as well as methodologically well-grounded selection of measurement dimensions and indicators which can be used as an instrument to continuously observe and analyse the development of welfare and quality of life as well as changes in the social structure of European societies and the European Union[1].

As a first step in constructing such an indicators system, the development of a conceptual framework is of crucial importance. The purpose of such a framework is to guide and to justify the selection of measurement dimensions and indicators. As one of the main requirements on social indicators is their reference to societal goals and their political relevance the conceptual framework should specify the goal dimensions and political concerns to be measured by the indicators system. The indicators system should primarily serve the function to monitor the welfare development in Europe. The crucial question then is, how the term 'welfare' is defined, which components and aspects are covered and to which goals of societal development it is related. The theoretical framework of a European system of social indicators should thus identify and specify the goal dimensions of the welfare development in Europe, from which measurement dimensions and indicators can be delineated.

In order to determine the goal dimensions of the welfare development in Europe two kinds of analysis have been undertaken:

- an analysis of the goal dimensions considered by various welfare concepts which have been developed and discussed by social scientists. Thus, a review of welfare concepts such as quality of life or more recent concepts like sustainability or social quality constitutes one essential basis for developing the conceptual framework (chapter 2.1)[2]
- an exploration of goals of welfare and societal development as they are expressed at the level of European politics. In order to identify these political goals an analysis

[1] The expansion of comparative social indicators research and social reporting due to the European unification and the objectives of the Maastricht Treaty has been identified by Joachim Vogel (1997) as one feature of "The Future Direction of Social Indicators Research".

[2] Important preparatory work has been already done by Noll (1999).

European social concerns, common objectives and goals of the EU member states as indicated in the European Treaties (Rome 1957, Maastricht 1992, Amsterdam 1997) and official documents of the European Commission (chapter 2.2) has been carried out.

Based on these two pillars the conceptual framework of the European system of social indicators will be elaborated by clarifying the meaning of the various dimensions and their interrelations and by evaluating their relative importance in the European context. The result of this analysis will be a synthesis of the relevant goal dimensions to be considered by a concept of the welfare development in Europe (chapter 2.3).

This conceptual framework will guide the identification of goal areas and dimensions of measurement which together constitute the basic structuring elements of the indicators system. A further structural characteristic of the indicators system is defined by the life domains selected. Thus a decision on the life domains covered by the indicators system will be needed. Within each life domain the relevant goal areas and dimensions have to be determined (chapter 3.1). Other decisions concern the countries to be included and the level of regional disaggregation. The latter is an important issue in view of the wide regional disparities within European countries and the goal of upward harmonisation of living conditions (chapter 3.2). Besides the spatial reference the temporal framework - the starting point of the time series and the periodicity of the observations - have to be determined (chapter 3.3).

Finally, chapter 4 will provide a summary of our efforts to develop the conceptual framework of the European system of social indicators and to set up the major elements of its architecture.

2. Concepts of Welfare and Goals of Societal Development: Elements of a Conceptual Framework

2.1 Welfare Concepts

The main purpose of a European System of Social Indicators as being developed in our project is the measurement and monitoring of the level and changes in the welfare of European citizens. There are different notions of what constitutes a good life or a good society and correspondingly different concepts of welfare have been developed. Originally, the notion of welfare was synonymous with material wealth, and rates of economic growth used to be the main criteria for assessing social progress. Later on a broader conception of welfare emerged which also included qualitative aspects of development, and quality of life became the leading societal goal (s. below).

Among the welfare concepts considered here, the concept of quality of life is probably the most widely recognised and the most frequently used framework for analysing the welfare development of a society. It has stimulated much research on empirical welfare measurement. Various approaches of operationalisation can be distinguished. Each approach reveals a different notion of the concept and thus highlights different ideas on relevant components and dimensions of welfare. The more recent welfare concepts discussed here - livability, social cohesion, social exclusion, social capital, human development, sustainability, social quality - are less approved so far. They are characterised by deficiencies of empirical operationalisation and - partially - of theoretical elaboration and clarification, too. Especially, the relationships between these "new" concepts as well as their relations to the quality of life concept have not been clarified yet, although implicit linkages are obvious. Thus, this chapter will not only present the crucial elements of various welfare concepts, but also make an attempt to contribute to their theoretical clarification by discussing their interrelations and identifying the goal dimensions which they refer to explicitly or implicitly.

2.1.1 Quality of Life Concepts

The concept of quality of life arose at the end of the 1960s as an alternative to the then dominant societal goal of increasing material level of living. In view of the diminishing marginal utility of wealth, the limits of economic growth and its social and ecological impacts were increasingly discussed. In this context, the shortcomings of a pure economic perspective of societal development became more and more apparent. The idea of wealth as the one and only goal of societal development was replaced or extended by the multidimensional concept of quality of life which includes wealth as only one of multiple components. Besides material dimensions of welfare, the concept encompasses immaterial aspects of the living situation like health, social relations or the quality of the natural environment. Furthermore, quality of life was considered to include objective features - the actual conditions - as well as the subjective well-being of the individual citizens based on subjective perceptions and evaluations of living conditions [3].

[3] A more extensive review of the rise and the meaning of the concept of quality of life can be found in Noll 1999.

Among the various efforts to operationalise the quality of life concept, two rather contrary approaches can be distinguished: the Scandinavian level of living approach and the American quality of life approach. The Scandinavian approach puts the focus on objective living conditions, whereas the American approach emphasises the subjective well-being of people. These distinctive views are the result of different conceptualisations of the idea of quality of life, welfare and not the least a good society.

Scandinavian Level of Living Research

The Scandinavian level of living research was strongly influenced by the work of Jan Drewnowski, who conceptualised welfare in terms of objective needs, and Richard Titmuss' studies of the British welfare state in which level of living was defined as a person's command over resources (Uusitalo 1994). Welfare is defined as "the individual's command over resources through which the individual can control and consciously direct his living conditions" (Erikson 1993, p. 72-73). Examples of resources are income and assets, education and knowledge, social relations and networks. Furthermore, the external circumstances of the individual's life - the "arenas" - are viewed as essential components of welfare, because they determine the utilisation of the resources and thus the individual's scope of action. It is clear that this conceptualisation of welfare is best operationalised by indicators of the objective living conditions. This does not mean that the individual's subjective well-being is of no interest. But, because subjective evaluations are also dependent on the level of aspiration, they - according to this approach - do not represent appropriate criteria for guiding social policy which is considered as the primary function of welfare measurement.

Capabilities Approach

The Scandinavian resources approach comes relatively close to Sen's more recent concept of capabilities (Sen 1993; Stewart 1996). Capabilities are reflected by the "functionings" a person can achieve. These are the "doings and beings" in the life of a person, such as going to the movies, reading books, being in good health, being socially integrated (Sen 1993, p. 31). The quality of life is assessed in terms of the capabilities of a person and therefore the focus is to enhance people's capabilities. It should be emphasised that the crucial point in measuring an individual's quality of life are not the functionings actually achieved. The concept of capabilities takes into consideration, that individuals have different values and preferences and may thus attach different weights to various functionings. What is important though is, whether an individual has the capabilities to achieve the high valued functionings and whether he or she is able to live the type of life aspired. What the concepts of resources and capabilities have in common is the idea that individuals actively and consciously direct their lives according to their preferences. In this process, resources or capabilities are considered as means to achieve the ends desired. This perspective of autonomously acting individuals deciding between different options is also part of another welfare concept, the human development concept (s. 2.1.2.4) which puts the focus of interest on people's choices (Noll 1999, p. 17, 23).

American Quality of Life Approach

In opposition to the Scandinavian resources concept, the American quality of life approach[4] defines welfare in terms of need satisfaction which can be assessed best by the individuals themselves. According to this view, the ultimate goal dimensions of societal development do not concern objective features of quality of life but people's subjective well-being in terms of satisfaction and happiness. Hence, this conceptualisation of quality of life is operationalised primarily by subjective social indicators.

One has to distinguish between several notions of subjective well-being such as satisfaction or happiness. Sometimes these terms have been used synonymously. According to Argyle, subjective well-being consists of three components: satisfaction, positive affect, and the absence of distress (Argyle 1996). Diener and Suh (1997) distinguish between three interrelated components of subjective well-being: life satisfaction, pleasant and unpleasant affect. While life satisfaction refers to a cognitive judgement, affects represent moods and emotions. Also in the research tradition of the American quality of life approach, subjective well-being is viewed as consisting of positive and negative as well as affective and cognitive aspects. Satisfaction represents a cognitive dimension, while happiness describes an affective dimension of subjective well-being (Glatzer 1984). Nordenfelt (1994) defines happiness as one form of well-being, but he conceives it as a cognitive concept as well as an emotion. Veenhoven (1993, p.28) describes happiness as "the degree to which an individual judges the overall quality of his/her own life as favourable" and takes into account affective appraisals - "hedonic level of affect"- and cognitive evaluations of life -"contentment" - as different variants of the concept. However at the level of measurement, he uses the terms of happiness and satisfaction as synonyms.

Besides the contrasting notions of quality of life as availability of resources on the one side and as subjective well-being on the other side, there have been broader conceptions and operationalisations of quality of life which include objective as well as subjective elements. The consideration of objective as well as subjective indicators is nowadays the prevailing research strategy.

Basic Needs Approach

Such a broader concept of quality of life was taken as the basis of Erik Allardt's "Comparative Scandinavian Welfare Study" as early as in 1972. Allardt considered the resources approach as too restrictive. His point of departure was a "basic needs approach" originally developed by Johan Galtung. This approach distinguishes between three basic needs of human beings - Having, Loving and Being. Within each category, objective as well as subjective dimensions of need satisfaction are considered. Having refers to the satisfaction of material and impersonal needs. Loving refers to the need for social relations; subjective measures of need satisfaction in this area are feelings of happiness. Being concerns the needs for integration into society and for a harmonious relation to nature. Objective measures of meeting these needs are for example indicators of political participation, of opportunities for meaningful work or for enjoying nature. The subjective

[4] The first and most prominent representatives of this approach are Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse and Willard L. Rodgers (Campbell/Converse 1972; Campbell/Converse/Rodgers 1976) and Frank M. Andrews and StephenWithey (1976).

dimension of this category of needs is represented for example by feelings of alienation or personal growth (Allardt 1993).

German Quality of Life Approach

Another approach combining objective as well as subjective dimensions is based on the German notion of quality of life as defined by Wolfgang Zapf. Central to this concept is a focus on the constellation of objective living conditions and subjective well-being across different life domains. Objective living conditions are the ascertainable living circumstances, such as material aspects, working conditions, state of health, and social relations. Subjective well-being concerns general as well as domain-specific assessments and evaluations of living conditions and includes cognitive as well as affective components. A typology of welfare positions has been created which distinguishes between four constellations of objective living conditions and subjective well-being:

Chart 1: Typology of Welfare Positions

Objective Living Conditions	Subjective Well-Being	
	good	bad
Good	Well-Being	Dissonance
Bad	Adaptation	Deprivation

Source: Zapf 1984, p. 25

The constellation of good living conditions and high subjective well-being is called well-being. The combination of good living conditions and low subjective well-being is denoted as dissonance. Poor living conditions coinciding with low subjective well-being represents a situation of deprivation. And finally, poor living conditions but nevertheless high subjective well-being is described as adaptation (Zapf 1984, p. 25-26).

Differences and Commonalities Between Quality of Life Approaches

In trying to determine the most distinctive features of the various conceptualisations of quality of life as presented above, one has to differentiate first between objective and subjective notion. Secondly, there are different conceptions of objective as well as of subjective approaches. Within the objective dimension of quality of life, one can distinguish the idea of resources or capabilities as means to enhance the quality of life from the concentration on living conditions which are considered to be outcomes or ends. Within the category of subjective assessments of quality of life, an important distinction is that between cognitive and affective aspects of well-being.

A common feature of all approaches is the more or less implicit or explicit conceptualisation of quality of life as concerning *individual* characteristics. Welfare aspects related to *societal* qualities such as equality, equity, freedom, security, or solidarity have been rather neglected, at least as far as the empirical operationalisations of the

concept are concerned. In contrast to this, the more recent welfare concepts - as they are subject of the following section - put the focus on aspects concerning the quality of societies, the distribution of welfare and social relations within societies.

2.1.2 Concepts of the Quality of Societies

The concepts referring to welfare related characteristics of societies, such as distributional and relational aspects, have become popular mainly during the second half of the 80s and the 90s. Some of these theoretical approaches are rather comprehensive, such as the concept of Human Development and the most recent concept of Social Quality. Other propositions primarily focus on special welfare issues, such as the concepts of Social Exclusion and Social Capital. There is a substantial overlap between these concepts and some of the ideas dealt with in these concepts are not really new but have also been part of early conceptions of quality of life.

2.1.2.1 Livability and the Quality of Nations

The concept of livability has been introduced by Veenhoven (1996, p. 6ff) as a performance criterion of societies. It represents one of four dimensions which he distinguishes in order to characterise the "quality of nations" or the "good society". The other dimensions considered as important criteria for assessing the quality of a nation are the stability of the system and subsystems, the productivity, and the realisation of the values of freedom, justice and equality. The livability of a nation is also denoted as "habitability" or "quality of life *in* the nation". It is defined "*as the degree to which its provisions and requirements fit with the needs and capacities of its citizens*" (Veenhoven 1996, p. 7). There are physiological needs (e.g. for food, shelter) as well as psychological needs (e.g. a sense of security, identity, trust) a society must meet.

Two approaches to operationalise this concept have been discussed (Veenhoven 1993, p. 17 ff.). The first approach is the measurement by so-called input indicators which refer to living conditions of a society and which are expected to match the citizens' needs and capacities, such as wealth, political freedom, equality, access to education. Two problems have been identified with this approach: (1) the implicit assumption on human needs and capacities and (2) the assumption that the more of a condition the better the livability. Thus, an alternative approach has been proposed, that is the measurement by so-called output indicators which should capture the degree to which people "flourish" in a society. Indicators of physical and mental health, overall satisfaction and happiness are proposed as appropriate measures of "flourishing" (Veenhoven 1996, p. 12). It is assumed that a good health and a positive appraisal of life are outcomes of societal conditions which meet the citizens' needs and capacities and therefore can be regarded as indicators of the livability of a society.

Relation to the Quality of Life Concept

What is the relation between the concepts of livability and quality of life? On the one hand livability is considered as a characteristic of a good society. On the other hand it has been denoted as quality of life within a society and defined with a clear reference to individual characteristics such as needs and capacities. Ultimately however, this does not break with

efforts which place the individual quality of life at the centre of the concept. Thus, the societal goals addressed by the concept of livability of a society are the enhancement of the quality of life of its citizens. This is especially true with respect to the suggested operationalisation of the concept by indicators of health and overall subjective well-being, which in addition bears the problem that the assessment of the livability of a society is strongly influenced by people's aspirations.

It is thus difficult to find differences in principle between the concept of livability and the quality of life approaches previously described. At most, they differ in the perspectives applied. The concept of livability is certainly far off from a resources or capabilities approach of quality of life, In fact it would be true to characterise these approaches as opposing each other. People are ascribed a quite passive role, they are not seen as actors autonomously managing their living situation, but instead as users of conditions provided by the society. Hence, the concept of livability comes fairly close to the notion of quality of life as an end state, measured by indicators of subjective well-being.

2.1.2.2 Social Cohesion, Social Exclusion, Social Capital

The concepts of social cohesion, social exclusion and social capital are all closely related to each other, and there are further concepts such as social inclusion, social integration, and civil society which could be mentioned in this context as well. Drawing on the work of the sociologist Emile Durkheim, all these concepts can be seen as concerning themselves primarily with the possibilities of societal integration, solidarity and stability (Noll 1999, p. 19). Common to all concepts is the concern with the relationship between units of the society such as individuals, groups, associations, institutions as well as territorial units. The concept of social cohesion embodies the most comprehensive perspective which includes aspects addressed by the concepts of social exclusion and social capital, too.

2.1.2.2.1 Social Cohesion

Social Cohesion is considered to be a characteristic of a society dealing with the relations among members of that society and the bounding effect of these relations (McCracken 1998). Aspects often mentioned in describing social cohesion are shared values and communities of interpretation, feelings of a common identity, a sense of belonging to the same community, trust among members as well as the reduction of disparities (Woolley 1998, Jenson 1998b). The Social Cohesion Network of the Policy Research Initiative of the Canadian Government defined social cohesion as "the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity within Canada, based on a sense of trust, hope and reciprocity among all Canadians" (PRI 1999, p. 22)

Durkheim was the first who used the concept of social cohesion. He considered social cohesion as an ordering feature of a society and defined it as the interdependence between the members of the society, shared loyalties and solidarity (Jenson 1998b).

In recent years the concept of social cohesion received great attention by policy circles at the national and supranational level. Besides the Canadian government, the French and the Dutch government, the OECD, the Council of Europe, the European Commission, and the

Club of Rome have concerned themselves with issues of social cohesion (Jenson 1998b, PRI 1999). Furthermore, the British Liberal Party established a "Commission of Wealth Creation and Social Cohesion" directed by Ralf Dahrendorf (Noll 1999, p. 21). The increasing popularity of the concept is probably connected to various aspects of economic and social change which are currently considered to threaten the social cohesion of societies such as rising income inequality, poverty, unemployment, and crime. (Jenson 1998b).

Dimensions of Social Cohesion

There have been various efforts to determine the exact dimensions of the concept. - Collaboratively, the Canadian Policy Research Networks and the Policy Research Initiative of the Canadian Government, explored the dimensions of social cohesion as indicated in four policy documents of the Canadian Government, the French Government, the OECD, and the Club of Rome. Five dimensions were identified (Jenson 1998b, p. 15ff.):

- Belonging – Isolation which means shared values, identity, feelings of commitment
- Inclusion – Exclusion which concerns equal opportunities of access
- Participation – Non-Involvement
- Recognition – Rejection which addresses the issue of respecting and tolerating differences in a pluralist society; this aspect was emphasised in the document of the Club of Rome (s. Berger 1998)
- Legitimacy – Illegitimacy with respect to the institutions acting as a mediator in conflicts of a pluralist society

Another effort of "mapping social cohesion" resulted in three categories of issues covered by the concept (O' Connor 1998, p. 2):

- ties that bind, such as values, identity, culture
- differences and divisions: inequalities and inequities, cultural diversity, geographical divisions
- social glue which refers to associations and networks, infrastructure, values and identity

Furthermore, several implicit propositions on the dimensions of social cohesion can be extracted from descriptions of the concept and of empirical results. Similar to the three categories listed above, Woolley has distinguished three ways to define social cohesion (Woolley 1998, p. 2-5):

- as absence of social exclusion,
- as interactions and connections based on social capital
- as shared values and communities of interpretation based on group identity.

A definition of social cohesion by relating it to the concept of social exclusion/inclusion has also been presented by Dahrendorf et al.: "Social cohesion comes in to describe a society which offers opportunities to all its members within a framework of accepted values and institutions. Such a society is therefore one of inclusion. People belong; they are not allowed to be excluded" (Dahrendorf et al. 1995, p. vii). The perspective on the social

cohesion of a society as being based on its social capital was also chosen by other authors (McCracken 1998; Maxwell 1996).

In the report of the Social Cohesion Network to the Policy Research Committee of the Canadian Government the research issues have been structured into three main themes (PRI 1999, p. 22): (1) "Fault Lines" which means differences and cleavages creating tensions in the society such as economic polarisation, (2) "Axes of Community Identification" which concerns people's attachment to their community, and (3) "Implications of changes in Social Cohesion".

The point to be emphasised is that the concept of social cohesion incorporates mainly two goal dimensions of societal development which may be related to each other but can be analytically distinguished. The first dimension concerns the reduction of disparities, inequalities, breaks and cleavages which have also been denoted as fault lines. The concept of social exclusion is covered by this dimension. The second dimension embraces all aspects which aim at strengthening social connections, ties and commitments to a community. This dimension includes the concept of social capital.

A note should be made concerning the relationship between the two partial aspects of social cohesion, represented by the concepts of social exclusion and social capital. Several researchers argued that strong ties within a community can also be accompanied by the tendency to discriminate and exclude those people who do not belong to that community (s. for example Narayan 1999, p. 8). The issue of a strong social cohesion within a community which itself is exclusive has lead to the question "Can social cohesion be a threat to social cohesion?" (Jenson 1998a, p. 4). This problem highlights the importance of considering *both* dimensions of social cohesion in order to get a comprehensive picture of the relations between the members and groups of a society.

Relation to the Quality of Life Concept

How are the concepts of social cohesion and quality of life related to each other? At an empirical level, positive associations have been observed. The results of several studies point towards favourable effects of various aspects of social cohesion on macroeconomic performance (McCracken 1998, Hjerppe 1999, Putnam 1993, Grootaert 1998, Knack and Keefer 1997). There are also empirical investigations indicating positive relations with individual health and well-being (O' Connor 1998). Despite these empirical efforts there still is a need for further research in this field. At a conceptual level two ways of thinking - about the relationship between social cohesion and quality of life are possible. The first perspective would conceptualise social cohesion as a characteristic of a society with a positive impact on the quality of life of its members. From a second point of view the characteristics of society would be considered to be also characteristics of the life situation of the individuals belonging to that society. Such a position would assume a broad conceptualisation of quality of life and would therefore treat societal qualities as components of the individual quality of life.

2.1.2.2.2 Social Exclusion

Towards the end of the 80s the concept of social exclusion has become more and more popular. In recent years, it has represented one of the most widely used concepts in

scientific and political debates on actual social issues and has inspired a large amount of literature. The popularity of the concept was especially promoted through the growing interest in matters of social exclusion at the level of the European Union. The origin of the concept can be traced back to France, where the term was used in the context of debates on a new poverty and defined as a rupture of the relationship between the individual and the society (Silver 1994; Rodgers/Gore/Figueiredo 1995; de Haan 1999). The concept was taken up in 1985 by Jacques Delors, who was then president of the European Commission. As a consequence a series of research programmes was initiated. In the same year, the second European Poverty Programme was extended to include the issue of social exclusion. In 1989 an European Observatory on National Policies to Combat Social Exclusion was established and during the 90s further European Poverty Programmes were launched focussing on social exclusion.

It is probably true to say that to some extent the increasing research on social exclusion has replaced older terms referring to disadvantageous social conditions, such as the concepts of poverty and deprivation. At least a shift of interest from poverty to social exclusion can be noted at the European level. Partially, this shift was considered to be influenced by the reluctance of many governments to admit the fact that poverty still exists (Room 1998). Additionally it was also recognised that the term is simply more appropriate to analyse the multitude of current societal problems like unemployment, instability of families, shortage of welfare benefits, international migration in a common framework (Rodgers/Gore/Figueiredo 1995). Abrahamson considers poverty as a mass phenomenon of the early modern society and social exclusion as a phenomenon of the post modern society which concerns a "minority of people who are marginalised from mainstream middle mass society" (Abrahamson 1998, p. 147). However, the terms "social exclusion" and "poverty" have also been used synonymously with reference to a multidimensional concept of poverty.

Relation between Social Exclusion and Poverty

This leads to the question of how to define social exclusion and how to contrast the term from the notion of poverty. Generally speaking, social exclusion is used as a broader and more comprehensive concept including the aspect of poverty which may be a cause as well as a consequence of social exclusion (Bessis 1995; Gore/Figueiredo 1997; Corden/Duffy 1998). Another distinction is that poverty describes a state or an outcome, while social exclusion refers not only to a situation, but also focuses attention to the processes and causes and thus represents a more analytical concept (Rodgers 1995; Berghman 1995; de Haan 1999). Furthermore, poverty as a concept of the Anglo-Saxon research tradition focuses on distributional issues, that is to say the lack of resources at the disposal of individuals or households, whereas the French social exclusion approach focuses on relational issues, that is to say on inadequate social participation and integration due to the denial or non-realisation of access to social rights of citizenship which results in a rupture of social bonds between the individual and the society (Room 1995; Room 1998; de Haan 1999).

This latter view especially emphasises the different reference points of the two concepts. Poverty is related to individuals and households, whereas social exclusion is related to society and the individuals' relations to society. In contrast to that position are the considerations made in the framework of a research project on "Patterns and Causes of Social Exclusion" launched by the International Institute of Labour Studies and the United

Nations Development Programme in 1993. These researchers argued that social exclusion is not only an attribute of individuals, but that it can also be regarded as a property of societies (Gore/Figueiredo 1997; IILS 1998). As an individual attribute it is defined as a low level of welfare (economic disadvantage) and the inability to participate in social life (socio-political disadvantage). According to this perspective, social exclusion refers to a multidimensional notion of poverty. As a societal characteristic the term social exclusion refers to the impairment of social cohesion caused by the way in which institutions regulate and thereby constrain access to goods, services, activities and resources which are generally associated with citizenship rights. At the same time this definition emphasises the process character of the concept and its analytical features, and thereby underlines the idea that the causes of social exclusion are attributable not to the individual, but much rather to the failure of institutions (Gaudier 1993).

As a consequence of these considerations it is necessary to differentiate between the causes of disadvantageous living circumstances and its consequences. The causes of disadvantageous living circumstances may be attributed to societal institutions and can then be described by the concept of social exclusion as a property of societies. The impact of social exclusion on people is observable by poor living conditions at the level of individuals and denoted as poverty in a multidimensional notion.

Different Conceptions of Social Exclusion

The different meanings and perspectives connected with the concept of social exclusion can be assigned to different paradigms about society which have been developed by Silver (1994):

- In the framework of the first paradigm, 'solidarity', the term social exclusion is used in the sense of the French research tradition. It is defined as a disruption of the social tie between society and the individual due to the failure of institutions to integrate individuals into the society.
- In the second paradigm, 'specialization', social exclusion has the meaning of the Anglo-Saxon research tradition (de Haan 1999). It is seen as a result of social differentiation and specialisation, of the individuals' diversity of interests and capabilities. Contrary to the solidarity paradigm, social exclusion is caused by behaviour of the individual. Individuals may participate in some domains and be excluded from others due to their voluntary choices, the interests of other actors, contractual regulations, and notably also due to discrimination.
- The third paradigm, 'monopoly', highlights that society is ordered hierarchically with different groups controlling access to goods and services and protecting resources from outsiders. In this context, social exclusion is the result of processes of social closure by which more privileged groups protect their monopoly position. Contrary to the solidarity paradigm, the society is characterised by a hierarchy of inclusions and exclusions rather than a dualism of excluded and included (IILS 1998).

The theoretical approach of the European Observatory on National Policies to Combat Social Exclusion and of the European Poverty 3 Programme implicitly relies on the meaning of social exclusion in the context of Silver's solidarity paradigm. The researchers defined social exclusion in terms of the denial of citizenship rights - civil, political and social rights - which major societal institutions should guarantee. They suggested, that

social exclusion should be conceptualised as the failure of one ore more of the following four systems:

- "the democratic and legal system which promote civic integration
- the labour market which promotes economic integration
- the welfare state system promoting what may be called social integration
- the family and community system which promotes interpersonal integration" (Berghman 1998, p. 258-259)

There are various other efforts to identify dimensions of social exclusion which resulted in the differentiation between an economic, a social and a political dimension (Bessis 1995; Abbey 1999).

Relation to the Quality of Life Concept

Also with respect to the concept of social exclusion the question of the relation to the quality of life concept has to be addressed. It seems to be clear that the answer strongly depends on whether one chooses the perspective of social exclusion as an outcome measurable as an individual characteristic or whether one takes the perspective of social exclusion as a process rooting in the characteristics of societal institutions. Social exclusion in the first sense describes a life situation of an individual which is unfavourable with respect to one or several aspects - a conception which is related to the welfare goal of improving individual quality of life. Therefore, social exclusion in the meaning of an individual state is an aspect which is covered by the quality of life concept. Under the second point of view social exclusion refers to a societal characteristic which is considered to have an impact on individual quality of life or alternatively - like social cohesion - may be conceived as a component of the individual life situation.

2.1.2.2.3 Social Capital

The concept of social capital covers topics like the density and quality of relationships and interactions between individuals or groups, their mutual feelings of commitment and trust due to common values and norms, a sense of belonging and solidarity which are supposed to be the fundamentals of the internal social coherence of a society (McCracken 1998, Woolley 1998; Jenson 1998b; O' Connor 1998). "The social capital of a society includes the institutions, the relationships, the attitudes and values that govern interactions among people and contribute to economic and social development. Social capital, however, is not simply the sum of the institutions which underpin society, it is also the glue that holds them together. It includes the shared values and rules for social conduct expressed in personal relationships, trust, and a common sense of "civic" responsibility, that makes society more than a collection of individuals. Without a degree of common identification with forms of governance, cultural norms, and social rules, it is difficult to imagine a functioning society" (Social Capital Initiative 1998, p. 1).

There are various theoretical approaches and perspectives of social capital which use a more or less narrow concept. But they all have in common that they regard social capital as a property of a social entity and not of an individual. It is a relational concept, it presupposes a social relation and exists only as far as it is shared by several individuals.

Therefore, it cannot be the private property of a single person, but has the character of a public good (Grootaert 1998; Immerfall 1999; Narayan 1999).

Different Conceptions of Social Capital

A rather narrow concept of social capital is used by Robert Putnam (Putnam/Leonardi/Nanetti 1993; Putnam 1995), one of the most prominent author in this field of research. He defines social capital as a set of "horizontal associations" between people, as "networks of civic engagement" which mediate norms and operation rules of society and generate and reinforce trust in the credibility of these rules and in social relationships (O' Connor 1998; Hjerppe 1999; Social Capital Initiative 1998). In this sense social capital is defined as "features of social organization, such as networks, norms and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam 1993, p. 36, cited in Rossing Feldman/Assaf 1999, p. 30). A more general conception of social capital, which also covers vertical associations, has been used by Coleman. He defines social capital as "a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of actors - whether personal or corporate actors - within the structure" (Coleman 1988, p. 598, cited in Social Capital Initiative 1998, p. 2). The third, most comprehensive perspective is hold by North (1990). He also includes formalised relations and structures of macro-institutions, such as the political regime or the legal and judicial systems (Social Capital Initiative 1998, p. 2; Rossing Feldman/Assaf 1999, p. 2)

Corresponding to these different scopes of the concept, a distinction between three levels of manifestation of the concept has been made (Immerfall 1999, p. 121-122):

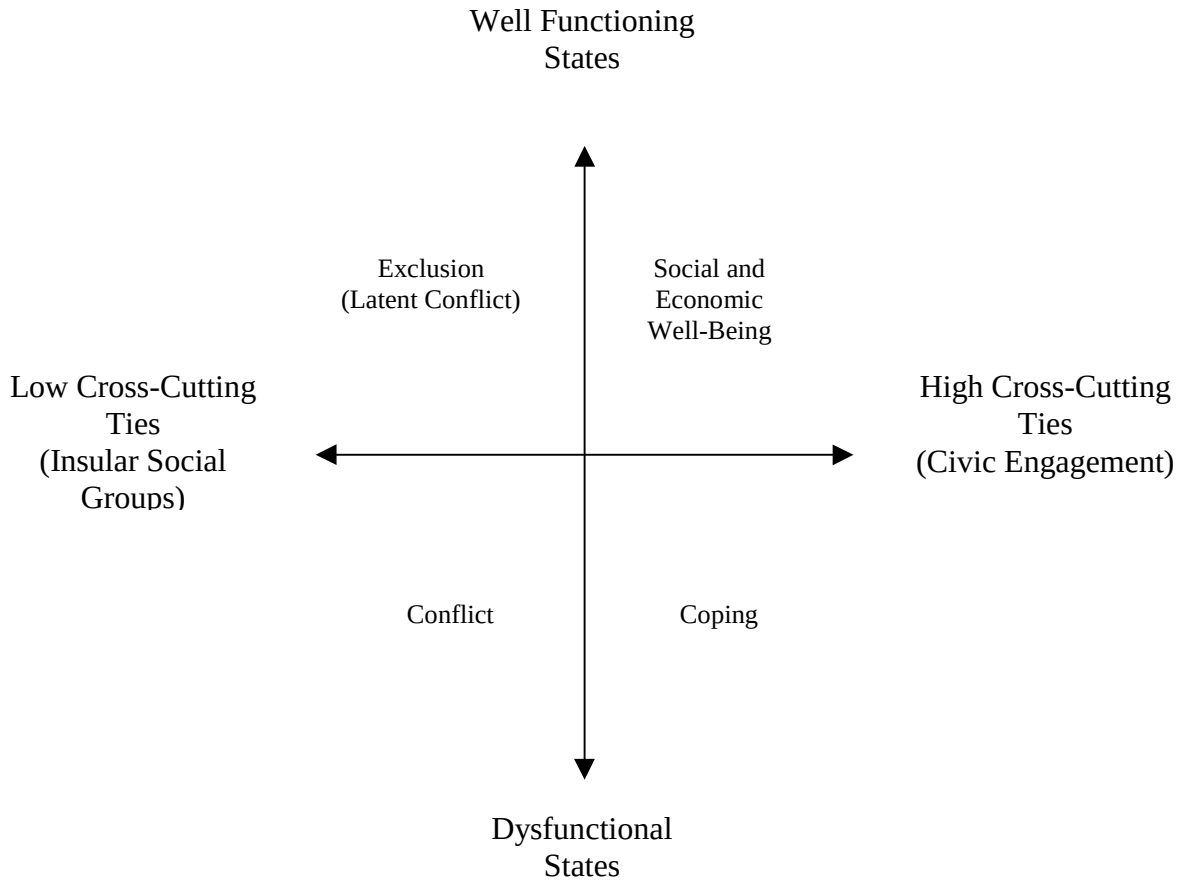
- the level of interpersonal relations, such as family, friends, neighbours
- the level of intermediary associations and organisations, such as clubs, firms, political parties
- the macro-level of societal institutions

An analytical framework derived from the various perspectives mentioned above has been developed by Narayan (1999). He differentiates between (1) the social capital *within* primary groups which he labels "bonding" capital, (2) the cross-cutting ties, that is the linkages *between* social groups which are calls "bridging" social capital, and (3) the functioning of the formal institutions of the state. According to the constellation of the functioning of the state institutions (well vs. poor) and the density of cross-cutting ties (low vs. high) four types of societies can be identified which have been characterised by the terms "well-being", "exclusion", "coping" and "conflict" (Narayan 1999, p. 13 ff.).

The constellation of well-being describes societies with well functioning states and high levels of cross-cutting ties (chart 2). Exclusion is the property of a society with a high level of state functioning but low bridging capital. In this configuration powerful social groups dominate governance structures to the exclusion of other groups. Dysfunctional states in combination with high cross-cutting ties among social groups are characteristic for a situation of coping - informal groups are substituting the state. Societies with poor state functioning and isolated social groups are characterised by conflict. In the context of this typology results of a study of Putnam (1993) should be noted which show a positive

correlation between the strength and effectiveness of state institutions and networks of civic engagement (bonding capital in Narayan's terminology).

Chart 2: Typology of the Constellation of Cross-Cutting Ties and Governance



Source: Narayan 1999, p. 14

Social capital is not only considered to be an essential basis for the social cohesion of a society, but at the same time as a main component of the wealth of a nation and as an important determinant of economic growth, besides physical, human and environmental capital (Jenson 1998b; Hardi/Barg 1997; Hjerppe 1999, Grootaert 1998; Wiman 1999). This view is empirically supported by results showing a relation between the social capital of a society and its economic well-being (for example the studies of Putnam 1993; Knack and Keefer 1997, and Shleifer 1997). Furthermore, there are also investigations pointing to the improvement of other dimensions of welfare such as education, health, rates of crime, and the environment (Coleman 1988; O' Connor 1998; Rossing Feldman/Assaf 1999).

Relation to the Quality of Life Concept

Like the broader concept of social cohesion, the concept of social capital denotes a feature of a group, a community or a society which can be assumed to have positive effects on the quality of life of the individual. This view is empirically supported by the results mentioned above. But as in the case of social cohesion one could also argue that social capital ultimately rests on social relations between people and thus can be treated as an element characterising the life situation of individuals. This position assumes social capital to be an integral part of quality of life in a broader sense. Regardless of the perspective taken one can conclude that social cohesion, social exclusion and social capital represent important welfare aspects which should be covered by the European System of Social Indicators.

2.1.2.3 Sustainability

During the 1990s the concept of sustainability has become the dominant model of societal development. There is a general consensus that the achievement of sustainable development should belong to the key priorities of local, regional, national and supranational policies. The concept first became popular in 1987 by the so-called Brundtland-Report "Our Common Future" of the World Commission on Environment and Development, where it was defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987, p. 43). Since the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, the topic of sustainability as a policy goal has gained further importance. The primary objective of the UNCED (Earth Summit) was to search for ways of societal development which would reconcile economic, environmental and social requirements. A set of fundamental principles of future development - the Rio Declaration - and a programme of concrete goals for the 21st century - the agenda 21 - were adopted. The Earth Summit of Rio initiated a wide range of research activities dealing with the elaboration of the concept, its operationalisation and measurement.

Three Dimensions of Sustainable Development

In general, three dimensions of sustainable development have been distinguished: an environmental, a social dimension, and an economic dimension which are supposed to be linked to each other (OECD 1998a, 1998b; Wiman 1999). The relationship between the three components have been described as a hierarchy of dependence: The economy is part of and depends on the society which itself exists within the environment and is dependent from it (Becker et al. 1997; Hart 1998-99). Of course, this doesn't preclude that all three dimensions are mutually influencing each other.

The ***economic dimension*** refers to the question of how to achieve economic growth without deteriorating the base of natural resources and the social conditions of living which the economy ultimately depends on. Especially, the impacts of the economy on the environment have been intensively discussed. The crucial question is, how economic growth and environmental protection can be reconciled (Pearce/Warford 1993). With regard to the environment, sustainable economic development requests a more efficient use

of resources, a reflection of environmental costs in prices for raw materials and products, a reduction of environmental pollution by cleaner production technologies. With regard to the social dimensions sustainable economic development means to maintain people's capacities and to support social structures necessary for economic activities, that is investment in basic social services providing health care and education, promotion of equal opportunities to participate in economic processes, strengthening the facilities of co-operation and prevention of destruction to social institutions (Wiman 1999).

From a broad perspective the ***social dimension*** concerns the improvement of social conditions focussing on the goal of enabling *all* people - present and future generations - to pursue their well-being (Wiman 1999). Issues of equal opportunities for all and an equitable distribution of wealth have been strongly emphasised in this context. Related to the environment, social development is sustainable if people's activities and behaviour aim at avoiding environmental damage and instead attempt to achieve a careful handling of natural resources and thus do not undermine their own preconditions of life. Questions of equality of opportunities and equity of living conditions are important in this respect, because they are regarded as main causes of unsustainable behaviour (Mega/Pedersen 1998; Pearce/Warford 1993).

The ***environmental or ecological dimension*** concerns the goal of the conservation of natural foundations of life. This involves environmental protection, preservation of biodiversity, limitation of environmental pollution, and management of renewable and non-renewable resources under considerations of natural carrying capacities which means to use the resources only to the extent they are able to be replenishable or substituteable (Munasinghe/McNeely 1995; OECD 1998b; Becker et al. 1997) .

Every policy guided by the principle of sustainability should take into account its impacts on the economic, the social and the environmental dimensions; it should ensure the continued preservation of the economy and the society without destroying the natural environment on which both depend. "In effect, sustainable development proposes a new paradigm of decision making for all sectors of society. It entails a new perspective on present-day issues and challenges, and requires a better appreciation of the complex interconnections between economic, social and environmental aspects of current challenges. In order to achieve a sustainable development, 1) environmental policies need to be socially and economically feasible; 2) social policies need to be environmentally and economically feasible; 3) economic policies need to be socially and environmental feasible" (Bell/Halucha/Hopkins 1999, p. 3). Thus, sustainability can be defined "as a continuous striving for the harmonious co-evolution of environmental, economic and socio-cultural goals" (Mega/Pedersen 1998, p. 2).

These principal considerations were specified in various conceptual frameworks and measurement approaches[5]. The following two models are most widely used : The OECD's Pressure-State-Response (PSR) model and its variants and the World Bank's Multiple Capital Model .

[5] An overview can be found in OECD 1998c, Moldan/Billharz/Matravers 1997; Hardi/Barg 1997.

The OECD's Pressure-State-Response Model (PSR)

The OECD's PSR model was originally developed as a conceptual framework of a system of environmental indicators[6]. It differentiates between *pressures* from human activities on the environment, the *state* of the environment and individual or collective *responses* to environmental changes (OECD 1998c). This framework served as a model for similar conceptualisations with respect to sustainability indicators. First of all, the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development (UN-CSD) - with reference to agenda 21 - has considered four areas of sustainable development: a social area, an economic, an environmental and an institutional. Within each area, several dimensions have been distinguished each one of them refers to one of the 40 chapters of agenda 21. For each dimension indicators have been constructed and organised in a Driving Force - State - Response Framework (UN-CSD 1996). Following this approach, various other organisations within the United Nations system or in co-operation with it as well as research groups on behalf of the European Commission developed a similar framework for analysing environmental and/or sustainable development[7]. A major disadvantage of this approach are the inevitable assumptions concerning the causal order of the indicators which may be difficult to decide because of ambiguities of classification regarding the driving force - state - response scheme. A further shortcoming is, that the linkages between economic, social and environmental dimensions are not explicitly and systematically addressed (Hard/Barg 1997).

The World Bank's Four Capital Approach

A rather different conceptualisation of sustainable development has been presented by the four capital approach of the World Bank (Pearce 1993; World Bank 1997). Sustainable development is conceptualised with reference to national wealth and denotes the maintenance or enhancement of wealth for future generations. The World Bank approach distinguishes between four components of wealth:

- natural capital: the stock of environmental assets, such as land, water, wood, minerals, flora and fauna which corresponds to the environmental dimension of sustainable development
- produced/man-made capital: the stock of machinery, factories, buildings, and infrastructure, such as railways, roads which represents the economic dimension of sustainable development
- human capital: people's productive capacities based on skills, education, health which constitutes - together with the social capital - the social dimension of sustainable development
- social capital: social networks, associations and institutions tied by common norms and trustful relationships that facilitate co-operation

From this perspective, sustainable development conforms with the goal of making available to the next generation at least as much natural, economic, human and social capital - as the current generation enjoys (Hardi/Barg 1997; OECD 1998c). Concerning the relations between the various forms of capital, there is a debate about the possibilities of mutual substitutions between them. Advocates of a 'weak sustainability' concept claim,

[6] The PSR model was introduced in 1979 (OECD 1979).
[7] An overview is given by Berger-Schmitt/Jankowitsch 1999, p. 36 ff.

that all forms of capital can be substituted for each other, whereas supporters of a 'strong sustainability' concept deny that such a substitution is feasible, especially as far as the natural capital is concerned for which possibilities of substitution are limited (Pearce 1993; Pearce/Warford 1993). It is argued, that natural capital to some extend fulfils life supporting functions which cannot be substituted at all by other forms of capital (Munasinghe/McNeely 1995).

Relations to Other Welfare Concepts

It is obvious that the concept of sustainable development, especially in the specification of the World Bank's four capital model, is clearly related to the concepts of ***social cohesion, social exclusion, and social capital***. The notion of sustainability strongly emphasises the ideals of equal opportunities, equity and solidarity both within and between generations. These are also aspects addressed by the concept of social cohesion with the exception that it's perspective does not extend to the future. Likewise the strengthening of social capital is a goal dimension covered by the idea of social cohesion as well as of sustainability, but the focus of the sustainability concept is on the *preservation* of social capital for future generations. Thus, sustainability is a more comprehensive concept than social cohesion, because it includes a wider range of issues.

What about the relations between sustainability and ***quality of life***? As a main difference between the two concepts one can consider that quality of life is related to the individual welfare in actual life domains, whereas sustainability represents a general model of acting which refers to collective qualities, such as equality, equity and the preservation of nature. This leads to the question, whether the principle of sustainability is compatible with quality of life and if so, whether quality of life can be conceived as a component of sustainable development or whether sustainability should be considered as a subdimension of quality of life (Noll 1999, p. 15). Various authors have held the view that the overarching goal of sustainable development ultimately is a higher quality of life for *all* people (Wiman 1999; Hart 1998-99; OECD 1998b). The emphasis is placed on 'all' which includes people of the present and of the future. Hence, a major difference between the goals of quality of life and sustainable development can be seen in the explicit importance assigned to intergenerational equity which extends the perspective of the concept of sustainability to the future (IISD 1998, p. 1-2). Sustainability considerations are essential for ensuring the quality of life of future generations. On the other hand, the concept of sustainability does not claim to develop a comprehensive formula of the 'good life' as the quality of life concept does.

2.1.2.4 Human Development

The concept of human development was originally developed by Miles (1985) in the framework of a development project of the United Nations University[8]. It was further elaborated and became well-known in the context of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), where it was particularly influenced by the ideas of Amartya Sen, winner of the 1998 Nobel Prize for Economics, and Mahbub ul Haq, the former head of the Human Development Report Office. The conception of human development was especially guided by Sen's notion of capabilities, as reflected in the definition below.

[8] For further information see Noll 1999, p. 16-17

In the first Human Development Report, human development has been defined as “a process of enlarging people’ s choices" (HDR 1990, p. 1). Three factors – basic capabilities – are considered as particularly important, because they strongly determine the range of available choices and opportunities: health, education/knowledge and access to resources needed for a decent standard of living[9]. Two aspects have been distinguished: First, the formation of human capabilities, that is the process of widening people's choices; and second, the way people use their capabilities, that is the level of their achieved well-being. Human development concerns both aspects. The objective of human development is to create favourable conditions enabling people to develop and employ their full potential (HDR 1990; Doraid 1997).

Dimensions of Human Development

The concept of human development has been continuously refined, as reflected in subsequent editions of the Human Development Report. The various aspects and components of the concept have been explained in detail and new dimensions have been added:

- As early as 1990, ***human freedom*** was recognised as an essential precondition for exercising choices: "Human development is incomplete without human freedom" (HDR 1990, p. 16).
- In 1992, the Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro and the agreement on agenda 21 influenced the concept and ***sustainability*** was adopted as an important dimension of human development. Equality of opportunities for all people[10] and intergenerational equity have been emphasised.
- A further essential component of the concept is the ***empowerment*** of people. People should be qualified for participating in economic, social, and political activities and decisions that are relevant to them, since "greater participation enables people to gain for themselves access to a much broader range of opportunities and thus involves widening their choices" (HDR 1993, p. 21).
- Besides human freedom the aspect of ***human security*** has been added. People should be able to exercise their choices freely and safely (HDR 1994).
- Another important condition is ***economic growth*** which is regarded as a means to human development. The HDR 1996 "concludes that more economic growth, not less, will generally be needed, as the world enters the 21st century". However it has been stressed "that there is no automatic link between growth and human development" (HDR 1996, p. 1).

It has been explicitly emphasised that the human development paradigm puts people at the centre of its concerns and ultimately aims to improve human well-being. Therefore, human development actually represents a welfare concept focussing on the individual. As previously mentioned, it is strongly related to the capabilities approach in the framework of the quality of life concept. The individual is viewed as an active agent and participant

[9] The concept has been operationalised and measured by means of the Human Development Index which is based on these three criteria.

[10] Gender equality was especially stressed and became the theme of the HDR 1995 ("Gender and Human Development").

rather than as a passive beneficiary in the development process (Doraid 1997). But the scope of the human development concept goes beyond individual welfare and also embraces supra-individual aspects such as equality of opportunity, equity, and solidarity which are also considered by the concepts of social cohesion and sustainability.

Relations to Other Welfare Concepts

It has been argued, that the objective of widening people's choices corresponds to the claim for freedom of choice which refers to the principles of liberalism and individualism. This has been thought to be inconsistent with the ideas of equity and solidarity (Nuscheler 1997). But the originators of the human development concept have explicitly referred to the need for ***social cohesion***; they explained that "individual rights, choices and opportunities cannot, however, be unlimited. One person's freedom can constrain or violate the freedom of many others. As the reaction to the excessive individualism of the free market shows, there is a need for socially responsible forms of development. Individual and collective well-being are intertwined, and human development requires strong social cohesion and equitable distribution of the benefits of progress to avoid tension between the two. And the power of collective action is an essential driving force in the pursuit of human development" (Human Development Report Office, Website http://www.undp.org/hdro/hd.htm).

As has already been mentioned, explicit reference is also made to the concept of ***sustainability*** which represents one of several dimensions of human development. In stressing the issue of intergenerational equity, the notion of sustainability in the framework of the human development concept is clearly concentrated on the social dimension (Rutherford 1997; Wiman 1999). The links between the economic and the social development have also been addressed as well as the impact on the environment by current life styles [11].

In total, the reflections on the relations between the concept of human development on the one side and the concepts of ***quality of life***, social cohesion and sustainability on the other side bring out the question whether the human development perspective can really add any new aspects. Does the concept of human development actually incorporate any goal dimensions of welfare not yet covered by other welfare concepts? This can hardly be maintained, but it should be noticed that this approach directed attention to issues such as freedom, security and the empowerment and participation of people which are neglected by other approaches. An essential merit of the concept of human development is certainly its broad and comprehensive perspective which successfully links individual and societal dimensions of welfare.

2.1.2.5 Social Quality

An equally comprehensive notion of welfare, which has been promoted only recently, is represented by the concept of social quality. The concept has been elaborated by the European Foundation on Social Quality which has been established under the Netherlands Presidency of the European Union in 1997. The Foundation has framed the "Amsterdam

[11] The HDR 1996 deals with the relation between "Economic Growth and Human Development", the HDR 1998 is concerned with "Consumption for Human Development".

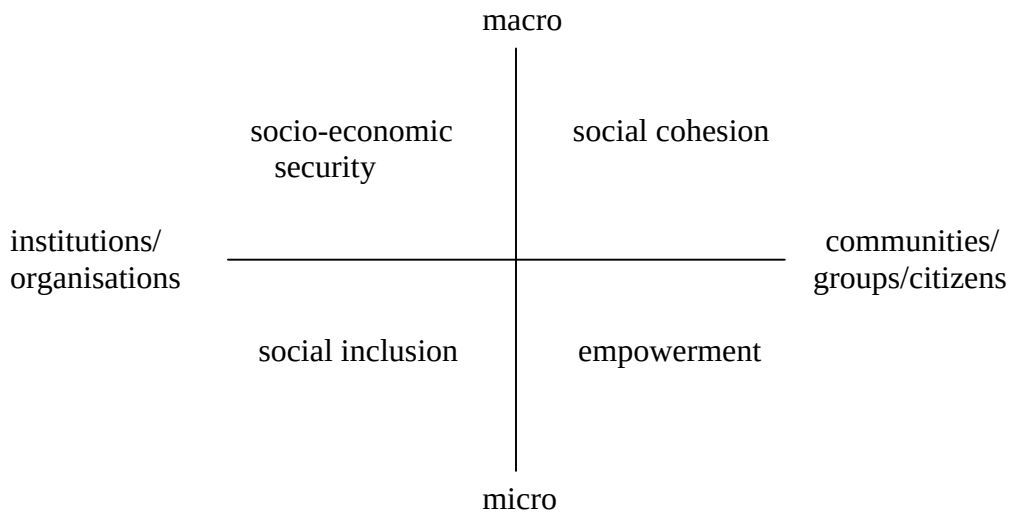
Declaration on the Social Quality of Europe" which has been signed by European social scientists in order to call attention to the attainment of the social objectives as part of the European Treaties (Beck/van der Maesen/Walker 1998).

Social Quality is defined "as the extent to which citizens are able to participate in the social and economic life of their communities under conditions which enhance their well-being and individual potential" (Beck/van der Maesen/Walker 1998a, p. 3). The social quality experienced by citizens is considered to be based on four conditions:

- the degree of socio-economic security
- the extent of social inclusion
- the strength of social cohesion and solidarity between and among generations
- the level of autonomy and empowerment of citizens

The four conditions or components of social quality have been characterised with respect to two dimensions which constitute the axes of the so-called social quality quadrant (Beck/van der Maesen/Walker 1998b). The first dimension concerns the distinction between reference to the micro-level (individual) and the macro-level (social structures); the second dimension concerns the distinction between reference to institutions/organisations and communities/groups/citizens.

Chart 3: The Social Quality Quadrant



Source: Beck/van der Maesen/Walker 1998b, p. 321

The first cell of the social quality quadrant represents the condition of socio-economic security which is addressed at a macro-level by societal institutions/organisations. The component of social inclusion is related to the principles of equality and equity and is

assigned to the micro level – institutions/organisations quadrant. "Social Cohesion (versus anomie) concerns the macro-level processes which create, defend or demolish social networks and the social infrastructures underpinning these networks" (Beck/van der Maesen/Walker 1998b, p. 323). Empowerment refers to the development of human capabilities and thus is located in the micro level – communities/groups/citizen quadrant.

Modifications of the Original Conception

This original conceptualisation of social quality has been criticised and modified by various other authors. Svetlik (1999) as well as Phillips/Berman (1999) point to the problem of overlapping or correlation of the two axes; that is to say the macro level is rather close to the notion of institutions/organisations and the micro level is rather close to the category of communities/groups/citizens. Thus, Svetlik suggested a formal – informal axis as an alternative to the differentiation between institutions/organisations and communities/groups/citizens. A further problem, which reveals ambiguities in the definition of the components of social quality, is the assignment of the four components to the quadrants. Svetlik argues that socio-economic security like social inclusion refers to individual characteristics and thus should also be placed into the micro-level/formal quadrant. Phillips/Berman suggest to allocate the components of social cohesion and social inclusion to all quadrants, because they refer both to communities/groups/citizens and institutions/organisations and are applicable at the macro level as well as at the micro level. This suggestion corresponds to the observation made above in regard to the concepts of social capital and social exclusion: the concept of social capital is meaningful at the micro level of interpersonal relations as well as at the macro level of societal institutions, and social exclusion can be considered not only as an individual characteristic, but also as a process due to the characteristics of societal institutions. Furthermore, efforts to operationalise the concept of social quality and to develop indicators for each component result in many overlaps of indicators representing different components (Berman/Phillips 1999; Phillips/Berman 1999; Svetlik 1999). In total, this underlines the rather unclear conceptualisation of social quality and the need for further refinement of the concept.

The concept of social quality refers only to welfare concepts described previously and no new aspects are really added. However, social quality has to be conceived not so much as a new welfare concept, but rather as an effort to integrate the ideas of social cohesion, social exclusion and human development under a common policy perspective. The primary purpose of the concept of social quality is to foster a discussion on issues of social quality in Europe and to direct attention of policy makers to the social dimension of the process of European Integration.

2.2 Goals and Objectives of European Policy

Values and goals of societal development are not only dealt with on a conceptual level by social scientists, but they are also part of political programmes and measures. The reference to agreed upon societal goals and the political relevance are major characteristics of social indicators. Social indicators are meant to serve as indicators of goal attainment. In developing the conceptual framework of a European System of Social Indicators, this requirement can be fulfilled by considering the goals and objectives tackled by the current policy of the European Union. These goals and objectives are agreed upon by the different Member States and – since they are ultimately the result of democratic decision processes -

they may also be considered as common concerns of the majority of European citizens. By integrating these concerns into the welfare model which is taken as starting point for elaborating a European System of Social Indicators, this indicator system will not only be able to monitor the welfare development in Europe, but will also serve the function to measure the progress towards political goals and specific targets[12].

The goals of European policy are first of all documented in the Treaty establishing the European Community (Rome 1957), the Treaty on European Union agreed upon at Maastricht in 1992 and in the amendments made by the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997. Furthermore, there is a wide range of other official documents by the European Commission - White Papers, Action Programmes, Communications – which outline general and specific objectives of the European policy.

As the result of analysing the European Treaties and other documents a large set of policy concerns has been identified. Some of them are formulated at a rather general level: The promotion of economic and social progress, the improvement of living and working conditions, the increase of the standard of living and the quality of life, the combatment of social exclusion, the strengthening of economic and social cohesion, the promotion of equal opportunities, the commitment to the principle of sustainability are general goals which have been strongly emphasised. Other objectives are articulated more precisely on a rather concrete level. By trying to classify the various objectives into broader categories, which are related to some of the welfare concepts previously considered, *three main categories* have been distinguished each covering several policy areas and specific issues (s. chart 4).

The first main category contains objectives aiming at the economic and social progress and the improvement of people's quality of life. The second category is concerned with issues of strengthening the economic and social cohesion. Of course, the objectives of the second category are ultimately directed towards enhancing people's quality of life too, but the difference to the first category is their focus on distributional and relational aspects. The third category covers goals related to the principle of sustainability.

First Goal Category: Economic and Social Progress, Improvement of Quality of Life

As to the first category, the ***promotion of employment*** and the ***combatment of unemployment*** are top priorities of European social policy (see I.1 of chart 4). There is a strong focus on these objectives in the European Treaties as well as in the "White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness, and Employment", the "White Paper: European Social Policy" and other documents. The ***enhancement of education***, initial vocational training and especially continuing training as well as improvement and adaptation of qualifications - that is life-long learning - are considered important means to achieve the employment objectives and to increase the competitiveness of the European Union (I.1, I.2) The same impact is ascribed to the objective of promoting the use of ***information and communication technologies*** and the acquisition of the respective knowledge (I.3). The need for these investments in human capital is emphasised in particular in the "White

[12] In view of the self-image of the European Union as a community of shared values the European goals considered here represent more than just the smallest common denominator of goals of European policies respecting the principle of subsidiarity. A more detailed and further reaching comparative analysis of similarities and differences of welfare goals of the EU member states would in any case go far beyond the research programme of this project.

Paper on Growth, Competitiveness, and Employment", the Green Paper on "Living and Working in the Information Society: People First", the "Social Action Programme 1998-2000", and the "Agenda 2000". Improving "employability" through increasing skills and knowledge is viewed as one of the four pillars of the "new employment strategy" outlined in the "1998 Employment Policies" (European Commission 1998c). Besides, greater flexibility in the organisation of work is deemed as a means of promoting employment.

The ***improvement of public health*** is another aspect of social progress which ranks high on the political agenda of the European Union (I.5). This is firstly reflected in the claim for an improvement of health and safety at work and a reduction of work accidents and occupational diseases (I.1) which can be found in the European Treaties and "The Social Action Programme 1998-2000". This is also documented in the objectives of health prevention, the combatment of diseases and accidents with a focus on special diseases, and an increase in healthy life expectancy. There is a strong emphasis on prevention, as described in the White Paper on Social Policy and the "Communication on the Development of Public Health Policy in the European Community".

Security and safety are further aspects treated in European policy documents. The ***social security*** of people has been mentioned in the European Treaties as social concern of the European Union (I. 6). The urgent need to modernise and to improve the social protection systems has been explained in many other documents. An improvement of ***personal safety*** should be achieved in the area of crime prevention, the protection of data (I. 7), and in the area of transport (I. 8).

Also included in the European policy objectives are the ***reduction of environmental pollution and the improvement of environmental protection*** (I. 9). These goals are especially mentioned in the context of discussing the need for a sustainable development.

Second Goal Category: Strengthening the Economic and Social Cohesion

The second category of policy objectives - strengthening the economic and social cohesion – concerns, generally speaking, the development of relations between people or groups of people. The previous discussion on the concept of social cohesion suggests to distinguish two main aspects: the reduction of inequalities and the strengthening of ties.

As to the first aspect under the label “Reduction of Economic and Social Disparities between Regions and Social Groups” the objectives of improving economic and social conditions of backward regions, promoting equal opportunities and combating social exclusion have been listed (II.1).

The ***reduction of regional disparities*** is addressed by the EU’s Structural Funds. The main goal of the Structural Funds is twofold: first, the funds support the development of areas which are lagging behind or are being affected by industrial decline; second, the funds facilitates the structural adjustment of rural areas through special programmes and measures covering the improvement of human resources, economic conditions and infrastructure. The "Treaty on European Union" requires from the Commission to prepare a "report on economic and social cohesion" every three years in order to monitor the progress made. The first report was published in 1996 (European Commission 1996c).

A very prominent concern of European social policy, which has been strongly emphasised especially in recent years, is the objective of gender equality. ***Equal opportunities of women and men*** are a goal in the realm of the labour market - remuneration, sex segregation, qualification - and in regard to the compatibility of occupational and family responsibilities. Furthermore, the promotion of equality with respect to participation and decision-making in political and other public realms are part of the policy goals. The White Paper on European Social Policy has paid much attention to this issue and has called for an annual Equality Report from 1996 onwards. Further details have been outlined in the "Fourth Medium-Term Community Action Programme on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men (1996-2000)". This programme has called for the implementation of the principle of "mainstreaming" at the Community, national and local level which has become prominent at the Fourth United Nations Conference on Women held in Beijing, September 1995. "Mainstreaming" intends to bring the gender impact of all political decisions and actions into consideration and to integrate equal opportunity concerns into all major policy areas including the promotion of a change of attitudes towards women's and men's societal roles. Furthermore, equal opportunities are an important component of the "New European Employment Strategy" adopted at the Jobs Summit in Luxembourg, November 1997 and are a prominent part in the 1999 "Employment Guidelines" (European Commission 1999a).

The idea of mainstreaming has also been stressed within the "New European Community Disability Strategy" (European Commission 1996b). Firstly, it has been proposed to consider issues of ***equal opportunities for disabled people*** not separately, but instead as integrated elements in mainstream policies. Secondly, the objective of full participation of handicapped people in all aspects of life through their inclusion into the mainstream economic and social processes has been emphasised. Current barriers to equal opportunities for disabled people are viewed to consist particularly in the domains of education, employment, mobility, housing and welfare systems.

Of course, the goal of equal opportunities for disadvantaged groups in the population is strongly connected with the *objective to* ***combat social exclusion*** and discrimination and to promote the socio-economic integration of excluded groups. Since the middle of the 1980s matters of social exclusion have gained growing attention in European social policy, as reflected in the shift of the focus of the Commission's poverty programmes from poverty to social exclusion, the establishment of an Observatory on National Policies to Combat Social Exclusion in 1989, and in the growing research activities on the measurement of social exclusion launched by the Commission. In the European Treaties the combatment of social exclusion and of all forms of discrimination are explicitly mentioned as a policy concern, and the goal of an inclusive society is one of three main topics of the *Social Action Programme 1998-2000.*

The second aspect of the economic and social cohesion of Europe is aiming at strengthening the connections and relations between people and regions (II.2). This includes the strengthening of social ties, as for example the general objective of ***encouraging solidarity between people*** which has been stressed in the *White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness, and Employment.* But this also includes the ***enhancement of physical connections,*** like the goal of establishing better transport connections between regions.

There are several ***special European aspects*** which refer to the relationships between Member States. The strengthening of feelings of solidarity and of a common ***European Identity*** is a major concern of the European Union, and there is a growing debate on the importance of a European citizenship and the development of a European constitution for the promotion of this objective (Welsh 199; Schäfers 1999). In the Treaty of Maastricht the notion of a European citizenship and the civil and political rights connected therewith have been outlined for the first time. This step has been strongly criticised as insufficient in two respects: (1) the neglect to consider *social* rights of citizens of the European Union (Sykes 1997), and (2) the lack of a legitimisation of European citizenship by a European constitution (Schäfers 1999). The current debate is focusing on the possibilities to broaden the scope of citizenship by including social rights (employment, education, health care, social services etc.), to develop a list of fundamental civil and social rights of European citizens and to incorporate them in the form of a Bill of Rights into a constitution of the European Union. It is argued, that greater evidence of common fundamental rights of European citizens would stimulate identification with the European Union (European Commission 1999b).

A strengthening of the cohesion between the Member States is also intended by the objective of developing a ***European dimension of education and training*** which has been formulated in the *White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness, and Employment.* The knowledge of languages of the Member States, the mutual recognition of qualifications and skills, and the exchange of pupils and students promoted through EU programmes like Leonardo da Vinci or Socrates are considered to form important aspects of this dimension. Likewise in the domain of culture, dissemination of products across Member States, co-operation and exchanges between Member States belong to the objectives described in the Treaty of Maastricht and supported by special programmes of the European Union (Kaleidoscope, Ariane, Raphael).

European Cohesion can be further promoted by building a ***European labour market*** which is an additional goal of European Policy. The details have been outlined in the White Paper on European Social Policy: encouraging exchanges and mobility of working people and co-ordinating social security provisions in order to overcome obstacles to mobility. To provide information on Community-wide job offers and to counsel and place job-seekers across Europe the European Employment Service (EURES) has been set up.

In the areas of energy, transport, and telecommunications the objective of ***developing Trans-European Networks (TENs)*** for improving competitiveness and internal cohesion in Europe is being pursued. This item has been placed on the political agenda by the Treaty of the European Union and has been further explained in the *White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness, and Employment* and in Agenda 2000.

Third Goal Category: Sustainable Development

The third category of policy objectives is related to the commitment of sustainable development (II. 3). The challenge of a sustainable Europe is to achieve economic growth based on higher employment rates, less environmental pollution and improved resource efficiency of energy and raw materials. The “White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness, and Employment”, the “Communication from the Commission on Environment and Employment – Building a Sustainable Europe” as well as the Agenda 2000 outlined these goals in greater detail. The principle of sustainability is also considered in the policy goals

formulated for the area of transport. The realisation of the concept of sustainable mobility by reducing road traffic has been described in the framework of the plan for Trans-European Networks (TENs).

Chart 4: List of European Policy Objectives[13]

I. Economic and Social Progress, Improvement of Living Conditions and Quality of Life

1. Employment and Unemployment

- Promotion of a high level of employment
  - Promotion of youth employment
  - Raising employment levels of women
  - Creation of new jobs in potential growth areas
  - Promotion of a culture of entrepreneurship
- flexibility in the organisation of work
  - promoting the flexibility of working time distribution
  - encouraging mobility
- improvement of working conditions
  - improvement of health and safety at work
  - reduction of accidents at work and of occupational diseases
- unemployment
  - reduction of unemployment
  - reduction of long-term unemployment
  - re-integration of long-term unemployed into the labour market by enhancing their qualifications

2. Education and Vocational Training

- promotion of the highest possible level of knowledge for people
- enhancing the level of education of young people leaving school
- reduction of number of young people who drop out of the school system early

[13] Sources:
European Communities 1997a: Treaty of Amsterdam; European Communities 1997b: Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union; European Communities 1997c: Consolidated Version of the Treaty Establishing the European Community; European Commission 1993a: White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness, and Employment; European Commission 1993b: Green Paper - European Social Policy; European Commission 1993c: The Framework for Action in the Field of Public Health. Commission Communication; European Commission 1994: White Paper: European Social Policy; European Commission 1995: Fourth Medium-Term Community Action Programme on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men (1996-2000); European Commission 1996a: Green Paper: Living and Working in the Information Society: People First; European Commission 1996b: Equality of Opportunity for People with Disabilities - a New European Community Disability Strategy. Communication of the Commission; European Commission 1997a: Energy for the Future: Renewable Sources of Energy. White Paper for a Community Strategy and Action Plan; European Commission 1997b: Agenda 2000-Volume I - Communication: For a Stronger and Wider Union; European Commission 1997c: The Commissions Work Programme for 1998. The Political Priorities; European Commission 1997d: Towards a Europe of Knowledge; European Commission 1997e: Communication from the Commission on Environment and Employment (Building a Sustainable Europe); European Commission 1998a: Social Action Programme 1998-2000; European Commission 1998b: Communication on the Development of Public Health Policy in the European Community; European Commission 1998c: Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in the European Union. Annual Report 1997; European Commission 1999a: Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in the European Union - 1998

- vocational training
    - access to a recognised form of training for all youth
    - access to advanced vocational training for all
    - lifelong education and continuing training
    - promotion of skills and qualifications of the workforce, especially continuing training
    - improvement of employment opportunities through vocational training and retraining
    - facilitating access to vocational training

3. Research and Technical Development

- Promoting the use of information and communication technologies – laying the foundations for the information society
    - development of electronic services
    - encouraging acquisition of the necessary knowledge
    - improving access to information and communication technologies in learning, working, and living
    - promotion of new telematic applications, e.g. teleworking, telemedicine, teletraining
- Promotion of biotechnology

4. Standard of living

- Raising standard of living
- combating poverty

5. Health

- Prevention and health promotion
    - preventing human illness and diseases
    - promotion of a healthy life style
    - information and education
    - prevention of drug dependence
    - obviating sources of danger to human health
- Reduction of Diseases and Accidents, especially
    - cancer
    - cardio-vascular diseases
    - AIDS and other communicable diseases
    - accidents and injuries
    - suicides
    - reduction of chronic and disabling conditions
- increased life expectancy without disability or sickness
- minimising economic and social consequences of ill health

6. Social Protection

- promotion of a high level of social protection
- modernising and improving social protection systems

7. Safety and Crime

- prevention of crime
- combating crime
- protection of personal data

8. Transport

- achieving higher personal safety
- enabling shorter travel times
- decline in traffic congestion

9. Environment

- reduction of water pollution
- reduction of atmospheric pollution
- reduction of noise impairments
- waste management
  - minimising waste generation
  - increasing product lifetime through more repair and control services
  - more reuse and recycling
  - promotion of non-polluting waste disposal
- nature protection

II. Strengthening the Economic and Social Cohesion

1. Reduction of Economic and Social Disparities between Regions and Social Groups

- Reduction of backwardness of the less-favoured regions, upward harmonisation
- Equal opportunities of women and men
  - with respect to the labour market:
    - equal pay for equal work
    - tackling vertical and horizontal desegregation of the labour market
    - enhancing skills and professional qualification of women
    - reconciling employment and family life:
      - parental leave arrangements
      - improvement of childcare provisions
      - improvement of care provisions for adult dependants
      - flexibility in working hours
    - facilitating return to work after an absence
  - increasing participation of women in politics and other public domains: increasing quantitative participation and decision making
  - providing information on the rights to equal opportunities
  - promotion of a change of attitudes on the roles of women and men
  - recognising the value of women's unpaid work
- Equal opportunities for disabled people
  - improving access to mainstream schools
  - combating unemployment
  - improvement of working conditions: adapted workplaces, flexible work arrangements
  - improvement of access to transport systems
  - improvement of access to public buildings
  - improved availability of affordable adapted housing accommodation
  - increasing support by welfare systems
- Combating social exclusion
  - promoting socio-economic integration of excluded groups: unemployed, disabled people, immigrants, old people
  - combating discrimination based on sex, age, nationality, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, sexual orientation

2. Strengthening the Connections and Relations between People and Regions

- Establishing better transport connections between regions, especially those on the periphery
- Encouraging solidarity between
  - employed and not employed
  - men and women
  - generations
  - prosperous regions and poor regions
- Improvement of workers' participation
  - encouraging the social dialogue between employers and trade unions
  - information and consultation of workers
- European Cohesion
  - encouraging solidarity between people, reinforcing a common European Identity
  - culture and education
    - fostering the common European cultural heritage
    - respect of the diversity of the cultures
    - encouraging cultural exchanges and dissemination of culture between the Member States
    - reinforcing teaching and dissemination of languages of the Member States
    - encouraging exchanges of pupils and students
    - greater mutual recognition of qualifications and skills
  - employment
    - encouraging exchanges teachers and scientists
    - encouraging mobility of working people through increased information and counselling on Community-wide job offers
    - increasing possibilities of training and work experience in Europe's workplaces
    - co-ordination of social security provisions across Europe
  - promoting Trans-European Networks (TENs) in the areas of energy, transport, telecommunications

III. Sustainability

- promotion of economic growth based on a higher intensity of employment and a lower intensity of consumption of energy and natural resources - more efficient use of energy and resources
- creation of new "clean" technologies which improve energy efficiency and reduce intensity of consumption of raw materials
- increasing the share of renewable energy sources (biomass, wind energy, solar thermal collectors, photovoltaics, geothermal energy, heat pumps) on total energy consumption
- taking the environmental impact into account, when fixing the market prices of products
- embodying the concept of sustainable mobility: encouraging transport using the roads less by offering a wider choice of transport means
- encouraging basic research in the field of clean technologies

It can be easily recognised that many of the welfare goals addressed by the various concepts discussed in the previous chapter also belong to the objectives of European policy. However, the way these concepts are used by social scientists is much broader and therefore covers more aspects than those considered by policy objectives. Several important components of quality of life are not or insufficiently taken into account by

European policy. For example often omitted are the following components: the living situation of families, housing conditions of the population, income and living standard, and participation and social relations as major determinants of social capital and social cohesion. Nevertheless, it should not be difficult to integrate both perspectives - the scientific and the political perspective - into a common conceptual framework. A more precise definition of goal dimensions and an increase in the relevance of the resulting indicators system for policy use are among the advantages of including the policy objectives into the conceptual framework.

2.3 The Conceptual Framework

Referring to the welfare concepts and policy goals previously discussed, the conceptual framework of the European System of Social Indicators has been developed and will be outlined in this section. The conceptual framework will set forth the goal dimensions of the welfare development in Europe which will determine the selection of measurement dimensions and indicators.

2.3.1 Welfare Concepts and Goal Dimensions Considered

The theoretical framework will be mainly based on the welfare concepts of quality of life, social cohesion and sustainability. These are also the concepts which the European policy objectives refer to. Our point of departure is the quality of life concept which includes goal dimensions directed to individual welfare. This concept is still considered to be appropriate to cover current and future issues of welfare. However, we are proposing to enlarge the perspective by taking into account dimensions of the quality of societies, as they are addressed by the concepts of social cohesion and sustainability.

The concept of quality of life is used in terms of the rather comprehensive definition of the German approach as the constellation of objective living conditions and subjective well-being. By objective living conditions we include all aspects of the living situation which are relevant to the individual welfare regardless whether they are considered to be outcomes, resources, capabilities, or external circumstances (chart 5). No effort is made to distinguish between these categories because it often simply depends on the point of view whether any living condition represents an outcome or a resource. For example, the health status can be viewed as a resource, but at the same time it is the outcome of a certain life style, of the working conditions and of the state of the environment. The housing conditions may be regarded as an outcome of economic resources, but they are also an important resource for the preservation of health. The notion of subjective well-being embraces affective and cognitive, positive and negative components.

The goal dimensions comprised by the quality of life concept are the improvement of objective living conditions of individuals and their subjective well-being in different life domains. The life domains considered (see 3.1) have been mainly selected according to the list of European policy objectives previously presented, but some other domains such as housing, leisure, and family have been added which also cover important aspects of individual welfare.

Chart 5: Goal Dimensions of the Quality of Life Concept

- **Improvement of Objective Living Conditions**
  - outcomes
  - resources/capabilities
  - external circumstances
- **Enhancement of Subjective Well-Being**
  - affective and cognitive components
  - positive and negative components

In regard to the general objective of promoting the economic and social cohesion in Europe, we distinguish two main goal dimensions as suggested above: (1) the reduction of disparities and inequalities including the combatment of social exclusion, and (2) the strengthening of connections and social ties including the enhancement of social capital. Following the list of European policy goals again, various subdimensions can be distinguished (chart 6).

Chart 6: Goal Dimensions of the Concept of Social Cohesion

- **Reduction of Disparities and Inequalities**
  - regional disparities
  - equal opportunities/inequalities
    - women and men
    - generations
    - social strata
    - disabled
    - races
    - citizenship groups
  - social exclusion
- **Strengthening Social Connections and Ties - Social Capital**
  - availability of social relations
  - social and political activities and engagement
  - quality of relations (e.g. shared values, conflicts, solidarity)
  - trust in institutions
  - European-specific concerns (e.g. European identity)

With respect to the first main goal area, the reduction of regional disparities and the promotion of equal opportunities are part of the European social concerns. As to the goal of combating social exclusion, it is decided to refer to a perspective which views social exclusion as an outcome, a deficient state concerning the economic, social or political situation of individuals. We will not try to include processes of social exclusion and roots such as institutional constraints, although the causes may be obvious in some cases, depending on the manifestation of social exclusion.

The second main goal dimension - the strengthening of connections and social ties- corresponds to the goal of enhancing social capital. A broad conceptualisation of social capital is chosen which includes informal relations, intermediary associations and macro-institutions. The following components of the general goal dimension are distinguished: the enhancement of personal relations, networks and membership in associations; the promotion of social and political activities and voluntary engagement in networks and associations; the formation and strengthening of social relations between population groups; the improvement of the quality of relations including issues such as shared values, common identity, trust, or solidarity. A further component concerns European-specific objectives, in particular the social cohesion *between* European countries which has been heavily emphasised in European policy documents.

Chart 7: Goal Dimensions of the Concept of Sustainability

- **Enhancement/Preservation of the Societal Capital for Current and Future Generations**
  - social capital
  - human capital
  - (produced/physical capital)[14]
  - natural capital
- **Equal Opportunities Within Generations**

The European System of Social Indicators will also rely on the goal of sustainable development which is conceptualised with reference to the World Bank's four capital approach. Thus, there are four major goal dimensions: the enhancement or preservation of social, human, produced, and natural capital (chart 7). It should be noticed that it is not intended to calculate monetary values of the capital, instead it is merely the idea of national wealth that is of relevance. For each type of capital[14] two aspects can be considered: (1) the preservation or enhancement of the societal capital of current generations and (2) the provision for future generations. The first aspect refers to the goal of promoting living conditions of the present generations, while the second aspect focuses on the means to preserve the societal capital for future generations, that is on the processes and measures

[14] The category of produced/physical capital will not be included since the main objective of the European System of Social Indicators is the measurement of *social* developments.

necessary to secure equivalent living conditions for the future. This latter aspect actually represents the primary idea of sustainability which has to be conceived as a general principle shaping societal developments. A further goal dimension of the concept of sustainability concerns equality of opportunities within generations.

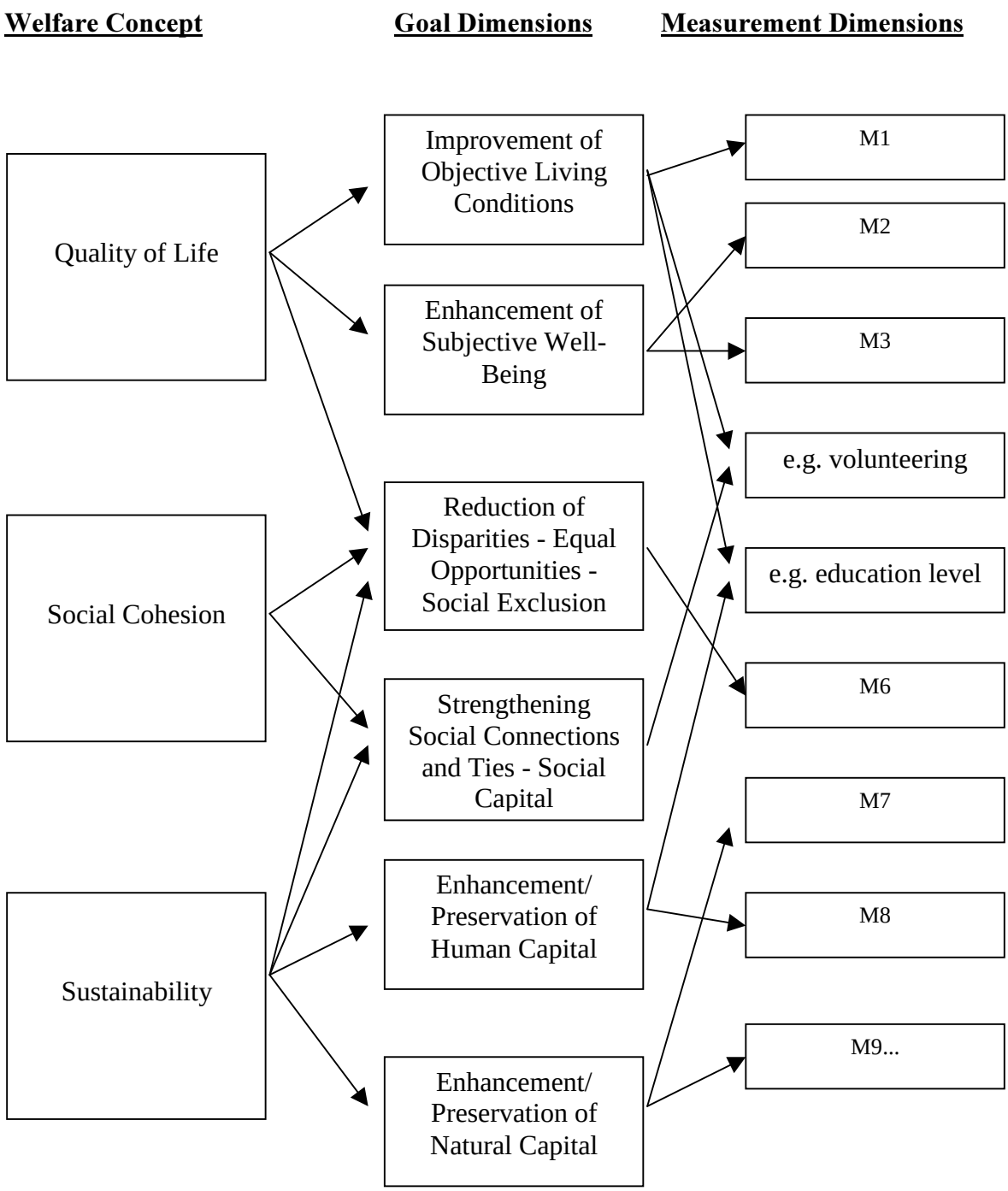
Two welfare concepts - human development and social quality - have not been considered, although they are implicitly addressed, too. As explained above, most of the goal dimensions inherent in the concept of human development - equality of opportunities, empowerment and participation of people, intergenerational equity, economic growth, security - are also embraced by the concepts of social cohesion, sustainability and quality of life. The aspect of human freedom is considered to be less relevant in the European context. The goal dimensions of the concept of social quality - socio-economic security, social cohesion, social inclusion, empowerment - are likewise covered by other welfare concepts.

2.3.2 Overlaps and Relations between Welfare Concepts at the Level of Goal and Measurement Dimensions

The European System of Social Indicators will be mainly deducted from the welfare concepts and the resulting goal dimensions previously described. This will be carried out first by elaborating measurement dimensions, that is empirical operationalisations of the goal dimensions, and second by defining indicators for the various measurement dimensions. Although goal dimensions have been derived from welfare concepts and measurement dimensions will be delineated from goal dimensions, inversely it will not be possible to draw inferences from the measurement dimensions of the indicators system to the underlying welfare concepts. Even an unequivocal assignment of measurement dimensions to goal dimensions will not be feasible in all cases. The reasons are the substantial overlaps between the welfare concepts at the level of goal dimensions as well as at the level of measurement dimensions. This will be outlined in more detail in the following section, as it will have consequences for the structure of the indicators system.

Firstly, there are overlaps between the welfare concepts at the level of goal dimensions which were already outlined in the previous chapter (2.2). The goal dimensions of the concept of social cohesion are partially related to the notions of quality of life as well as sustainability (chart 8). The overlap between the concepts of social cohesion and quality of life concerns the goal dimension of reducing social exclusion which has been conceptualised as an individual state of economic, social and/or political deprivation. This goal can be subsumed under the heading of the social cohesion aspect of reducing disparities and inequalities, but at the same time it can also be treated as an aspect of the individuals' quality of life. Thus, the measurement dimensions of social exclusion are also related to both concepts. The overlaps between the concepts of social cohesion and sustainability are twofold. Both concepts stress the goal of equal opportunities for people at a general level as well as for special population groups, such as women and men. Both concepts are also concerned with the objective of promoting social capital. Hence, the measurement dimensions derived from these goal dimensions cannot be attributed to a unique welfare concept.

Chart 8: Overlaps Between Welfare Concepts at the Level of Goal Dimensions and Measurement Dimensions



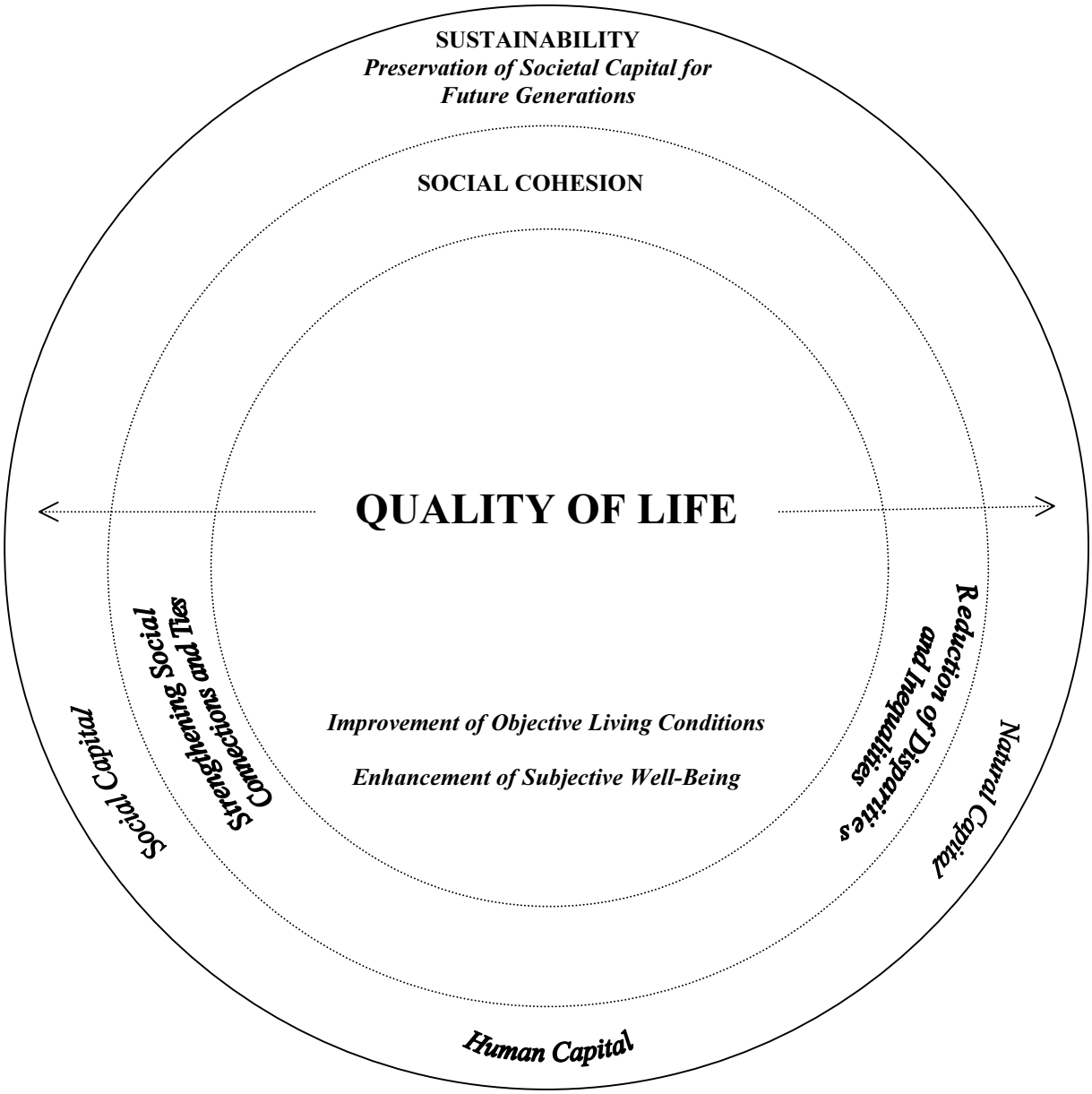
Secondly, there are overlaps between the welfare concepts at the level of measurement dimensions. This is true for example with respect to the operationalisation of social capital. The social capital of a society is a theoretical construct which may be understood as the result of a certain behaviour, attitudes and evaluations of the members of the society. Although social capital is a societal attribute, it ultimately rests on social relations which are held by individuals and thus can be measured as characteristics of individuals. Examples are the existence of informal relations, membership and voluntary activity in associations, feelings of trust, belonging, or solidarity. Of course, these are measurement dimensions which could also be derived from the goal dimensions of improving objective living conditions and subjective well-being. Thus, the concepts of quality of life and social capital are related at this level.

Another example concerns the relations between quality of life and sustainability. The operationalisation of the goal dimension of enhancing or preserving human capital will result in such measurement dimensions that will also represent components of the objective living conditions and hence will be relevant in the context of the quality of life concept, as for example the education level or the health status of the population. Measurement dimensions of the natural capital, as for example the state of the environment, are at the same time measurement dimensions of objective living conditions.

The multiple overlaps between goal dimensions as well as between measurement dimensions of the three welfare concepts once more bring into question the relations between quality of life, social cohesion and sustainability. A reconceptualisation of these relations in terms of considering quality of life as the central and overarching welfare goal reveals that the unique assignment of measurement dimensions to goal dimensions and welfare concepts is rather less important and relevant at all. We advocate a broad conception of the notion of quality of life which includes not only the objective living conditions and subjective well-being of the individual citizens, but also societal qualities as highlighted by the concepts of social cohesion and sustainability (chart 9). The conceptual framework proposed puts the quality of life concept at the centre of the perspective adopted for analysing the levels and developments of welfare in Europe. Quality of life represents the common overarching objective of all goal dimensions considered here[15].

[15] The integrating and unifying notion of the quality of life concept has also been emphasised only recently by Kenneth Land (2000).

Chart 9: Conceptual Framework of the European System of Social Indicators



3. Structural Aspects

3.1 Life Domains, Goal Dimensions and Measurement Dimensions

The European System of Social Indicators will be structured by life domains and goal dimensions. As explained above, due to the overlaps between the concepts of quality of life, social cohesion and sustainability an explicit reference to these concepts has not been made. Measurement dimensions and indicators will only be assigned to goal dimensions and life domains.

The life domains considered correspond to the European policy concerns listed above (chart 4), but some further domains - population, households and families, housing, leisure, media and culture, participation and social integration – have been added which also comprise important aspects of quality of life. Besides the various life domains, the total living situation will be considered and covered by comprehensive measures, such as welfare indices or global evaluations (see chart 10).

The conceptual framework outlined before determines the dimensional structure of the European System of Social Indicators. For each life domain, the following goal dimensions are distinguished[16]:

- improvement of objective living conditions
- enhancement of subjective well-being
- reduction of disparities, inequalities and social exclusion, promotion of equal opportunities
- strengthening social connections and ties - social capital
- preservation of human capital
- preservation of natural capital

For each goal dimension within a life domain, appropriate measurement dimensions will be derived. The table listed below only shows the main categories of measurement dimensions (chart 10). A more detailed differentiation in terms of sub-dimensions and indicators will be elaborated at a later stage of this project.

The measurement dimensions derived from the goals of improving objective living conditions and enhancing subjective well-being concern characteristics of the life situation which are neither related to the objective of strengthening connections and social ties nor to the principle of preserving societal capital for future generations. These dimensions are related to the state of living conditions and personal well-being, such as the health state, the level of qualifications, the state of the environment or satisfaction with life. The goals

[16] This does not mean that *all* goal dimensions are included within each domain, because some dimensions are not relevant for particular domains.

of preserving human capital and natural capital have been operationalised by dimensions which refer to the measures and processes fostering these goals. These dimensions point to factors that influence the goal attainment such as the efficiency of energy consumption, preventive measures in the area of health, investments in education.

Besides the attainment of societal goals the European System of Social Indicators will also cover the major elements of the social structure and related changes. Thus, an additional category of measurement dimensions are the

- dimensions of social structure

These will include demographic and socio-economic developments as well as changes in values and attitudes.

Chart 10: Life Domains, Goal Dimensions and Measurement Dimensions of the European System of Social Indicators

Life Domain: Population	
Goal Dimensions	Measurement Dimensions
Social Structure - Demographic Structure	- population size and growth - population structure (age, marital status) - population density and agglomeration - migration/foreigners

Life Domain: Households and Families	
Goal Dimensions	Measurement Dimensions
Reduction of Disparities / Inequalities	- equal opportunities/ inequalities of - women and men regarding - engagement in housework and child care - attitudes towards gender roles - generations regarding - availability of family relations
Strengthening Social Connections and Ties – Social Capital	- existence and intensity of family relations - care for old aged household members - quality of relations between household members
Preservation of Human Capital	- household performances in educating and caring for children
Social Structure - demographic structure	- structure of private households and families - marriages and divorces
- values and attitudes	- attitudes towards marriage - attitudes towards family and children

Life Domain: Housing	
Goal Dimensions	Measurement Dimensions
Improvement of Objective Living Conditions	- age of housing stock - level of supply with dwellings and housing space - size of dwellings - equipment of dwellings - security - housing costs - quality of environs

Enhancement of Subjective Well-Being	- subjective perception and evaluation of
	  - housing conditions
	  - quality of environs

Reduction of Disparities / Inequalities	- regional disparities of housing conditions
	- equal opportunities/inequalities regarding housing of
	  - disabled people
	  - social strata
	- social exclusion:
	  homelessness, poor housing conditions

Preservation of Natural Capital	- area used for settlement

Life Domain: Transport	
Goal Dimensions	Measurement Dimensions
Improvement of Objective Living Conditions	- access to transport - travel speed - costs of transport

Enhancement of Subjective Well-Being	- subjective perception and evaluation of
	  - transport conditions
	  - noise pollution

Reduction of Disparities / Inequalities	- regional disparities of access to and quality of transport - equal opportunities/inequalities regarding transport of - disabled people - social exclusion: no access to private and public transport

Strengthening Social Connections and Ties – Social Capital	- European-Specific concerns:
	  - quality of transport connections between European countries
	  - frequency of journeys in European countries

Preservation of Human Capital	- traffic accidents
Preservation of Natural Capital	- pollution due to transport - consumption of natural resources due to transport (energy, area)

Life Domain: Leisure, Media and Culture	
Goal Dimensions	Measurement Dimensions
Improvement of Objective Living Conditions	- amount of leisure time - availability of facilities and goods in the area of leisure, media and culture

Enhancement of Subjective Well-Being	- subjective perception and evaluation of
	  - leisure time
	  - possibilities for recreational and cultural activities

Reduction of Disparities / Inequalities	- regional disparities in the availability of facilities and goods in the area of leisure, media and culture
	- equal opportunities/inequalities of
	  - women and men regarding leisure time
	  - disabled people regarding access to media, recreational and cultural facilities

Strengthening Social Connections and Ties – Social Capital	- European-specific concerns - exchange of cultural products between European countries
Preservation of Human Capital	- leisure activities promoting health - leisure activities promoting human knowledge
Preservation of Natural Capital	- consumption of paper
Social Structure - Values and Attitudes	- subjective importance of leisure and culture

Life Domain: Social and Political Participation and Integration	
Goal Dimensions	Measurement Dimensions

Reduction of Disparities / Inequalities	- equal opportunities/ inequalities regarding social and political participation and integration of
	  - women and men
	  - generations
	  - social strata
	  - disabled people
	  - citizenship groups
	- social exclusion: social isolation

Strengthening Social Connections and Ties – Social Capital	- availability of social relations (personal relations outside the family, informal networks, membership in associations)
	- social and political activities and engagement (frequency of contacts, support in informal networks, volunteering, political engagement)
	- quality of social relations (extent of trust, feelings of belonging, shared values, solidarity, conflicts, attitudes towards population groups, loneliness)
	- trust in institutions: political institutions
	- European-specific concerns:
	  - European Identity
	  - social relations and attitudes to nationals from European Countries
	  - commonalities between European Countries in basic values and attitudes
	  - social and political activities at the European level

Social Structure - Values and Attitudes	- political orientation - subjective importance of religion

Life Domain: Education and Vocational Training	
Goal Dimensions	Measurement Dimensions
Improvement of Objective Living Conditions	- level of education and vocational training - effectiveness of education
Enhancement of Subjective Well-Being	- subjective perception and evaluation of level of education and vocational training

Reduction of Disparities / Inequalities	- regional disparities of
	  - access to education and vocational training
	  - investment in education
	- equal opportunities/inequalities regarding educational participation and qualification of
	  - women and men
	  - social strata
	  - disabled people
	  - citizenship groups
	- social exclusion:
	lack of completed education and vocational training

Strengthening Social Connections and Ties – Social Capital	- trust in institutions: educational institutions
	- European-specific concerns
	  - exchange of pupils, students, apprentices
	  - teaching and dissemination of European languages

Preservation of Human Capital	- access to educational institutions - enrolment of young people in general education and vocational training - participation in continuing training - teachers, university personnel - GDP spent on education
Social Structure - Values and Attitudes	- subjective importance of education

Life Domain: Labour Market and Working Conditions	
Goal Dimensions	Measurement Dimensions
Improvement of Objective Living Conditions	- labour market: opportunities and risks - employment level - working conditions - mobility - unemployment
Enhancement of Subjective Well-Being	- subjective perception and evaluation of personal employment situation

Reduction of Disparities / Inequalities	- regional disparities of employment opportunities and risks
	- equal opportunities/inequalities regarding employment of
	  - women and men
	  - generations
	  - disabled people
	  - citizenship groups
	- social exclusion: long-term unemployment

Strengthening Social Connections and Ties – Social Capital	- participation in the area of working life - quality of social relations at the work place - trust in institutions: trade unions - European-specific concerns - exchange of working people between countries
Preservation of Human Capital	- working accidents and occupational diseases - participation in continuing training
Preservation of Natural Capital	- consumption of natural resources by economy - environmental pollution by economy
Social Structure - Socio-Economic Structure	- employment status - occupational structure - sector structure
- Values and Attitudes	- subjective importance of work and job characteristics

Life Domain: Income, Standard of Living, and Consumption Patterns	
Goal Dimensions	Measurement Dimensions
Improvement of Objective Living Conditions	- income level and growth - assets - level of supply with private goods and services - discretionary of income expenditure
Enhancement of Subjective Well-Being	- subjective perception and evaluation of financial situation and level of living

Reduction of Disparities / Inequalities	- inequality of income and standard of living
	- subjective evaluations of inequality of income and standard of living
	- regional disparities of income level and standard of living
	- equal opportunities/inequalities regarding income and standard of living of
	  - women and men
	  - generations
	  - social strata
	  - disabled people
	- social exclusion: poverty

Preservation of Human Capital	- healthy consumption patterns
Preservation of Natural Capital	- consumption of natural resources by private households (for example energy, water, materials) - environmental pollution by private households (for example non-recyclable waste, ozone depleting substances) - non-polluting consumption patterns (for example ecologically produced food, products made of recyclable materials) - attitudes towards consumption habits
Social Structure - Values and Attitudes	- subjective importance of income and wealth

Life Domain: Health	
Goal Dimensions	Measurement Dimensions
Improvement of Objective Living Conditions	- state of health
Enhancement of Subjective Well-Being	- subjective perception and evaluation of the state of health
Reduction of Disparities / Inequalities	- regional disparities of the availability of health care facilities - equal opportunities/inequalities between social strata in the area of health - social exclusion: heavy health impairments
Strengthening Social Connections and Ties – Social Capital	- trust in institutions: system of health care
Preservation of Human Capital	- availability of health care facilities - health expenditures - health prevention measures - measures of rehabilitation

Life Domain: Environment	
Goal Dimensions	Measurement Dimensions
Improvement of Objective Living Conditions	- stock of natural resources (minerals, oil, wood, water, flora and fauna) - state of the environment (quality of air, water, forests, soil)
Enhancement of Subjective Well-Being	- subjective perception and evaluation of the environment
Reduction of Disparities / Inequalities	- regional disparities in the state of environment
Preservation of Human Capital	- health hazards (e.g. by pollution, accidents, noxious substances in food)
Preservation of Natural Capital	- eco-efficiency: resource use per unit of product or service or per unit of GDP (energy efficiency, material efficiency) - share of renewable energy sources - pollution per unit of energy consumption - public expenditures on environmental protection and research - share of protected areas
Social Structure - Values and Attitudes	- subjective importance of the environment

Life Domain: Social Security	
Goal Dimensions	Measurement Dimensions
Improvement of Objective Living Conditions	- coverage of social security - efficiency of social insurance

Reduction of Disparities / Inequalities	- equal opportunities/ inequalities regarding social security of
	  - women and men
	  - generations

Strengthening Social Connections and Ties – Social Capital	- trust in institutions: social security institutions

Life Domain: Public Safety and Crime	
Goal Dimensions	Measurement Dimensions
Improvement of Objective Living Conditions	- Extent of criminality - structure of offenders - structure of victims - protection and combat against crime
Enhancement of Subjective Well-Being	- subjective perception and evaluation of public safety

Reduction of Disparities / Inequalities	- regional disparities of the extent of criminality
	- inequalities regarding public safety of
	  - women and men
	  - generations
	  - citizenship groups
	  - races

Strengthening Social Connections and Ties – Social Capital	- trust in institutions: legal system

Total Life Situation	
Goal Dimensions	Measurement Dimensions
Improvement of Objective Living Conditions	- comprehensive welfare indices
Enhancement of Subjective Well-Being	- subjective perception and evaluation of the total living situation

Reduction of Disparities / Inequalities	- Regional disparities in comprising welfare measures
	- inequalities regarding comprehensive measures of quality of life of
	  - women and men
	  - generations
	  - social strata
	  - disabled people
	  - citizenship groups
	- equal opportunities of generations regarding quality of life: public debts per capita
	- social exclusion: multiple deprivation

Social Structure - Socio-Economic Structure	- social stratification
- Values and Attitudes	- materialism - postmaterialism - equality - freedom - security

3.2 Countries and Regional Disaggregation

Concerning the spatial reference of the European System of Social Indicators, a decision was taken to rely primarily on the 15 member states of the European Union. However, as far as possible other European countries will be included: Norway, Switzerland and three Central European countries aspiring to join the European Union, that is the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland[17]. Thus, a total of 20 European countries will be considered. Besides, the indicators will be provided for the European Union as a whole and compared with indicators of two highly developed industrial countries, that is the U.S. and Japan.

Furthermore, each of the 20 European countries will be disaggregated by regions. For the European Union countries, the regional disaggregation will mainly follow the NUTS classification elaborated by Eurostat[18]. The NUTS nomenclature (Nomenclature des Unités Territoriales Statistiques) subdivides each member state of the European Union into territorial units by using a hierarchical structuring at five levels of differentiation which correspond to the national administrative units. NUTS-1 represents the least differentiated level and presently results in 78 regions of the European Union. These are further split up in 211 territorial units at level NUTS-2 and 1.093 units at level NUTS-3. For some countries - Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Portugal, Finland, United Kingdom - a disaggregation of the 243 units at level NUTS-3 into 1.029 units at level NUTS-4 has been undertaken. All countries are subdivided at level NUTS-5 in a total of 98.544 communes.

The European System of Social Indicators will be mainly disaggregated at the NUTS-1 level. However, since NUTS-1 represents a rather rough breakdown of several countries or at times is not available at all, a disaggregation at the NUTS-2 level has been chosen in these cases. The following table provides an overview on the NUTS-1 respectively NUTS-2 territorial units of the 15 European Union states (chart 11).

The regional disaggregation of the European Countries which do not belong to the European Union will follow the practices of the national statistical offices (chart 12). This results in 8 major regions of the Czech Republic which could be further divided into 31 districts. For Hungary 7 regions are distinguished which are groupings of 20 counties. Norway consists of 6 major regions composed of a total of 19 counties. For Poland, a new territorial division exists since January 1999 which covers 16 "voivodships". The 26 cantons of Switzerland are summarised into 7 regions.

It is intended to provide the proposed regional disaggregation for those social indicators, for which it seems to be reasonable to consider regional differences. But it will depend mostly on the availability of disaggregated data, whether regional breakdowns will be possible or not.

[17] The decision to include the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland is also due to the fact that researchers from these countries belong to the participants of the EuReporting project.

[18] The most actual classification is presented at http://www.europa.eu.int/en/comm/dg07/tif/nomenclatures/nomenclatures_nuts_99.htm

Chart 11: Regional Disaggregation of European Union Member States

Country	Number and Kind of Territorial Units	NUTS-1 level	NUTS-2 level
Austria	3 Groups of "Bundesländer"	East Austria South Austria West Austria	
Belgium	3 "Régions"	Brussels Region Flemish Region Walloon Region	
Denmark	1	not available	not available
Finland	6 "Suuralueet"		Uusimaa South Finland East Finland Central Finland North Finland Åland Islands
France	8 "Z.E.A.T"[19] + "DOM"[20]	Île de France Paris basin Nord/Pas-de Calais East West South West Centre-East Mediterranean Oversea Departments	
Germany	16 "Bundesländer"	Baden-Württemberg Bavaria Berlin Brandenburg Bremen Hamburg Hessen Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania Lower Saxony North Rhine-Westphalia Rheinland-Pfalz Saarland Saxony Saxony-Anhalt Schleswig-Holstein Thuringia	
Greece	4 Groups of development regions	North Greece Central Greece Attica Aegean Islands/ Crete	

[19] Zones d'étude et d'aménagement du territoire
[20] Départements d' outre-mer

Country	Number and Kind of Territorial Units	NUTS-1 level	NUTS-2 level
Ireland	2 Groups of "Regional Authorities"[21]	not available	Border/Midlands/Western Eastern/Southern
Italy	11 Groups of "Regioni"	North-West Lombardy North-East Emilia-Romana Centre Lazio Abruzzi-Molise Campania South Sicily Sardinia	
Luxembourg		not available	not available
Netherlands	4 "Landsdelen"	North Netherlands East Netherlands West Netherlands South Netherlands	
Portugal	5 "Comissaoes de coordeaçao regional" + 2 "Regioes autonomas"		North Centre Lisboa e Vale do Tejo Alentejo Algarve Azores Madeira
Spain	7 Groups of "Comunidades autonomas"	North-West North-East Madrid Centre East South Canary Islands	
Sweden	8 "Riksområden"	not available	Stockholm East-Central Sweden Smaland and islands South Sweden West Sweden North-Central Sweden Central Norrland Upper Norrland

[21] Only since 1999

Country	Number and Kind of Territorial Units	NUTS-1 level	NUTS-2 level
United Kingdom	11 "Standard Statistical Regions " (until 1998)	North North West Yorkshire and Humberside East Midlands West Midlands East Anglia South East South West Wales Scotland Northern Ireland	
	12 Government Office Regions (since 1999)	North East North West and Merseyside Yorkshire and the Humber East Midlands West Midlands Eastern London South East South West Wales Scotland Northern Ireland	

Chart 12: Regional Disaggregation of Other European Countries

Country	Number and Kind of Territorial Units	Territorial Units
Czech Republic	8 regions (= groups of 31 districts)	Capital Prague Central Bohemia South Bohemia West Bohemia North Bohemia East Bohemia South Moravia North Moravia
Hungary	7 regions (= groups of 20 counties)	Central Hungary Central Transdanubia Western Transdanubia Southern Transdanubia Northern Hungary Northern Great Plain Southern Great Plain
Norway	6 regions (= groups of 19 counties)	Oslo/Akershus Rest of Eastern Norway Agder/Rogaland Western Norway Trondelag Northern Norway
Poland	16 "Voivodships"	Dolnoslaskie Kujawsko-Pomorskie Lubelskie Lubuskie Lodzkie Malopolskie Mazowieckie Opolskie Podkarpackie Podlaskie Pomorskie Slaskie Swietokrzyskie Warminsko-Mazurskie Wielkopolskie Zachodniopomorskie
Switzerland	7 regions (=groups of 26 cantons)	Lake of Geneva Region Espace Mittelland North-Western Switzerland Zurich Eastern Switzerland Central Switzerland Ticino

3.3 Starting Point and Periodicity of Observations

The European System of Social Indicators will present yearly figures for the included indicators, provided that the data are available. Of course, for many indicators this will not be feasible, especially for those indicators which are based on surveys not conducted on a yearly basis or with varying thematic coverage.

The starting point of the time series will be the beginning of the 1980s. This pragmatic decision takes into account the fact that for five of the present Member States of the European Union the date of accession was not before the middle of the 1980s (chart 13). An earlier starting point of the time series would have raised the problem of availability of comparable data for these countries, since they are included in statistics of the European Union only since their membership.

Chart 13: Chronology of the Enlargement of the European Union

Year of establishing/joining the European Community/European Union	Member States
1957 Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community	Belgium France Germany Italy Luxembourg Netherlands
1973	Denmark Ireland United Kingdom
1981	Greece
1986	Spain Portugal
1995	Austria Finland Sweden

4. Summary and Conclusion

This paper develops the conceptual framework for a European System of Social Indicators and outlines the major structural elements of its architecture. As far as the conceptual framework is concerned, the quality of life concept turns out to be most central and constitutes the overarching perspective of observation and measurement. From this perspective, the indicators system puts its emphasis first of all on the objective living conditions as well as the subjective well-being of the individual citizens. In addition to these dimensions of the individual quality of life, the conceptual framework incorporates also the notions of social cohesion and sustainability, both of which are considered to represent major aspects of the quality of societies. From the social cohesion discourse two dimensions have been identified to be covered by the European System of Social Indicators: the amount of disparities and social inequalities on the one side and the strength of social connections and ties on the other. From the sustainability concept the conceptual framework of the indicators system adopts in particular the perspective to preserve the capital of the society - natural, human, and social capital - for future generations.

As far as the architecture of the European System of Social Indicators is concerned, a life domain approach is most characteristic. The indicator system covers altogether 13 life domains and includes in addition a module on the total life situation. Within each life domain, the dimensions of measurement and indicators address different aspects of the individual quality of life, social cohesion and sustainability. Moreover also basic dimensions of the social structure as well as attitudes and value orientations will be covered. The indicator system will include 20 European countries, but also the U.S. and Japan as two important reference societies. If any possible, indicator time series will be disaggregated for regions at the NUTS-1 level. Indicator time series are supposed to start at the beginning of the eighties and will - given that appropriate data are available -provide information on a yearly basis.

Having developed the conceptual framework and set up the structure of the indicators system, the next steps of work will include to define detailed indicators and to construct time series for selected life domains and dimensions of measurement.

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