2015 ELECTION MANIFESTO POVERTY AUDIT

The flourishing life narrative

#STANDAGAINSTPOVERTY
MANIFESTO AUDIT

Contents

A flourishing life: British society and the general election

The idea of human flourishing can be traced to the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384 – 322 BC), who proposed that flourishing is the highest human good and end goal in life (Shields, 2014). The Greek term *eudaimonia*, commonly translated as flourishing, describes the fulfilment of a person's rational, social and spiritual capabilities. Aristotle believed that the main function and responsibility of a democratic government was to enable societal flourishing through the provision of legislation, education and welfare for all citizens.

This notion of flourishing has been taken up by various academic disciplines in modern times. The Positive Psychology movement, for example, has shifted the focus in psychological research from understanding and solving psychological problems to thinking about what makes life worth living for people across society (Seligman, 2011). Economists such as Boltvinik (2005) have used flourishing as a conceptual tool to think about poverty in more holistic terms. Contemporary political philosophers in the UK have also revived Aristotle's idea of the role of the state in bringing about societal flourishing (Evans, 2012).

The idea of flourishing is not new in the global and UK policy context either. Over the past 25 years, there have been global efforts to measure poverty, wellbeing and happiness in more holistic ways (see Appendix 5) in order to improve public policy. The Office for National Statistics (ONS) has been measuring people's wellbeing in the UK since 2010 following a debate on national wellbeing (ONS, 2010). More recently, the government launched the What Works Centre for Wellbeing in October 2014[1], which seeks to assess the impact of different public services on people's wellbeing in order to make them more effective.

The relationship between poverty and flourishing

Classical neoliberal discourse suggests that the combination of an ethically neutral government and a free market economy will bring about flourishing for citizens (Sandel, 2012; Ferguson, 1990). Such a narrative overlooks the role of values underpinning the achievement of societal flourishing such as social justice or environmental sustainability. It also masks the fact that political parties represent different value systems and themselves play an important role in shaping society's values.

Amartya Sen's *capability approach*, developed in the late 1990s, sought to make the value judgements underpinning public policy decisions explicit. It challenged dominant utilitarian understandings of poverty, which were prevalent at the time and measured poverty in relation to material commodities (predominantly income). Sen (1999) proposed an alternative, evaluative and people-centred approach, which examines poverty and inequality in terms of people's freedoms and abilities to use

[1] https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-what-works-centre-for-wellbeing

goods and services in certain ways, rather than focusing on the presence or absence of material wealth (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009: 24).

This manifesto audit has brought a *flourishing life* framing (see Appendix 1), developed by the Mexican economist Julio Boltvinik (2005), to bear upon the issues of poverty and inequality. While there are clear parallels between Boltvinik's flourishing life approach and Sen's capabilities approach, the *flourishing life* approach was chosen following a review of various theoretical approaches and measurements of poverty[2] (see Appendices 2 and 3). This review revealed both an evolution in the understanding and measurement of poverty, as well as limitations in capturing the complexity of people's experiences of poverty.

Boltvinik's approach echoes Sen's emphasis on people's freedom to choose the things they value doing or being in life (Sen, 1999: 75). The flourishing narrative also reflects Sen's notion that people's choices are constrained or enhanced by the opportunities available to them to achieve the things they value (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009: 27). Similar to Sen, values also feature in Boltvinik's account of the flourishing life. The flourishing life approach acknowledges the role of both societal[3] and personal[4] values in the process of individual and collective flourishing. Societal values shape public discourse and influence (and often control) people's perceptions and behaviours (Foucault, 1977; Sandel, 2009). At the same time, personal values also shape institutions through the choices of individuals working in and engaging with these institutions (see for example Shrestha, 1995).

Boltvinik's flourishing life approach stood out for three reasons. Firstly, it rests upon an understanding of poverty not as a static condition, but rather as a process, which is dynamic and goes hand in hand with flourishing, i.e. poverty and flourishing are two sides of the same coin.

Secondly, the approach explicitly considers universal human needs, which are dynamic and change throughout a person's life (see Max-Neef *et al*., 1989). It also takes a closer look at different types of resources (material, psychological, social) available to people, which are important components in fulfilling needs. Poverty occurs when existing multi-dimensional needs cannot be fulfilled. This means poverty cannot be understood simply as the failure to attain a minimum level of income or to meet basic needs such as health care or education. For example, if subsistence needs are satisfied, but other needs, such as the need for participation, protection or identity (see Appendix 6) remain unmet, an individual will not be flourishing but rather experiencing poverty of a certain kind.

Finally, the approach is highly cognisant of the institutional environment, enabling factors and barriers, and the role of people's agency in the process of flourishing. It recognises the complex interplay of these factors, which may lead to flourishing or

[2] Measurement and indicators of poverty and wellbeing are not value-free, but influenced by an underlying political agenda (see for example Sumner, 2007).

[3] Values that are promoted at an institutional level are understood here as societal values. See Habermas' (1984) *Theory of Communicative Action* for further analysis of different value spheres (science, art and law).

[4] Personal values are understood as held by individuals. See Bourdieu's (1990) *Theory of Practice* for further insight into the role of class and history in shaping individual values and behaviours.

poverty along different dimensions. It is important to note that both flourishing and poverty are not static, but change across space and time and according to social and institutional context[5].

The relationship between inequality and societal flourishing

In public discourse, inequality is often understood as income inequality[6]. However, there are other types of inequality, which merit consideration. *Economic inequality* includes not only income inequality, but also pay inequality[7] and wealth inequality[8]. Mount (2008) further distinguishes between different types of *social inequality.* These include *political inequality*, which refers to the equality of all citizens, including before the law; *inequality of opportunity*, which refers to people's life chances; *inequality of treatment*, which includes discrimination in relation to access to public services; and *inequality of membership in society*, which refers to perceptions of who and what can be regarded as 'British'.

As outlined in Appendix 1, differences and inequalities between people's ability to flourish can arise for three reasons. The distribution of resources that support people's capacities can be unequal; there can be unequal treatment of and access to opportunities created by institutional systems; and enabling and disabling factors in the social, cultural, political and environmental environment can affect people unequally.

There is strong empirical evidence that inequality is detrimental to societal flourishing. A growing literature points to the negative impact income inequality can have on growth. This can be because limited social mobility reduces the incentive for people to invest in education, skills and training (or 'human capital'), as identified by Cingano (2014). Ostry *et al*. (2014) found that, contrary to received wisdom, it is inequality itself that hampers growth as opposed to the redistributive policies inequalities necessitate.[9]. Arguments that income inequality can lead to suppressed aggregate demand and eventually financial and economic crisis have been advanced by economists such as Stiglitz (2012).

International research has found causal links and correlations between inequality and socio-economic outcomes. Economic inequality has been shown to have a causal negative relationship with life expectancy, mental illness, obesity, infant mortality, teenage pregnancy, homicides, imprisonment, educational attainment, distrust and social mobility (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009). Social inequality also contributes to

[5] The flourishing approach recognises that there are no 'objective' measurements of poverty. Whether a person is considered poor depends both on the perceptions and values of an individual as well as those of the social and institutional context.

[6] Defined as money received from employment as well as other sources such as investments, interest from savings and shares, state benefits, pensions and rent (Equality Trust, 2015a).

[7] Defined as money received from employment only (Equality Trust, 2015a).

[8] Defined as the total amount of assets a household or individual holds, including financial assets, property and rights (Equality Trust, 2015a).

[9] The flourishing framing adopted for this audit takes a critical stance with regards to the benefits and viability of a growth agenda. For a detailed exposition see Kosoy *et al*., 2012 and in relation to growth and climate change see Woodward (2015).

increased risk of conflict and reduces efficiency and wellbeing, leading to increased levels of poverty (Stewart *et al.*, 2005).

It is worth noting that the UK continues to be one of the most unequal societies amongst industrial countries in terms of income inequality (UN, 2014)[10]. Wealth inequality is even greater than income inequality, with 10% of the richest households owning 44% of national wealth in 2013 (Equality Trust, 2015b). Layte (2011) finds that in higher GDP countries such as the UK, income inequality adversely affects psychological wellbeing via increasing individuals' anxiety over social status and decreasing social cohesion.

Given the central role inequality plays in relation to societal flourishing, the audit examines political parties' engagement with different dimensions of equity and the viability of their policies[11]. We hope the findings allow voters to make an informed decision on 7 May and start conversations on how we can move from a post-industrial society to a flourishing one.

[10] In 2013, the top 10% of the UK population earned nearly ten times as much as the bottom 10% (Equality Trust, 2015b). Income inequality, measured by the GINI coefficient, climbed back to pre-2008 levels last year (UNDP, 2014), before which it had been steadily rising since the 1980s (IFS, 2013).

[11] This is in terms of economic, environmental and social sustainability.

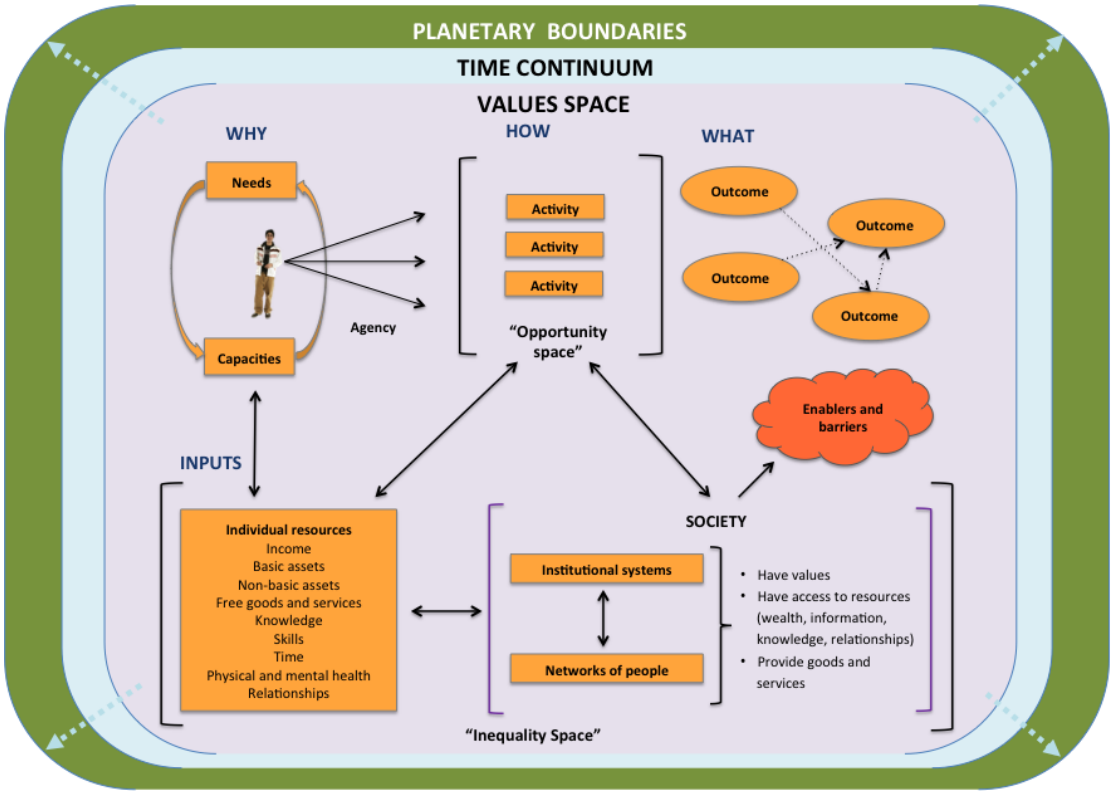
Appendix 1: A flourishing life - definition

Flourishing: An overview

A flourishing life is one where people are able to achieve the outcomes they value (see Sen, 1999). These outcomes will vary between people and throughout an individual person's life (Boltvinik, 2005). At the same time, there are key elements in the process of flourishing, which apply at societal level and are therefore critical areas for policy intervention, as they enable people across society to flourish in their own individual ways.

The diagram below illustrates the relationships between the key conceptual elements that enable flourishing. These elements are further defined below.

Figure 1: Conceptual elements of a flourishing life



Flourishing: The individual's perspective

As illustrated above, the starting point of flourishing is a person's universal and dynamic human **needs (see Section A)** (Max-Neef, 1989), which vary across space and time. Needs shape the inner **capacities (see Section B)** a person develops to meet their needs, such as self-esteem or resilience. Such capacities, in turn, can influence what is perceived as a need. Capacities manifest themselves through a person's **agency (see Section C)**, which leads them to undertake a particular **activity (see Section D)** that will help meet those needs.

Activities, however, are influenced by external **opportunities (see Section E)** available to people. For example, meeting one's need for community involvement is difficult if there are no spaces available to engage with others, such as a community centre, a library or a local pub. To a large extent, opportunities are created at societal level by the interplay of **institutional systems and networks of people (see Section F)** surrounding a person. It is important to bear in mind that these systems and networks are underpinned by particular **value systems**. Similarly, individuals who make choices about the kinds of activities they wish to engage with also hold particular values of their own.

A person's ability to fulfil their needs further depends on the **resources (see Section G)** at their disposal (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009: 44). Resources can be monetary, such as income or a house, but also non-monetary, such as knowledge, skills or time. These resources will affect a person's ability to engage with different opportunities. Someone who has to work two jobs to make ends meet will not have the time to engage in community activities, even if there is a great community centre just around the corner from their home. Resources will also affect a person's capacities. Someone who is able to maintain good friendships and relationships outside of their job may have better self-esteem than a person whose time to socialise is very limited.

Whether or not a particular valued outcome is achieved depends on **enabling factors and barriers (see Section H)** in the social, cultural, political and environmental environment. For example, the passion for sports spreading during the months of the 2012 Olympics may have acted as an enabling factor for increased participation in sports activities across different age groups and backgrounds.

Finally, the framework illustrated above acknowledges the role of finite natural resources and **planetary boundaries** to human existence (see Raworth *et al*., 2014). The natural landscape and planetary processes and systems, which enable the equitable and sustainable use of resources between populations and across generations, are the foundation of human flourishing. The key planetary processes considered here include air quality, bio-diversity, chemical pollution, climate change, global fresh water, land-use change, nitrogen cycle, ocean health, ozone depletion and phosphorous cycle (Sayers and Trebeck, 2015).

Flourishing: Society's perspective

Collective flourishing (see Section I) follows similar processes to individual flourishing, but is not simply the sum of individual people's flourishing. It develops unique dynamics beyond the control of individual members of a group. The collective well-being of a group (for example, one's family, neighbourhood, ethnic group or city population) can be a key enabling factor for individual flourishing (Stewart, 2005: 185). It is also acknowledged that membership of a group can equally have negative effects on individual flourishing (Stewart, 2005: 188).

Inequalities between people's ability to flourish can arise in three areas. The distribution of resources that support people's capacities can be unequal, there can be unequal treatment of and access to opportunities created by institutional systems, and enabling factors and barriers in the social, cultural, political and environmental

environment can affect people unequally. The same can apply to the collective flourishing within a group. It is important to note that the different elements in the flourishing process are not static, they change and develop constantly and over **time**.

Definitions

A) Needs

The conceptualisation of human needs in the flourishing life approach goes beyond material needs such as food and shelter (often referred to as 'basic needs', see for example Streeten *et al*., 1981). Human needs are understood to be of social, psychological and material nature. Needs exist at the individual and collective level (see also Section I below).The flourishing life approach is based on a typology of universal human needs developed by Max-Neef *et al.* (1989) (see Appendix 4). These needs are considered constant across different cultures and throughout history. Contrary to Maslow's (1943) famous hierarchy of needs, all needs are equal, except the need for subsistence[12], which takes primacy above others. However, people's needs are dynamic and change throughout their lives. For example, an infant will have a stronger need for physical affection than an adult. Similarly, a single person without strong family ties may have a greater need for friendships than, say, a parent.

Table 1: Typology of universal needs after Max-Neef et al. (1989)[13]

Universal human needs	Qualities	Things	Actions	Settings
Subsistence	Physical and mental health	Food, shelter, work	Feed, clothe, rest, work	Living environment, social setting
Protection	Care, adaptability, autonomy	Social security, health systems, work	Cooperate, plan, take care of, help	Social environment, dwelling
Affection	Respect, sense of humour, generosity, sensuality	Friendships, family, relationships with nature	Share, take care of, make love, express emotions	Privacy, intimate spaces of togetherness
Understanding	Critical capacity, curiosity, intuition	Literature, teachers, educational policies	Analyse, study, meditate, investigate	Schools, families, universities, communities
Participation	Receptiveness, dedication, sense of humour	Responsibilities, duties, rights, work	Cooperate, dissent, express opinions	Associations, parties, churches, neighbourhoods
Leisure	Imagination, tranquillity, spontaneity	Games, parties, peace of mind	Day-dream, remember, relax, have fun	Landscapes, intimate spaces, places to be alone
Creation	Imagination, boldness, inventiveness, curiosity	Abilities, skills, work, techniques	Invent, build, design, work, compose, interpret	Spaces for expression, workshops, audiences
Identity	Sense of belonging, self-esteem, consistency	Language, religion, work, customs, values, norms	Get to know oneself, grow, commit oneself	Places one belongs to, everyday settings
Freedom	Autonomy, passion, self-esteem, open-mindedness	Equal rights	Dissent, choose, run risks, develop awareness	Anywhere

[12] This need can also be thought of as the 'essentials of life'. This is the term used in the visual illustration of a flourishing life on the website.
[13] Table adapted from http://www.rainforestinfo.org.au/background/maxneef.htm.

B) Capacities

Capacities are understood here as the ability to develop and apply inner psychological resources such as optimism, autonomy and self-esteem (NEF, 2009). They are closely related to Sen's (1999) conceptualization of capabilities, which he defines as the "freedoms [a person] enjoys to lead the kind of life he or she has reason to value" (Sen in Alkire and Deneulin, 2009: 28)[14]. Capacities both help people meet their needs, but also shape the weighting of their different needs. For example, a person with high self-esteem may rely less on other people's affirmative feedback than someone who feels more insecure about themselves.

Capacities are also dynamic, which explains why needs can change even when a person's circumstances do not. For example, a pupil taking GCSEs in art may develop a stronger need for aesthetic stimulation than another pupil who studies chemistry. Like needs, capacities can exist both at the individual and collective level (see also Section I). The resilience of a group of people or a population, for example, does not consist of the sum of individual capacities, but takes on a life of its own[15].

C) Agency

The ability to achieve the outcomes a person values requires agency to do things towards that end (see Sen, 1999: 19). Agency is understood here as the ability to pursue desired outcomes. In that sense, it is the external manifestation of capacities. For example, speaking up in front of a group of friends, neighbours, at work or even a public audience requires a certain impulse to do so (given that the necessary capacities such as self-esteem and resources such as articulation skills are present). It is a way to put these capacities and resources to work in order to fulfil a need. The dependency of agency on capacities and resources implies that agency is inherently relational; it always exists in relation to other actors (Mosse, 2010).

A spectrum of views exists within academic research on the extent to which people are able to control their lives via their own agency. Some authors have suggested that human agency is preconditioned by either the social and cultural structures around them (Lévi-Strauss, 1963), the political economic context (Harvey, 1990) or their class (Bourdieu, 1990). Others have argued that any social situation implies human agency and therefore the possibility for change, even if power relations are unequal (Foucault, 1977). The flourishing life approach adopts a view that social, economic, cultural, political, class and institutional structures can either enable or hinder human agency, while at the same time being shaped and transformed by it (see also Giddens, 1979).

D) Activities

Activities are understood as the actions required to mobilise resources and capacities to achieve valued outcomes. For example, to have good health, a person may

[14] The difference between Sen's conceptualisation and the flourishing approach adopted here is that the flourishing approach considers capacities to be intertwined with needs, as their development and application is driven by the satisfaction of needs (Boltvinik, 2005: 4).

[15] For a further exposition on the role of collective capabilities in relation to Sen's approach, see Stewart, 2005.

undertake activities such as exercise, cooking meals from scratch or spending time outdoors. The *capability approach* emphasises the importance of people's active involvement in shaping the lives they value living (Sen, 1999: 53).

E) Opportunities

Opportunities are available spaces (physical and virtual) in which activities can take place that allow the achievement of valued outcomes. These spaces are created at societal level. An opportunity to fulfil the need for self-expression, for example, could be an open mic night at a local pub, an online platform or blog, or writing a poem in one's bedroom. Depending on a person's capacities, resources and agency, different opportunities are available to them – in a real or perceived sense (a person with low self-esteem may not wish to perform their poem at an open mic night, for example). Sen refers to this aspect as freedom, or "the real opportunity that we have to accomplish what we value" (Sen in Alkire and Deneulin, 2009: 27).

F) Institutional systems and networks of people

Institutional systems and networks of people largely define what opportunities are available to people to undertake activities that fulfil their needs. For example, whether or not a community has a local library, gym or free childcare, or whether or not a person can rely on family for financial support during hard times or knows someone who can help them find a job after leaving school. Both institutional systems (such as schools, local government or legal institutions) and networks of people hold different values, have access to different resources (including wealth, information, knowledge and relationships) and provide goods and services, which in turn shape opportunities for flourishing.

G) Resources

To be able to fulfil their needs, people rely on a range of resources. These can be of material and non-material nature. Material resources include free goods and services such as health care, income in the form of money or assets such as a car. Non-material resources include time, skills, knowledge, relationships and a person's physical and mental health (see Boltvinik, 2005). For example, to be able to participate in community life, a person will need the knowledge of where community activities take place, they need to have the linguistic skills to communicate their ideas, be in adequate health to engage in, for example, a local gardening project, have the time to attend such meetings and the monetary resources to travel to different locations or buy the necessary equipment.

Resources further influence institutional systems and networks of people. For example, a local council with a substantial public health budget will be able to invest more resources in the quality of green spaces, local gyms and GP surgeries. Networks of people with access to sources of wealth will have more resources, for example, to engage in political lobbying on an issue of their concern.

H) Enabling factors and barriers[16]

[16] Sen refers to these as 'conversion factors' (see Robeyns, 2005: 99).

Enabling factors and barriers refer to social, cultural, political and environmental factors that either allow or hinder resources from being mobilised towards desired outcomes. For example, open access to online learning software may enable a person to develop foreign language skills, which will allow them to connect better with community members who speak that language and foster a stronger sense of belonging. Conversely, a person who has to move far away from their home district to the cheaper outskirts of the city because their housing benefit has been capped may lose crucial social networks and suffer from isolation as a result.

I) Collective flourishing

Aristotle's conception of a good life is grounded in the notion that happiness is derived from 'virtuous' activity, of which engagement in the community or the (ancient Greek) city-state (*polis*) is key (Shields, 2014). Seligman (2011) argues that happiness is not the same as flourishing – one can be happy but not flourish. Active engagement in meaningful activities over time is thus required for flourishing. In this way, flourishing requires more than the experience of pleasurable states. The flourishing life narrative in this audit does not rely on a notion of individual or collective activities based on virtues, but echoes Aristotle in its emphasis on community involvement as being a crucial element of individual flourishing.

Stewart (2005) suggests that membership of a group can have both intrinsic and instrumental value and affect individual flourishing in turn – both positively and negatively. For example, being part of a tech start-up programme can enable an individual to set up a new business for which he or she alone would not have been able to access the required capital or networks. Similarly, participating in a political party can have intrinsic value by generating a sense of identity.

The flourishing of a group, however, does not equal the sum of its members' individual flourishing. Collective flourishing is generated by the interaction between different group members and their activities, resources, values and capacities and thus is by definition distinct from individual flourishing (see Stewart, 2005: 200). The processes, which affect collective flourishing, such as the resources, opportunities or institutional systems around a social group, are largely the same as those that apply to individual flourishing.

Appendix 2: Theoretical approaches to poverty

Approach	Definition	Examples
Absolute Poverty	Severe lack of **income** to meet defined **basic needs**, 'poverty line' approach	Element of Millennium Development Goals ($1.25) Peter Edward (2006) ethical poverty line
Income Threshold Approach	**Income** adjusted for household is lower than a given % of the 'average' income	UK Government/EU - 60% of median OECD, UNDP, UNICEF
Rights-based poverty line	Income below **country-specific minimum** that corresponds ability to exercise **economic and social rights**	David Woodward 'How Poor is poor?' Reports (NEF)
Deprivation	Level of **income** or **resources** that result in an **inability to consume** goods and services or **participate** in activities, as **defined by a researcher**	Peter Townsend's survey of UK 1968/69
Consensual Method	Lack of **necessities** that are determined by **public** opinion	1983 Breadline Britain Current PSE Research March 2015- The Rise of Mass Poverty in the UK
Minimum Budget Standards	**Income** is below that needed to purchase a household-specific basket of **necessities** at **market prices**. Necessities defined by **experts or the public** in focus groups	US poverty Line Minimum Income Healthy Living Minimum Income Standards Project by JRF
Consistent Poverty Measure	Combines income and deprivation measures	UK Multiple Deprivation Index Government of Ireland- ESRI Index UK Child Poverty Act 2010
Social Exclusion	Emphasises inability to participate in **relationships** and **activities** available to the **majority of society**. Does consider lack of goods and services but no assumption about causal links between this and participation and wellbeing	Bristol Social Exclusion Matrix The World Bank's 'Voices of the Poor'
Subjective measures of poverty	**Self-reported perception** of being in poverty	OECD measurement of subjective social well being OECD Better Life Index Oxfam Humankind Index
Capabilities-based Poverty Line	Poverty as a deprivation of the **freedom** people have to achieve functionings they **have reason to value**	Work of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum
Multidimensional Poverty measurement	Incorporates aspects of **overall wellbeing** (e.g. mental health, shame) as well as material and social deprivation	Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative with the UNDP Human Development Report Office - 2014 Human Development. Report Bhutan Happiness Index

Source: Poverty and Social Exclusion in the UK (PSE: UK), http://poverty.ac.uk/definitions-poverty [Accessed February 2015].

Appendix 3: Indices measuring poverty and inequality

Index	Overview
UK focus	
DCLG Index of Multiple Deprivation (McLennan et al., 2011)	Utilises a consistent poverty approach incorporating a 60% median income threshold and measures of deprivations linked to employment, health, education, housing and services, crime and living environment. Depends on administrative data like the number of benefit claimants and hospital visits.
Households Below Average Income (based on Family Resources Survey) (Department for Work and Pensions, 2015).	Utilises a deprivation approach where respondents are asked whether they are have a range of goods and services. These are different for adults, children and pensioners but include home repair, ability to keep houses warm, ability to go on school trips and ability to have a regular haircut.
Oxfam Humankind Index (OXFAM GB, n.d)	Measures based on a consensual approach, including subjective indicators such as the ability to feel good.
Poverty and social exclusion (PSE, n.d.)	Deprivation according to a consensual approach.
Developing world focus	
UNDP Human Development Index (Alkire and Foster, 2010.)	Index based on life expectancy, education and income indicators. Rooted in a capabilities approach.
UNDP Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index (Alkire and Foster, 2009.)	Similar to Human Development Index but with extra health indicators such as child mortality and access to basic assets and utilities.
Millennium Development Goals (UN, n.d.)	Based on an absolute poverty line of $1.25 in 2005 prices and other capabilities e.g. primary education and maternal health.
Cross-cutting indices	
Bhutan Gross National Happiness Index (Ura *et al*., 2012.)	Utilises a detailed multi-dimensional approach including spirituality and wellbeing, time use, culture, governance and ecological resilience. Many indicators are subjective, e.g. wellbeing and knowledge.
OECD Better Life Index (OECD, n.d.)	A multi-dimensional poverty measurement combining existing data on access to basic housing (roofing, toilet), income, financial wealth, long term unemployment, perceived water quality, democracy, perceived health and well-being and leisure time. Again many indicators are subjective, including self-reported life

	satisfaction (utilising the Cantril Ladder).
Happy Planet Index (NEF, 2015.)	An index that attempts to capture the sustainability of level of human development. The product of self-reported well-being and life expectancy of a country divided by its ecological footprint.
Sustainable Society Foundation index (SSF, 2015.)	An index that measures three dimensions of wellbeing - human, environmental and economic – across 7 categories at national level for 151 countries. The index has been developed to measure sustainability at a regional level. There is an intention for it to be adapted to the local level.
Social Progress Index (Social Progress Imperative, 2015.)	It focuses on three dimensions of social progress – basic human needs, foundations of wellbeing and opportunity. It has been developed to counter the focus on GDP and influenced by the work of Amartya Sen.
Distributional focus	
UNDP Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index (Alkire and Foster , 2010.)	Accounts for fact that two countries on average could have the same development but achievements could be distributed very unequally. Captures the loss in human development due to inequality — ranges from 5.5% (Finland) to 44.0% (Angola).
Global Agewatch Index (**Global AgeWatch, 2013.**)	A capabilities approach focused on a specific group of the population, i.e. older people.
World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Index (WEF, 2014.)	Attempts to capture relative gap between groups, in this case men and women.

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