MERGE

MEASURING WHAT MATTERS

Policy pathways to sustainable and inclusive wellbeing

Deliverable D5.1.

Data harmonisation and collection for wellbeing and sustainability indicators

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1. Executive summary

For decades, there has been an increased recognition of the limitations of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in providing a complete assessment of societal progress. Policymakers, academics and civil society organisations have emphasised the need for a broader, more inclusive set of indicators to better reflect the economic, social, and environmental dimensions of progress, and inform decisions and policies. Nonetheless, despite the proliferation of different alternatives, no single metric or measuring framework has emerged as a clear alternative to the dominance of GDP. As a result, efforts remain fragmented, which in turn undermines their ability to position themselves as compelling alternative compasses for societal progress.

Most recently, these critiques crystallised in the United Nations (UN) Pact for the Future, where Member States requested the establishment of an independent high-level expert group to develop a set of recommendations to complement and go beyond GDP. This process – which will be followed by inter-governmental discussions – paves the way for a potential international framework that could provide guidance on the topic. At the same time, it is also possible that good practices developed and implemented at the national level can be a productive starting point to explore potential for harmonisation, but also innovative policy uses.

Whether this happens through top-down or bottom-up mechanisms, there is a need to explore pathways towards greater harmonisation and coordination across Member States. In this context, as part of the MERGE project, we interviewed 19 staff members working in national statistical institutions (NSIs), government bodies or inter-governmental organisations in 10 countries, covering a wide range of experiences with frameworks for measuring wellbeing and sustainable development. The interviews not only helped us uncover new challenges and provide greater detail on known ones but also shed light on promising developments and potential ways forward. The insights from the interviews were gathered in a discussion paper that was further unpacked during an online roundtable which brought together, NSI staff, MERGE consortium members, academics and other technical experts.

We found that developing national sustainable and inclusive wellbeing (SIW) frameworks depends strongly on political commitment, NSI leadership, and supportive conditions such as NSI autonomy, civil society engagement, funding and international guidance. Key barriers include limited resources and competing priorities, a lack of mandate and reporting obligations, data gaps and concerns about complexity. Maintaining the framework over time requires a perceived political neutrality associated with policy relevance, legal embedding,

and public trust in the data. Despite a still relatively modest uptake in policymaking, we identified promising examples of best practice in terms of using these frameworks to guide decision-making and public debate. Countries continue to experience data gaps notably in environmental, distributional, and subjective data. Many NSIs lack the mandate and resources to launch new surveys and the establishment of a SIW framework rarely leads to new collection efforts. Despite these remaining data gaps, some NSIs are also experimenting with innovative approaches, for example by developing new indicators, collecting data from new sources, or designing subnational dashboards.

While the interviews and the roundtable covered a wide range of topics, it is worth highlighting the findings related to harmonisation. Interviewees generally regarded the harmonisation of indicators as important for comparability and credibility, while considering the harmonisation of frameworks as less essential. Many countries prefer to define their own national framework but populate it with internationally comparable indicators. In one of the interviewee's own words: "standardising the coats, not the coat rack". Greater harmonisation of frameworks was however deemed necessary for the creation of indices which combine multiple indicators. Concerning specific indicators, there was broad consensus that harmonisation is a positive development. However, several NSIs expressed reservations, particularly in relation to breaking time series, overlooking national perspectives, and challenges with demographic breakdowns. Some interviewees noted that within the EU, there is already a strong degree of harmonisation of indicators. When discussing specific indicators or topics where further harmonisation was desired, the following areas were mentioned: defining planetary boundaries, developing synthesis indicators based on national accounts, and addressing social relations and loneliness.

At the global level, NSIs looked to international organisations to provide frameworks that could be used or adapted. Interestingly, it was also clear that not all NSIs viewed harmonisation as a one-way process; rather, they recognised the importance of demonstrating the value of their own methods to an international audience, potentially informing practices in other countries. When asked which organisations they turn to for guidance, three main actors were cited: Eurostat (and the European Statistical System), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and the United Nations (UN). Overall, a model of partial harmonisation, with a core set of common indicators and national autonomy in choosing headline indicators and collecting complementary indicators, was the preferred path forward.

Recommendations for NSIs can be summarised as follows: i) build on international guidance and models while ensuring national relevance by engaging civil society and citizens in the

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development and implementation of the framework; ii) establish a strong institutional set-up that is resilient to political change, including but not limited to embedding it within legal frameworks; iii) maintain support for the framework through clear communication of its benefits and active collaboration with a broad range of stakeholders; and iv) ensure direct links to policy, for example by integrating the framework into budget processes, impact assessments, and other policy instruments.

Acronyms used

BES	Benessere Equo i Sostenibile (Equitable and Sustainable Wellbeing)
CES	Conference of European Statisticians
DG RTD	Directorate-General for Research and Innovation
ESSys	European Statistical System
EU-SILC	EU Statistics on Income & Living Conditions
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulation
HDI	Human Development Index
HLEG	High Level Expert Group on Beyond GDP
IANZ	Indicators Aotearoa New Zealand
IRN	Indicateurs de Richesse Nationale (Indicators of National Wealth)
JRC	Joint Research Centre
NSI	National Statistical Institute
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SIW	Sustainable and Inclusive Wellbeing
UN	United Nations

Definitions of key terms

Indicator: A single indicator, measuring a specific real-world phenomenon with an easily interpretable unit, e.g. CO2 emissions, or responses to a specific survey question.

Dashboard: A set of indicators presented together to measure an overall broad concept (such as SIW). In the case of a pure dashboard, indicators are not combined into indices (see definition of index below).

Domain: An aspect of life, society or the environment, which is often measured by multiple indicators. Examples of domains include health, governance, or natural capital.

Dimension: One of the three dimensions that comprise SIW – sustainability, inclusiveness and wellbeing.

Index: Indices combine multiple indicators into a single number to provide an overall assessment of a broader phenomenon. Typically, indices do not have interpretable units, given that the indicators that are used to create them have different units. Examples include the Human Development Index or the PIBien-Etre Index in Luxembourg.

Framework: An approach to bringing together multiple indicators from multiple sources to measure an overall broad concept (such as SIW). Indices and dashboards can both be types of frameworks.

2. Context

2.1 The limits of GDP

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has long been regarded as the principal benchmark for assessing economic progress. However, although GDP is correlated with many aspects of wellbeing, it only provides a narrow perspective on the success or progress of a society. While GDP provides an overview of the market value of goods and services produced within a national economy, it offers a limited picture of societal wellbeing, wellbeing inequalities and the sustainability of wellbeing going forward. It also ignores key drivers of human and societal development, such as non-monetary production (e.g., unpaid childcare, volunteerism), and counts every expenditure as positive, including economic activities that are detrimental to wellbeing, such as defence expenditures or those contributing to environmental degradation (Giannetti et al., 2015).

Over the past decades, policymakers, academics and civil society organisations have increasingly emphasised the need for a broader and more inclusive set of indicators to better reflect the economic, social, and environmental dimensions of progress, and inform decisions and policies.

2.2 Early international efforts

Since the end of the 20th century, several initiatives have attempted to complement GDP with alternative metrics. For example, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) or the Human Development Index (HDI) have been developed, adopted, and monitored across

the globe for several decades to overcome some of the limitations of GDP.

In 2008, the French Government created the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress to review the available statistical information about the economy and society and examine how progress could be measured. This led to the Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi Commission report, which summarised the limits of GDP and assessed the feasibility and needs for developing alternative metrics to assess societal progress.

Building on this momentum, in 2011, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) launched its Better Life Index and the How's Life reports to measure and assess wellbeing across countries.

In Europe, following the 2009 Commission Communication *GDP and beyond: measuring progress in a changing world*, the work of the European Union's statistical office, Eurostat, was central in advancing measurement Beyond GDP. Eurostat took the lead in developing new statistical frameworks that better reflect progress on wellbeing, coordinating efforts to develop a Quality-of-Life Framework and an EU-specific SDG framework, leading to new data collection as part of the EU Statistics on Income & Living Conditions (EU-SILC) survey.

2.3 Renewed efforts since the UN Common Agenda

In the 2021 report, Our Common Agenda, and the follow-up policy brief on Beyond GDP, the United Nations (UN) Secretary General reaffirmed the need for moving beyond GDP. In September 2024, UN Member States committed to the Pact for the Future to develop "a framework on measures of progress on sustainable development to complement and go beyond gross domestic product". A High-Level Expert Group (HLEG) was set up, with the mission to propose a set of 10 to 20 headline indicators in 2026 to facilitate the global coordinated move towards beyond GDP measurement.

The interim report of the HLEG adopts the increasingly popular distinction between three key dimensions: wellbeing, equity and inclusion, and sustainability (UN High Level Expert Group on Beyond GDP, 2025). This reflects the convergence of the Beyond GDP topic towards the overarching goal of sustainable and inclusive wellbeing to ensure the wellbeing of all people of current and future generations, and of the planet (Rum et al., 2024).

In the EU, these efforts have also been progressing steadily in the last few years. After the publication of the 2020 Strategic Foresight Report of the European Commission, which recognised the need for complementary indicators to GDP, the Commission set up an inter-

service working group to develop a multidimensional dashboard using 50 existing indicators. This dashboard was published by the Joint Research Centre (JRC) in 2025 (EC: JRC, 2025). Meanwhile, in 2024, a research report commissioned by DG RTD introduced a proposal for supplementing GDP with just three headline indicators (Charveriat et al., 2024).

2.4 Progress in national statistical institutes

The work of national statistical institutes (NSIs) and their statisticians is key to operationalising the Beyond GDP and wellbeing frameworks and for the success of this agenda at the national level. In the quest to broaden the understanding of progress, statisticians provide the technical expertise to ensure that concepts such as wellbeing or sustainability are translated from theoretical goals to measurable data. NSIs define national indicators, ensure the data quality, and produce insights that can inform policymaking.

As of 2024, the OECD estimates that two-thirds of OECD countries have developed national frameworks, development plans or surveys with a focus on wellbeing (OECD WISE, 2024). These efforts, which NSIs often play a central role in developing and maintaining, demonstrate the commitment to integrating wellbeing metrics into public policy and national development strategies. National statisticians also play a key role in international collaboration. Through their involvement in expert groups, task forces and networks, for example, in the Conference of European Statisticians (CES), they contribute to knowledge exchange on best national practices, the improvement of methodologies, and data harmonisation across countries.

In the context of the UN process to reach an international consensus on Beyond GDP indicators, the MERGE project reached out to national experts across the EU and beyond, to better understand the current landscape for measuring sustainable development and wellbeing across the EU and the challenges and opportunities for the collection, harmonisation, and coordination on wellbeing, beyond GDP, and sustainability indicators.

2.5 From Beyond GDP to Sustainable & Inclusive Wellbeing

Historically, the agenda to develop new indicators to replace or complement GDP has had different labels. The term Beyond GDP has been used by academics, think tanks, the European Commission and the UN HLEG. The phrase used in the original Beyond GDP conference organised by the European Parliament in 2007 was “indicators that are as clear and

appealing as GDP, but more inclusive of environmental and social aspects of progress".[1] Implied in this definition is that the indicators are in some way intended to measure societal progress (otherwise any 'clear and appealing' indicator that measures something environmental or social could be considered "beyond GDP").

The working definition of Beyond GDP used in the European research project BRAINPOoL was indicators "proposed as being necessary and central to the measurement of societal progress, in a broad sense" (Hak et al., 2012, pg. 94). This definition is noteworthy in centring the intention behind a framework, rather than any formal criteria in terms of the indicators included. The UN's Common Agenda briefing (UN, 2023) elaborates that the aim of the Beyond GDP agenda (and therefore of any Beyond GDP framework) is to overcome GDP's shortcomings in decision-making. In that sense, Beyond GDP frameworks can be seen as those that are *proposed as being necessary and central to the measurement of how a society is doing, with the specific intention of addressing the shortcomings of GDP.*

Recently, there has been an emerging consensus, supported by MERGE, to move towards adopting the term "sustainable and inclusive wellbeing" (e.g., Costanza et al. 2024). This framing has the advantage of defining what we *want* to measure, rather than solely critiquing the current focus on GDP. Furthermore, it clarifies the three dimensions upon which consensus is developing. In this report, we will refer to SIW frameworks, which we define as *cohesive measurement frameworks incorporating data from multiple sources to assess sustainability, inclusivity and wellbeing so as to provide an accessible one-stop overview of a given society's ability to deliver wellbeing for all - now and in the future.* Although not all the frameworks we reviewed explicitly define themselves as SIW frameworks, they all fit this working definition.

In the selection of interviewees and the framing of questions, we had to decide whether SDG frameworks could be considered to be Beyond GDP frameworks or indeed SIW frameworks.

With regard to the first question, the SDGs were not initially framed with explicitly 'Beyond GDP' intentions, although they have retroactively been considered to be a Beyond GDP framework (Rum et al., 2024). Indeed, in some ways, they can be considered the most influential Beyond GDP framework to date.

Having said that, it could be argued that SDGs do not really offer a credible Beyond GDP framework because they still prioritise economic growth. Eisenmenger et al (2020) note that they shy away from using absolute measures for sustainability (preferring efficiency

[1] https://www.beyond-gdp.eu/background.html

measures). They also do not consider the SDGs to have transformational power to really go beyond GDP (Eisenmenger et al, 2020). This seems an accurate assessment, given that GDP still dominates policymaking despite the SDGs being in use for a decade (Hayden & Dasilva, 2022).

The UN's new HLEG on Beyond GDP demonstrates that, from their perspective, the SDGs have not delivered as an effective Beyond GDP framework, and that more work is required.

Whether the SDGs are a Beyond GDP framework or not, we do not consider them to be an SIW framework, for the following reasons:

- The SDGs were decided through political negotiations and compromise. As such, they lack a cohesive conceptual framework, defining the societal goal as sustainable and inclusive wellbeing (Vandemoortele, 2018).
- They focus on mid-term targets (2030), whereas SIW frameworks are intended to assess outcomes which are likely to be important goals over the long term.

The JRC also draws a distinction between 'wellbeing' frameworks and SDG frameworks (EC: JRC 2024).

As such, where we came across SDG frameworks in this research task, we considered them as a source of potential learning, but not as a final goal.

3. Process

Our aim with this research is to accelerate and enhance the development of SIW frameworks that influence policy, by gathering the experiences and perspectives of NSI staff and other people responsible for developing SIW frameworks, exchanging learnings and making recommendations. By understanding the perspectives of staff at NSIs in particular, but also at other public bodies that are responsible for SIW frameworks, we hope to be able to make recommendations to inform future steps taken by key actors, including NSIs, national policymakers, international organisations and researchers. Harmonisation and coordination across EU members states have been previously identified as a key challenge (Hoekstra, 2019; Kaufmann et al, 2023), and as such shaped our key lines of questioning. However, we also wanted to understand NSI staff perspectives on other challenges, including data collection, communication and policy, as well as learn about their latest innovations and future ambitions.

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This aim was addressed with a three-stage process. First, we carried out a series of semi-structured interviews with 19 experts across 10 countries (and one international organisation). Next, we prepared a discussion paper based on the findings. Finally, we organised a roundtable which was attended by 18 participants (including a mix of people who we had interviewed, other NSI staff, two academics and MERGE members). The aims of the roundtable were to share and refine preliminary findings and explore possible recommendations.

This report is based on the aforementioned discussion paper as its starting point, with additions based on the roundtable.

3.1 Interviews

Between September and November 2025, we interviewed 19 experts in 9 countries and one international organisation, including:

- 14 working in NSIs
- 4 working in other government bodies
- 1 working in an international organisation (OECD)

The countries covered include Austria, Croatia, Finland, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Poland (see Figure 1). These countries were chosen to cover different regions of Europe and to reflect different levels of framework development (see below). New Zealand was included to provide one perspective from outside of the EU. Most of the interviewees in NSI and other government bodies were approached because of their experience with indicator frameworks and related policy processes. We also

sought to speak to people with various levels of seniority and technical expertise.

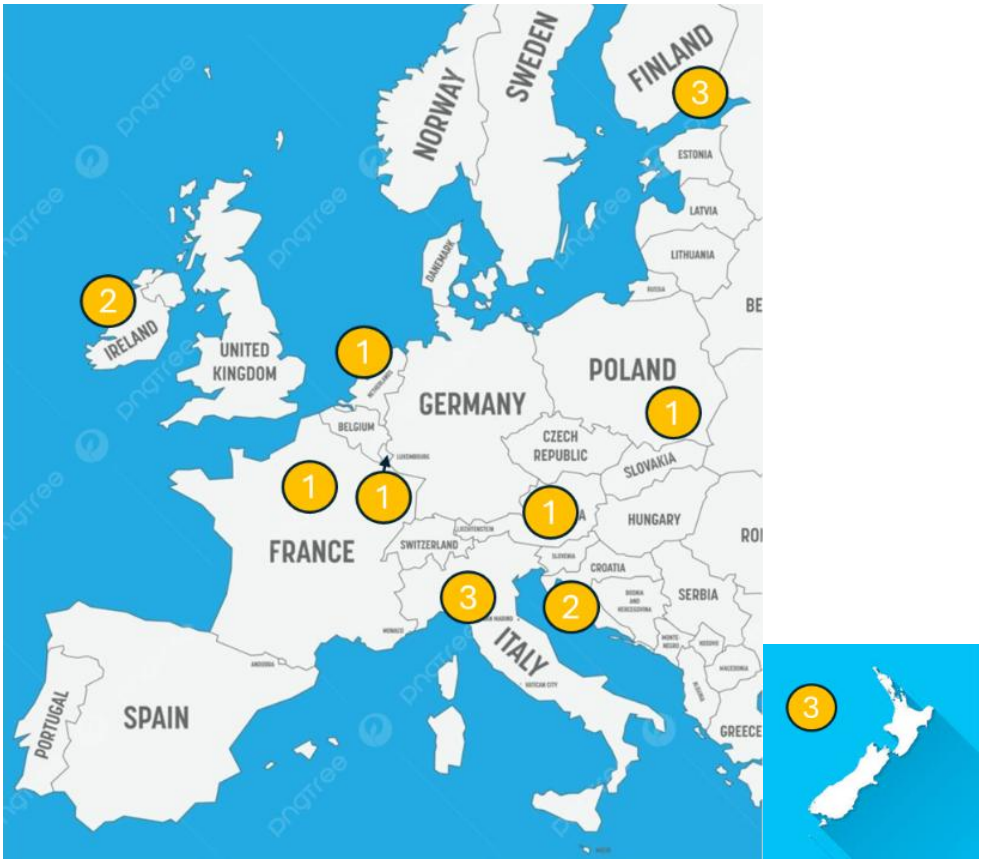

Figure 1: Number of interviewees representing institutions from each country

Interviewees were identified through a combination of channels, including MERGE's existing networks, approaching people working on cross-national projects (such as the UNECE Guidelines on the measurement of wellbeing), and public channels (i.e. NSI websites).

Interviewees were sent a concept note which described the aim of the interviews as "gaining an understanding of how wellbeing, sustainability and Beyond GDP indicators are collected and what is limiting harmonisation and greater data collection". Interviews considered both the individual indicators and the SIW frameworks used by NSIs and other public bodies.

Based on a recent review in the 2024 How's Life? report, mapping OECD countries that have developed national frameworks, development plans or surveys with a wellbeing focus (OECD WISE, 2024, see Figure 2), we developed a categorical framework for our analysis. What the OECD qualifies as a framework with a wellbeing focus, we will refer to as a SIW framework going forward. From there, we distinguish between countries that:

1. Have no framework with a wellbeing focus (i.e. no SIW framework).
2. Have a measurement framework, but one that is not formally embedded in policy-making processes

3. Have a framework and intended policy use

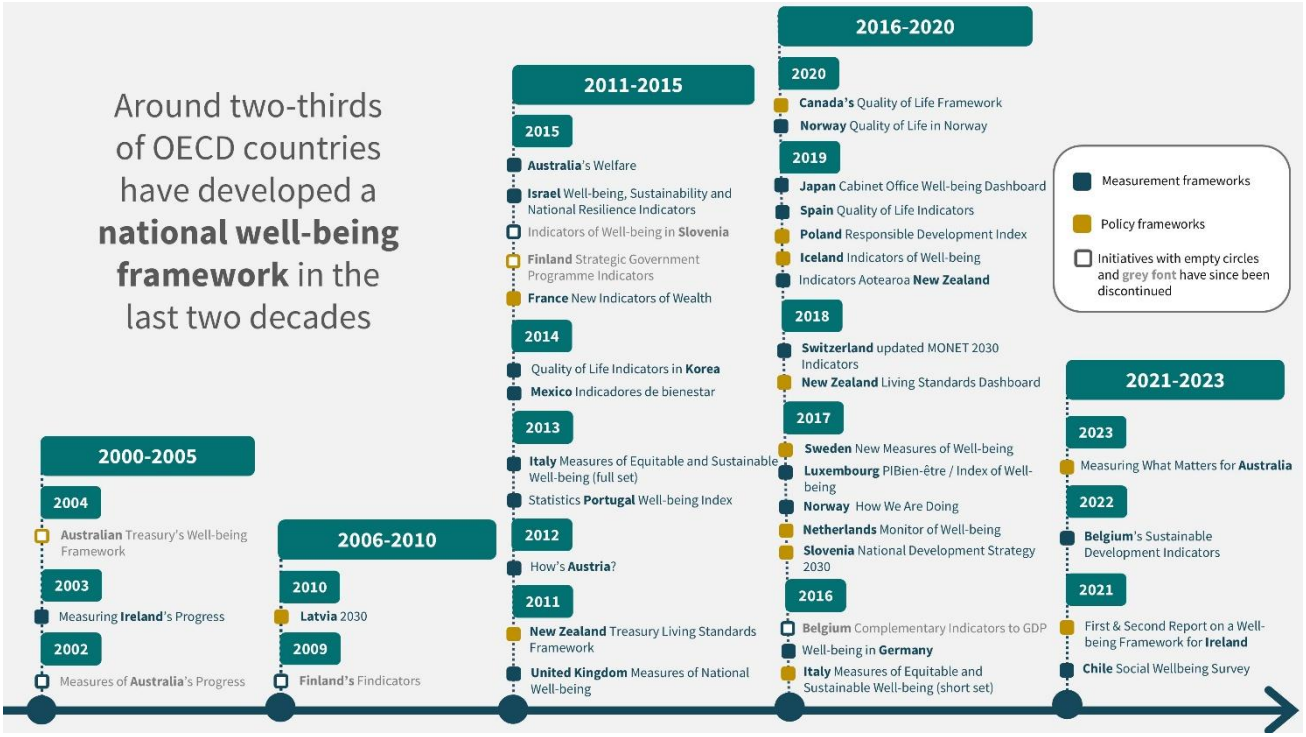

Figure 2: OECD countries with SIW frameworks (OECD WISE 2024, reproduced with permission of OECD)

Although we indeed focused on countries which have SIW frameworks, we included a few countries without them to better understand why they have not developed one. In those countries, we spoke to staff responsible for SDG frameworks.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted online using Teams (with the exception of one interviewee, who participated by responding to a series of questions by email), with recordings used to ensure complete information capture. A grounded approach was taken to coding, developing a categorisation system based on what interviewees said. Interviews were conducted in compliance with GDPR. Interviewees were assured confidentiality, although most (but not all) indicated on their consent forms that they were happy with responses being attributed to their country or, indeed, institution.

3.2 Roundtable

The roundtable brought together 18 participants, including 7 people whom we had interviewed in the previous phase of work, 2 additional experts working in NSIs, 2 academics conducting similar projects to ours, and 7 people involved in the MERGE consortium. Participants had access to the discussion paper beforehand.

The roundtable took place online on 20th November 2025. The MERGE consortium presented the key findings of the interviews, including a set of recommendations. We also benefited from input from two research projects that have addressed, or are addressing, similar research questions. First, the European Research Council (ERC) project CLIMGROW has completed a task looking at the views of indicator producers on the design and influence of Beyond GDP metrics – the lead of this task was invited to the roundtable to present their findings. Second, we heard from a PhD student who is exploring the perceived barriers and enablers in the implementation of wellbeing frameworks.

After the presentations, breakout groups focused on discussing the following questions, which had emerged from the interviews:

- Enablers and challenges to developing and sustaining indicator frameworks
- Addressing the complexity of sustainable and inclusive wellbeing frameworks
- Areas of priority for harmonisation

4. Findings

We covered seven key topics in the interviews:

1. Framework existence and staffing
2. Framework development
3. Maintaining frameworks
4. Data challenges and innovations
5. Harmonisation and inter-country learning
6. Policy use
7. Complexity & communication

4.1 Existence of framework and staffing

Frameworks that could be considered SIW frameworks exist in seven out of the ten countries we covered (Finland, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and New Zealand), with the remaining three countries (Austria, Croatia and Poland) having SDG frameworks. In two countries, two simultaneous frameworks could be identified (France and New Zealand). In France, this included both the *Indicateurs de Richesse Nationale (IRN)* and the work on augmented national accounts (see section 4.7 for more on this). In New

Zealand, the two frameworks were the Indicators Aotearoa New Zealand (IANZ) and the Living Standards Framework. Of the nine frameworks discussed, five have, to some extent, been integrated into policy, whereas four are best described as purely measurement frameworks.

Staffing for frameworks was hard to assess precisely. In all countries with frameworks, we were able to identify someone whose primary duties included developing the SIW framework. In many cases, however, there was no single unit responsible for these frameworks. Instead, expertise was pulled from different sections within organisations. Some NSIs seemed to have more resources available than others, with the Netherlands and France being amongst the best resourced, with several staff devoted to the work on wellbeing or Beyond GDP.

4.2 Framework development

4.2.1 Framework development process

The impetus for creating a framework often came from **national political decisions or processes**, for example, a Parliamentary Committee or a change in government. In Finland, the Economy of Wellbeing process that was set up as part of its EU Council Presidency was important. In France, the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress was a key driving factor for initial work.

> *"[Wellbeing economy] was the key theme of the Finnish EU Presidency in 2019, so … that's when Finland really started to work publicly on wellbeing economy."*

In a couple of countries, the initial impetus could be identified within NSIs themselves, typically, from **entrepreneurial senior staff**. This impulse, however, required a connection to policy processes (e.g., a Parliamentary Committee) to lead to an established framework.

The relevance of **international developments** can also be seen in the instigation of some initiatives. One interviewee talked about how the OECD Forum in Palermo in 2004 set off thoughts within their NSI about the importance of new indicators. In this country, the Stiglitz Commission and high level engagement with the agenda were also important and inspiring drivers. More formal international developments, in particular Eurostat requirements, were also important in the development of SDG frameworks.

International recommendations (particularly the OECD wellbeing framework) were also important and cited by many interviewees as a key first step. Other international reference

points were the recommendations of the Conference of European Statisticians and the World Health Organization.

Several countries mentioned conducting **consultation or stakeholder processes**, typically including civil society or community groups, but also academics. In Finland, the desire to consult with citizens more broadly was mentioned, but budget and time constraints prevented the country from following that route.

4.2.2 Supportive factors

Based on the interviews, the following factors were identified as facilitating the creation of a framework:

- **National political commitment** is extremely valuable, as it provides an official mandate, which can help enhance direction, legitimacy and resources for the development of a wellbeing framework. An example comes from the Netherlands, where political engagement from a Parliamentary Committee investigating the measurement of wellbeing led to a request for Statistics Netherlands to develop the Monitor of Wellbeing to inform parliamentary debates about the effectiveness of governance policy (Horlings & Smits, 2019).

  "There was a temporary Parliamentary Committee... one of its recommendations was for the government to ask Statistics Netherlands to produce a monitor of wellbeing."

  The process was similar in Luxembourg. In France, the recommendations from the influential Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi Commission were born from a proposal from then French President Nicolas Sarkozy**.** This momentum led to the adoption of Law 2015-411 of April 13, 2015, which calls for the inclusion of new indicators of wealth, the IRN, in the assessment and formulation of public policies (INSEE, 2025).

  However, it is worth noting that sometimes political commitment only comes *after* initial work by NSIs (for example, in New Zealand with IANZ).

- **International momentum**, including European momentum, was important in inspiring and justifying measurement frameworks (a conclusion that was particularly strong in the roundtable). International decisions can, for example, legitimate statistics offices developing experimental methods such as synthetic indicators or using subjective measures. One interviewee in a country with no existing framework suggested that their country would only be likely to develop a framework if clear guidelines emerged from important international organisations (e.g., the UN or the European Commission).

- **Individual leadership** within the NSI can also be a key component for initiating the process. In three countries with well-developed frameworks, individual leadership within the NSI was instrumental.

  "The original reason is that because after Enrico Giovannini started the work at the OECD, he became President of ISTAT. Together with the fact that we had a Director of Social Statistics who … has always been very committed"

- **Role of independent public bodies**. A few NSI staff noted the autonomy that the NSI has in defining its work plan as an enabler. Such autonomy can create a space for experimentation, driving the development of innovative methods that can later be integrated into official statistics. In other cases, we noted the importance of *other* independent public institutions in developing the frameworks, namely the Institute for Health and Welfare in Finland and the National Economic and Social Council in Ireland. Often having an advisory or consultation role to the government, these bodies have relative independence from the government and flexibility to experiment. They can offer a great understanding of policy issues and the outcomes considered in wellbeing frameworks.

- **Input from civil society/academics.** In several countries, input from non-government actors was seen as important for establishing frameworks.

  "Democratic participation is at the heart of wellbeing economy"

  In France, the NSI's programme is informed by a Council which includes civil society actors. This Council contributed to pushing forward the Beyond GDP initiatives, including the establishment of the law requiring data collection. In Italy, two interviewees noted that collaboration with social partners and academics has been crucial in creating traction for the *Benessere Equo i Sostenibile* (BES). Academics bring the conceptual and methodological basis and rationale for measuring wellbeing and ensure that frameworks are grounded in the latest evidence from the scientific field. The participation of civil society organisations can mobilise demand for such a framework, provide them with greater legitimacy and connect them with real-world concerns. However, it is important that this participation is seen as genuine, and not simply a box-ticking exercise.

- **Funding, notably EU funding.** Under the Single Market Programme, Eurostat provides financial support to national statistical authorities to improve the collection and dissemination of European statistics (European Commission, n.d.). Two countries mentioned using these grants and the resources allocated under the EU Recovery

and Resilience programme to develop or improve their monitoring frameworks.

- **Subjective measures.** One interviewee referred to the added value that subjective measures bring, noting how they resonate with the political mood, which stresses the importance of individual perspectives. It seems that the inclusion of subjective measures in wellbeing frameworks may have added to their perceived value amongst decision-makers.

  "[subjective measurement] emerged as something quite important, quite interesting and … politically was very attuned to the mood of public opinion".

- **Conceptual framework.** This last point was raised in the roundtable, with participants highlighting the value of a coherent conceptual framework around which to develop measurement.

4.2.3 Hindering factors

We identified hindering factors predominantly from interviews with NSIs that do *not* currently have an SIW framework, but also from the challenges experienced by other NSIs and international organisations in developing such frameworks.

- **Costs**. Unsurprisingly, resources were mentioned as a key hindering factor in developing a framework. Even if countries rely on existing data and do not generate new data collection, there are still costs associated with human resources, coordination costs, capacity building, IT capacities, communication and sometimes public consultations. In the roundtable, this was identified as by far the most important challenge, preventing data collection and limiting the possibilities for disaggregation.

- **Lack of mandate**. The absence of wellbeing frameworks was also attributed to a lack of mandate or political interest, even in cases in which the wellbeing data for developing the framework already existed (and therefore the cost for producing such a framework would be relatively small). This was sometimes related to insufficient connection to a specific political institution or ministry that felt ownership of the topic. Conversely, there is a potential risk, when wellbeing is placed into a specific policy area, such as health or social cohesion, that its multidimensionality is not taken into account. In particular, it is easy for economic and environmental aspects of SIW to be sidelined if it is seen as purely a social agenda.

  "Need some ministry that is responsible for wellbeing"

- **Focus on core statistics**. Related to this was the message that NSIs (particularly if they face resource constraints) focus on collecting what they *need* to collect, as per

regulation or government demands.

"We concentrate on satisfying our legal obligations with the European Commission."

"If you have people to spare to [work on wellbeing], it's ok. If you don't you will … work on surveys, you have to produce"

The European Statistical System (ESSys) was attributed an important role here; if it were to mandate the production of an SIW framework, this would have a very important impact. In one case, we heard how a country chose to focus on an SDG framework because this was expected as part of the Voluntary National Review to the United Nations.

- **Complexity**. For some actors, Beyond GDP frameworks were seen as too complicated. This is a point to which we will return in section 4.7.

  "GDP is one number. That's the beauty of it."

In the roundtable, the following additional factors were highlighted:

- **Data gaps (environmental data).** Given the lack of resources for collecting new data, NSIs often focus on existing data in developing frameworks. Gaps were particularly problematic in relation to environmental data.
- **Lack of expertise.** There was a perception that statisticians in NSIs sometimes lack the expertise required to develop SIW frameworks.
- **Transition period**. A perception that there have been lots of recent innovations in data collection in relation to SIW frameworks, and so some NSIs are waiting to see whether these innovations will prove robust before integrating them into formal frameworks.

4.3 Maintaining a framework

In section 4.2, we reviewed factors that lead to (or hinder) the creation of a framework. Here, we consider factors that ensure/prevent their continuation, particularly in the context of budget cuts and changing political priorities. Some of the factors discussed here overlap with those mentioned in section 4.2.

4.3.1 Supportive factors

- **Political neutrality**. Perceived political neutrality was the most commonly

cited positive factor. The institutional set-up of the framework and political discussions around it probably play a role in determining this perceived neutrality. In contrast, frameworks housed in independent bodies such as NSIs are more resistant to changes in government.

- **NSI autonomy**. Related to that is the autonomy of the NSI. Interviewees stressed the importance of NSIs having some control over their own work plans.
- **Legal framework**. In Italy, BES is enshrined in law. However, this is not a guarantee that a framework will remain relevant. In France, the IRN also have a legal framework, but they appear to play a limited role in policy at the moment.

  "They maintain this dashboard. But it is not at all used, either by politicians, or the ones that prepare public policies, or the media."

- **Policy relevance**. NSIs have sought to ensure that the framework is relevant for policymakers. Policy use and being able to demonstrate that use are important resilience factors. Multidimensionality ensures resonance across political divides, whilst the creation of sub-national (regional or municipal) data ensures interest at those levels even when national level interest might decline. One interviewee highlighted how their framework links clearly to municipal functions, enhancing the municipal level interest. Additionally, we heard that there is political interest in using the framework as an attractive way to communicate with the public.
- **Public and civil society interest**. External interest in SIW frameworks can also make it harder for new governments to axe measurement programmes. For example, government use of the Living Standards Framework in New Zealand might have been better maintained had there been greater citizen engagement in its creation, as this could have given citizens a greater sense of ownership (Hughes, 2023).[2]
- **Quality, trustworthiness and credibility**. Transparency, methodological rigour, independence and scientific credibility were all mentioned as factors sustaining measurement frameworks. In the roundtable, the trustworthiness of NSI data in the eyes of the public was specifically highlighted as important. This was related to the idea that citizens should be able to see themselves in the data communicated. Indicators that do not resonate with lived experience can lead to distrust.
- **European regulation**. The European Statistical System regulation created a shared legal basis for producing statistics in the EU, enhances coordination and

[2] Note that this last point did not emerge from interviews, but subsequent discussions with stakeholders.

harmonisation and supports capacity building in the EU. The interviewees in New Zealand noted that European Commission laws help to stabilise developments in Europe, in a way that countries outside of Europe do not have.

4.3.2 Hindering factors

- Just as political neutrality was the most cited way to maintain a framework, **political change** was seen as the biggest problem for existing frameworks, with new governments having new priorities. It was suggested that **politicised** frameworks, i.e., those that had a closer connection to previous governments, were more vulnerable than those that are seen as neutral and technical. In this way, political support for a framework can be seen as double-edged – important in getting adoption, but a liability in the face of political change. The aim of striving for cross-party consensus to avoid this problem is becoming increasingly utopian, given the growing polarisation and fragmentation of politics.

  "When the government changes, they have different aspects they are looking for. That's why it's a bit tricky"

- Another factor appears to be the **ascendance of the SDGs**. Austria's NSI was an early adopter of the OECD wellbeing framework in 2012, only to later prioritise the measurement of SDGs over maintaining its SIW framework as a separate entity (How's Life in Austria). This change was because of the growing importance of SDGs concomitant with an apparent decline in Beyond GDP framing.

- **Limited use**. A couple of interviews suggested that limited use of frameworks leaves them vulnerable to being dropped. This highlights the importance of ensuring that measurement efforts are developed in tandem with policy tools and governance frameworks for using them. Having said that, once measurement frameworks become linked to policies, this does mean that they are more likely to come under attack from political actors who oppose those policies. In other words, a framework that has no policy implications may be seen as less controversial.

4.4 Data collection and innovations

Measurement frameworks require data to populate them. We asked interviewees several questions about data, including the following:

1. Whether new frameworks led to new data

2. Barriers to better data
3. On-going innovations
4. Future ambitions for addressing data gaps

4.4.1 Role of new frameworks in leading to new data

New frameworks have the potential to lead NSIs to collect new data. For example, the Well-being framework developed by the UK NSI in 2011 led to the inclusion of four subjective wellbeing questions in the large-scale Annual Population Survey. We sought to explore whether this phenomenon occurred in other contexts.

Generally, we found that the **development of national frameworks did not lead to new data collection** – we heard this from at least five countries.

This finding can be understood in two ways. On the one hand, it indicates that national SIW frameworks alone seem to be insufficient to trigger budget allocation to collect more data. When there was new data collection following the creation of a new framework, this was funded by a Eurostat grant. In other cases, plans were set in motion for new data collection, but they either were abandoned due to a change of government or are still pending.

On the other hand, this does highlight that most of the data required to populate SIW frameworks is already collected by NSIs, at least within the EU. In other words, setting an SIW framework, within the EU context, can often be done using existing data collection.

Having said that, there is clear evidence of international frameworks such as the **OECD wellbeing framework** influencing data collection. For example, according to Mahoney (2023), 80% of OECD countries collected data on subjective wellbeing data at least annually in that year, a huge transformation since the OECD first published its wellbeing framework (in 2011) and *Guidelines on Measuring Subjective Wellbeing* (OECD 2013). Of course, there are many factors which explain this increase, but the clear guidelines by the OECD, and the inclusion of questions on subjective wellbeing in EU-SILC clearly played a key role. A similar process has taken place with a question on trust in other people, which was included in the OECD Guidelines on Measuring Trust (OECD 2017), and then subsequently included in EU-SILC. In that sense, it might be that NSIs in the EU often do not feel substantial pressure from their own frameworks to collect new data, because innovation comes through EU processes such as EU-SILC.

4.4.2 Barriers to better quality data

As we have noted, most of the countries we interviewed do have SIW frameworks. However, there is always potential for *better* or *more* data, which we explored with

interviewees. In particular, we tried to identify what prevents them from collecting a) more granular data, b) higher frequency, and c) new variables. Four barriers were mentioned (either in the interviews or at the roundtable):

- **Resources**. Surveys were identified as costly, particularly detailed surveys such as time use surveys or household expenditure surveys. This restricts the possibility of increased frequency. It also reduces the likelihood of conducting surveys at all in those countries where much data can be gathered from registers. Surprisingly, sometimes resource constraints also held back more modest ambitions. For example, one country reported having data required for regional breakdowns, but not having the resources to invest in *presenting* those breakdowns.
- **Quality of survey data.** One interviewee was concerned about the decline in response rates of surveys. Of particular concern is that certain demographics don't respond (e.g., young men), making it harder to collect representative samples.
- **Regulation.** In France, regulations were mentioned as a barrier. Data from third parties (e.g., private banks or Google) can only be used once a law is passed, which means the data provider cannot unilaterally hold back the data. This adds an extra hurdle to the process of integrating third-party data, although the interviewee believed this is the right approach, as it ensures stability and consistency once the legal steps have been taken.
- **Access to administrative data.** NSIs do not always have access to administrative data that could be used in SIW frameworks.

4.4.3 On-going innovation

We took the opportunity to map out the landscape of innovation across NSIs, with a view to sharing ideas and possibly developing coordination strategies.

With regard to specific indicators or topics, the following areas of innovation were mentioned:

- Guidelines on measuring **subjective wellbeing**. The OECD has published updated guidelines (OECD, 2025a).
- Measures of **social relations** (e.g., **loneliness**). The OECD has recently published a report on this topic (OECD, 2025b) and is currently fundraising to develop guidelines.
- Augmented national accounts, including adjustments for inequality and climate

change (see Figure 3), and the development of a "Real-Feel GDP" (France, see Figure 4).

- Access to green space (See OECD, 2025c)
- Evolution of inequality (Italy)

Figure 3: Net domestic product (NDP) and net savings (NS) adjustments for France
Source: INSEE - https://blog.insee.fr/what-can-we-learn-from-the-augmented-accounts/

Funded by the European Union in the framework of the Horizon Europe Research and Innovation Programme under grant agreement N° 101132524.

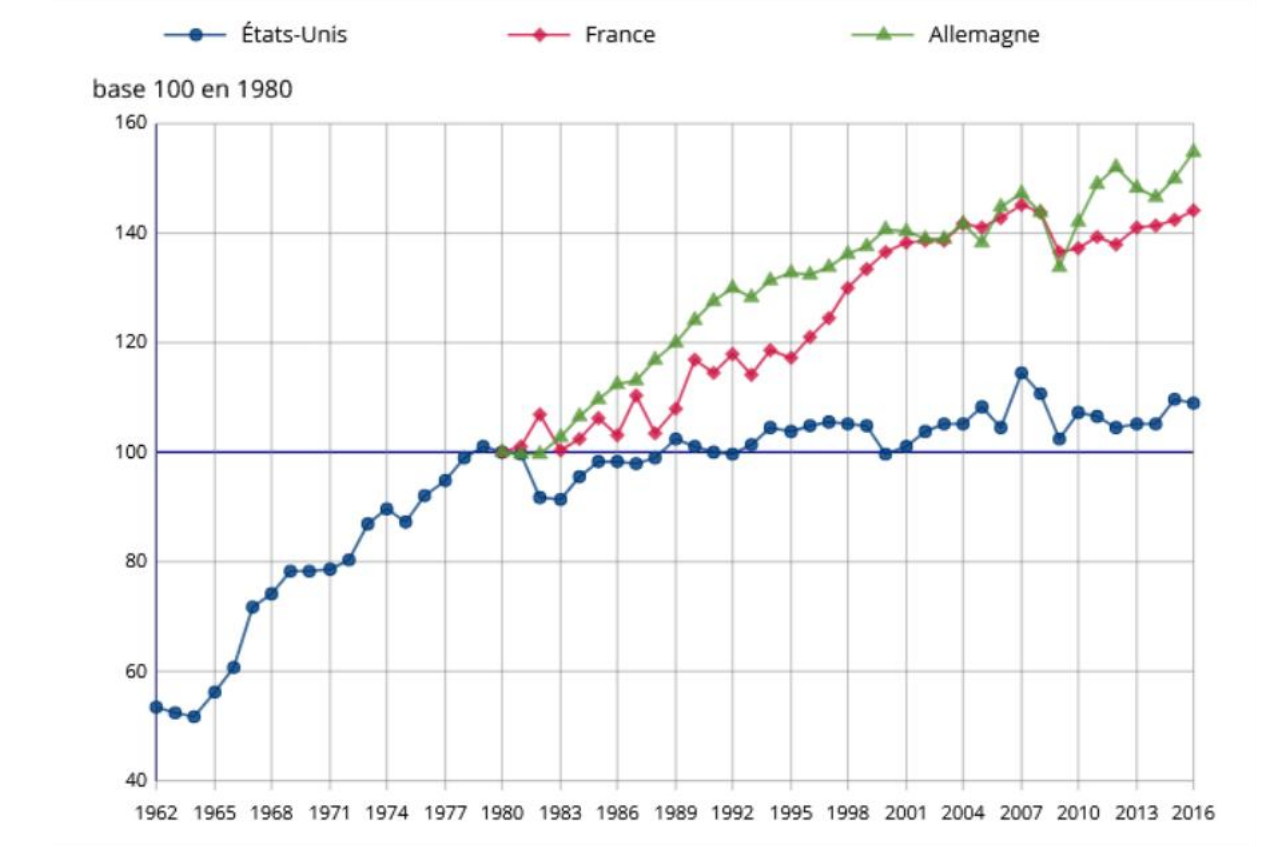

Figure 4: Development of "Real Feel GDP" in France, Germany and USA
Source: INSEE - https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/4797487

Other innovations were more related to data collection or analysis. A key development in NSIs at the moment is the move from traditional censuses every 10 years or so to **register-based censuses supplemented with rolling large-scale surveys**. These large-scale surveys present the opportunity to collect key variables at a vast scale. For example, in Italy, the survey will cover 1 million households annually. Italy is planning to include questions on subjective wellbeing, safety, and social relationships in this survey. Meanwhile, in Finland, predictive modelling is going to be used to link survey and register data.

In New Zealand, there is also set to be a large-scale survey to replace the census, and there will be a public consultation to identify topics to include. Interviews expressed hope that this will include subjective wellbeing, as in Italy.

Another area of innovation in data collection is the greater integration of administrative data and third-party data. Some of the innovative ideas we heard include:

- Using data from **shopping receipts** to inform household expenditure statistics (France)

- **Scraping social media** for data (OECD)
- Citizen Science initiatives**,** for example, to measure litter in public places (New Zealand)
- **Geospatial information,** for example, for data on sealed surface coverage, public transport coverage and access, public space, and biodiversity (Austria, Poland, see Figure 5 and the GUS experimental data portal)
- Using **algorithms to extract new variables** from existing databases (Netherlands)

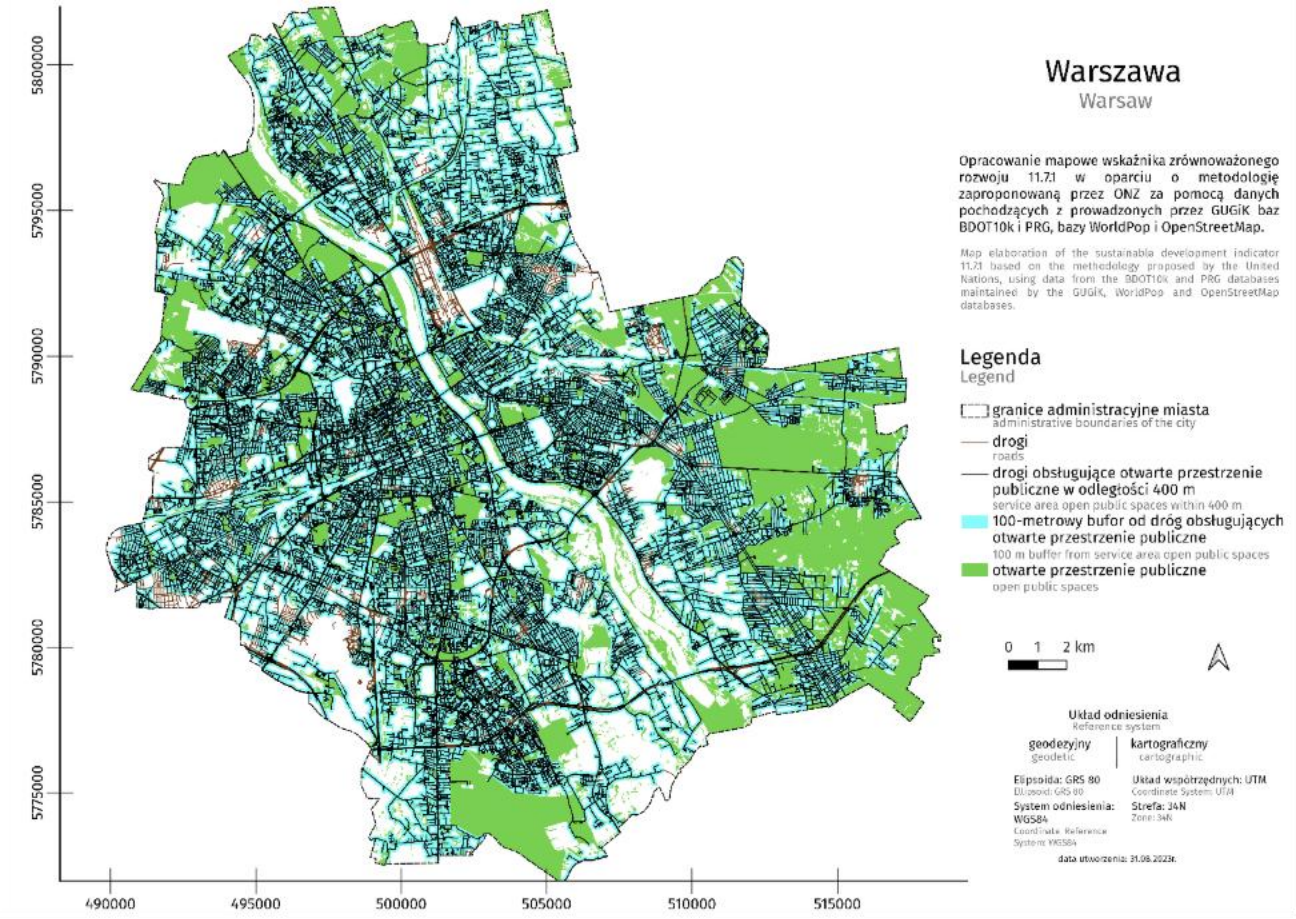

Figure 5: Map showing access to public open space in Warsaw. The roads displayed in black have access to public open space within 400m, those in ruddy brown do not.
Source: GUS, https://sdg.gov.pl/en/statistics_exp/11_7_1_exp/

Other areas of innovation mentioned included:

- **Machine learning for nowcasting** (OECD)
- **Municipal level versions** of frameworks (Italy, see Figure 6)

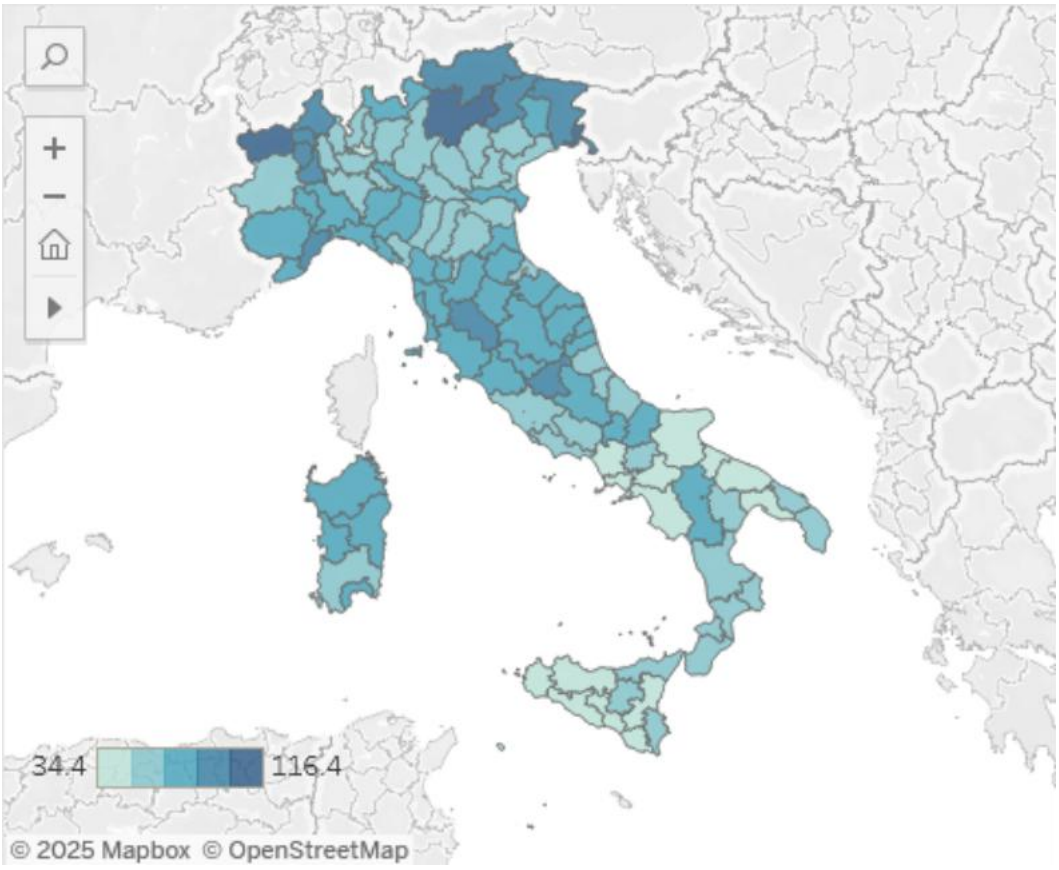

Figure 6: Representation of municipal level BES data, number of non-profit organisations per 10,000 inhabitants.
Source: ISTAT, https://public.tableau.com/app/profile/istat.istituto.nazionale.di.statistica/viz/BESTerritorio_06_2025/Provincia

4.4.4 Future ambitions for addressing data gaps

As well as asking interviewees what innovations they are already developing, we also asked them what innovations, or new data, they would wish for in the future. The following specific indicators and topics were mentioned:

- **Adjustment of GDP for health and social capital**. Work is already ongoing; for example, the JRC presented in the 2024 Strategic Foresight Report the results of a pilot methodology incorporating health and life expectancy into a beyond-GDP metric (Benczur et al, 2023).
- Further work on collecting **real-time ecological** data and quantifying **planetary boundaries** overshoot. The JRC has developed statistics to measure the extent to which planetary boundaries are being overshot by member states, but there is still work to be done to ensure that these are comprehensive, for example, including impacts associated with the consumption of services. There are also questions as to how to attribute responsibility for environmental impacts (e.g., to consumers vs.

producers vs. shareholders?).

- A multi-region input-output model-based version of **domestic material consumption** in raw material equivalent. This would require much better data from third countries such as the USA and China, which is not currently available.
- Better monitoring social wellbeing, for instance, with respect to **social boundaries** – i.e. at what levels of inequality do societies begin to malfunction? – and developing and harmonising metrics on **social relations and loneliness** or the meaningfulness or **social contribution of paid work**.
- **"Instantial" capital** – which the interviewee referred to as the ability for citizens to deal with public services and bureaucracies.
- Other specific data developments and areas for improvement included: food safety, child abuse, commuting patterns (using Google Maps data), and unpaid work.

As well as these specific topics, interviewees mentioned the following areas where they are looking for help:

- How to **communicate big data**
- How to deal with **complex data infrastructure**.
- Compendium of best practices within NSIs (e.g., dealing with data lakes, i.e., centralised repositories designed to store, process, and secure large amounts of structured, semi-structured, and unstructured data).

4.5 Harmonisation and cross-country learning

One of the key questions we set out to answer was the degree of interest in harmonisation and inter-country learning. The general impression was as follows: country interviewees considered **harmonisation of indicators important, but harmonisation of frameworks less so**. This shows NSIs' will to have flexibility in shaping the structure of their SIW frameworks to fit their national priorities and specificities.

A commonly suggested approach was to define the framework nationally and then use internationally comparable indicators to populate it. To paraphrase one of the interviewees, "We should seek to standardise the coats, but not the coat rack."

> *"It's useful for each jurisdiction … to develop its own framework with its own particular interests. But the more that you can compare consistently and across time*

[on] the fundamental indicators, the better really."

"We do find it's incredibly useful to put certain things in context of others … but I don't think the wellbeing framework will ever become a league table."

In New Zealand, the two distinct frameworks that were developed followed slightly different paths – one being initially driven more by international practice, whilst the other strove harder to be country-specific. Interestingly, in this case, the framework that had initially been shaped more by international practice was eventually revised to also be more country-specific.

These perspectives were echoed by the OECD, for which the purpose of developing a well-being framework was not to stipulate exactly *how* member countries should structure their frameworks, but rather to encourage the development of frameworks in general, and to provide a starting point for NSIs that are starting from scratch.

Having said that, one of the interviewees from an NSI with no framework did say that they looked to international organisations to define a framework that they could use. During the roundtable, participants recognised that, even though some level of national flexibility is desirable, having at least a harmonised set of headline indicators would be valuable for cross-country comparison. This was seen as particularly important for participants in favour of aggregating indicators into indices, so that comparisons of single numbers are possible. Harmonisation can also enhance the credibility of the data and the framework (as was seen with the international adoption of the SDG framework). For all of these reasons, the work of the UN HLEG developing a clearly defined, globally accepted set of indicators was seen as valuable.

When it comes to the specific indicators, there was a consensus that harmonisation was, all things being equal, a positive thing, but there were a couple of reservations which NSIs noted: **breaking time series and reflecting national perspectives**. Harmonisation in terms of the **demographic breakdowns** required (by Eurostat) was mentioned by one interviewee as undesirable, given that different countries have different demographic realities and relevant minorities.

Several interviewees considered that, within the EU, there is already a strong degree of harmonisation of indicators, particularly those that are regulated by the ESSys (e.g., EU-SILC). In one interview, we noticed a **lack of awareness of the importance of harmonising survey *methods*** to ensure data comparability. As highlighted by the OECD Guidelines on Subjective Wellbeing measurement, survey design, mode, and question order are all important to the harmonisation of data collection.

When it came to specific indicators or topics, where interviewees sought harmonisation, the following areas were mentioned: **defining planetary boundaries**, **synthesis indicators based on national accounts**, and **social relations and loneliness** (section 4.4.4 will list in more detail the data ambitions of interviewees, which could inform a broader research agenda).

Interestingly, it was also evident that not all NSIs see harmonisation as a unidirectional process, i.e. they also see value in **demonstrating the value of their methods to an international audience,** such that they might be used by other countries. NSI experts also saw a great opportunity in inter-country learning and even possible pooling and sharing of resources. For example, the UK Office for National Statistics work on developing the Open SDG, an open source, free-to-use platform for managing and publishing data and statistics related to the SDGs, now used in 30 countries, was mentioned as a form of good practice during the roundtable.

We asked interviewees which actors they look to for harmonisation. Three primary actors were mentioned: Eurostat (and the ESSys), the OECD and the UN.

- **Eurostat** was seen as a key actor in Europe, in defining the mandate for data collection, in securing agreement and commitment from Member States, and in determining how data should be collected, considering existing data regulations and funding opportunities. Eurostat's leadership was regarded as essential; as one interviewee noted, if Eurostat were to establish regulations for a wellbeing framework, it would ensure that their country implemented one.

  "If there are indicators that are not yet harmonised, the right way would be through Eurostat. There, the machine is ready. … If you try to harmonise in some other ways, there isn't the institutional structure."

- **The OECD** was mentioned by several interviewees as well, with reference made to the How's Life reports, the Guidelines on Subjective Wellbeing, the Working Party on Wellbeing and their work on recommendations for the measurement of loneliness.

- **The UN** was also mentioned. Two interviewees referred to the HLEG recommendations, one as a potential key factor in helping define a small set of headline indicators.

The point was made that authoritative international actors like those mentioned above can steer the direction on a political level to pick up the issue and help convince survey managers within NSIs to collect specific data. As such, they can therefore be allies for those within NSIs developing frameworks that need to be populated. However, while

international agreements can provide clarity for NSOs on what to monitor in priority, they can often reflect the lowest common denominator and omit some statistics considered to be important at the European level. Thus, a model of **partial harmonisation** was suggested: core indicators could be harmonised (e.g., those identified by UN HLEG), while countries retain flexibility to select additional indicators reflecting national priorities. Another partial harmonisation approach could be to adopt a standardised broad dataset, but to give flexibility for countries to make their own selection of headline indicators.

In both cases, harmonisation could leverage existing SDG data – that is already well harmonised globally - but not rely solely on it, as some concepts may lack data yet remain critical to SIW.

4.6 Policy use

After discussing data and frameworks, we then asked interviewees to talk about the use of their frameworks to date in policy.

4.6.1 Limited use to date

The overarching message, which is consistent with other reviews of the impacts of wellbeing and Beyond GDP frameworks (Whitby et al., 2014; Mason & Büchs, 2023), is that **policy use is still relatively limited** but growing in some contexts.

Reasons for the lack of policy use included:

- **Lack of political interest** / other political priorities
- **No direct link to specific departments**, multi-dimensionality of the framework. Departments tend to focus on existing department-specific indicators. There is a **lack of mechanisms to ensure that interlinkages are considered**.
- Policymakers **prefer input or output indicators** to outcome indicators (presumably because they feel more competent about influencing them).
- **Lack of legitimacy** (mentioned in only one case)
- **Need for comparisons** with other countries (mentioned in only one case)
- Policy priorities tend to be **short-term.**
- **Lack of technical capacity** amongst potential users, unfamiliarity with the language, and difficulties in interpretation.

Interestingly, a couple of interviewees within NSIs felt unable to answer the question regarding policy use, stating that ensuring policy use is *not* the responsibility of the NSI.

4.6.2 Best practice examples

Nevertheless, there were several promising examples of use which can provide lessons for replication and expansion.

Most commonly, SIW frameworks were used for **monitoring or reporting** purposes. Regular reports on wellbeing and SDGs were mentioned by several interviewees.

However, there was some scepticism as to whether simply reporting on frameworks can lead to actual policy change, with "official policies being put in place to increase wellbeing" as a result. This suggests the importance of embedding the use of monitoring mechanisms into governance frameworks to be able to drive institutional and policy change.

Still, in the countries covered by this research, we note several positive examples of impact.

- In Italy, the integration of the BES in **regional sustainable development and cohesion plans,** and municipalities using the BES data to design **urban and social policies tailored to local needs**
- In Ireland, departments and government agencies are **obliged to show how wellbeing is considered in policy** and the country has implemented **budget tagging** (whereby different budget lines are assigned to different wellbeing outcomes).

  "All of the departments are obliged to look at the wellbeing framework from their perspective and see which things are relevant for theirs and map their policies to it. So, it's quite embedded at this stage."
- Three interviewees talked about the more **intangible** but arguably **fundamental impact** of frameworks in terms of shifting public narrative and the political conversation. For example, in one case, it led to a discussion of distributive justice and gave leeway to engage with more 'contemporary' ideas. It was suggested that, in New Zealand, the past government's **focus on mental health and child poverty** can be partly credited to the wellbeing framework. The SIW framework informed the response to the Christchurch earthquake and COVID-19 crisis. Meanwhile, we heard that the *PIBien-Etre* framework in Luxembourg has been successful in sparking debate in Parliament, which has recently led to the inclusion of a new budgetary process (see below).

- Meanwhile, in Italy, BES has encouraged a broader understanding of progress that goes beyond GDP. It has **influenced academic research, civil society initiatives, and parliamentary debates, promoting a culture of accountability and long-term thinking** within Italian policymaking.
- A very recent development has been the inclusion in the Luxembourg **budgetary process** of six indicators from the *PIBien-Etre* framework. According to a recent report, €4.9 bn of government expenditure has been earmarked for wellbeing-related measures as defined by these indicators. The proposal underlying this move asks that the Minister of Finance should not only ex-ante predict how expenditure might be expected to impact these six indicators, but also to assess ex-post the impact that expenditure has had. It is worth noting, though, that most of this spending is devoted to tackling poverty, which reflects a relatively narrow understanding of the term wellbeing with a needs-based focus on social rather than environmental dimensions.

For some of the newer initiatives considered during the interviews, we heard some tentative positive signs. For example, although the augmented national accounts in France were first published only a year ago and are still in development, there has been considerable political and media attention. Parliamentarians were also reported to be interested in the "wellbeing elsewhere" concept in the Dutch framework. In both cases, the **novelty** of these approaches drives interest.

Taken together, there is clear potential for an important and positive impact of wellbeing frameworks on policy and politics. We would also highlight that the focus of these interviews was not on the policy use of indicators and refer readers to other work which does focus on this topic (e.g. Costanza et al., 2024, Exton & Shinwell, 2018, Wellbeing Economy Alliance, 2021)

4.6.3 Ideal policy use

Although some challenges remain in translating law into policy, the Italian Budget Law – which mandates since 2017 that policymakers monitor and forecast the impact of budget decisions on a subset of 12 BES indicators - was cited in several countries as a best practice and inspiration to have similar laws adopted in their country. Another example is found in Ireland, where departments are required to qualitatively assess the impacts of policies on wellbeing; there was a desire expressed for quantitative assessment as well.

"We want to put the wellbeing framework in that it's mainstream policy"

Meanwhile, in Italy, the wish was for BES to be embedded in the entire policy cycle, from agenda-setting to implementation and evaluation. It would ideally be used to define priorities, allocate resources, and assess trade-offs. There was also a recognition of the communication value of the framework, and a desire that it be used for more communication with citizens.

4.7 Complexity and communication

In the initial interviews we conducted, the issue of framework complexity emerged spontaneously. For example, we heard how the Finnish Wellbeing Economy Dashboard was intentionally created to be small to increase its policy usefulness. In France, we heard about the challenges faced in communicating the IRN:

> *"One other difficulty with a dashboard is that you have many different indicators, and you cannot sum them up, because it has no meaning."*

As a result, we chose to integrate questions on complexity in subsequent interviews.

The issue of SIW complexity was seen to be important in six of the ten countries we spoke with. Broadly speaking, there was recognition that, while large dashboards are important to ensure the full multidimensionality of SIW is covered, and that governments should monitor a large range of indicators, these dashboards are hard to communicate or to understand when it comes to broader audiences. As two interviewees independently noted, past a certain number of indicators, it is impossible for a human being to fully integrate and synthesise the information. In Italy, the 150 indicators that form BES were seen as challenging to communicate, for example, with journalists. This complexity is also noted from outside the Beyond GDP agenda, with one interviewee from an NSI which doesn't have a framework noting that GDP will also be favoured because it is simple.

With a view to ensuring the relevance of SIW frameworks for communication to broad audiences, at least four approaches to addressing the complexity were found in the interviews.

1. **Identify a small set of headline indicators**. The Wellbeing Economy Dashboard in Finland represents the strongest attempt to take this approach that we spoke in detail about, with only 15 indicators. It is too early to assess the effectiveness of this approach. It is worth noting that the original intention had been to keep the number of indicators down to 10. The IRN in France also, at one stage, focused on 12 headline indicators, but we were unable to speak in detail to anyone in INSEE about this specific initiative. Generally, while NSIs agree on the value of limiting the number of

indicators, there is no definite consensus on what this ideal number should be.

2. Application of **traffic light systems** to simplify communication of large dashboards (Austria). Quantifying the number of indicators improving or deteriorating can help provide a clearer answer to the question of "how are we doing?"

3. **Adjusted economic indicators**. The augmented national accounts approach in France has been developed with a conscious recognition of the failure of the INR dashboard to capture attention. The augmented national accounts approach sets out to create a small set of adjusted economic indicators, such as the "Real Feel GDP" that accounts for economic inequality.

   "The creation of the programme was a way to meet some difficulties related to [the IRN], that is their integration and articulation … to get [a] broader picture"

4. **Index**. Only one country (Luxembourg) that we interviewed has adopted the approach of creating an overall wellbeing index. The interviewee made a strong case for this approach, stressing that it is impossible to communicate large dashboards to a broad public. The *PIBien-Etre* Index has indeed attracted substantial coverage within the country. The interviewee noted that the development of an index became acceptable within the NSI following the DGINS meeting in 2015 in Lisbon, which recognised the value and importance of synthetic indicators.

Another interesting innovation, which is related to communication, rather than complexity specifically, was the idea of communicating a dimension labelled **wellbeing elsewhere** (or impacts on the rest of the world) (Netherlands, New Zealand). This is a concept which brings together environmental and economic impacts on other countries, and which provides a novel framing for understanding these impacts under the 'wellbeing' umbrella (in Wales, this is referred to as 'a globally responsible Wales').[3]

4.7.1. Roundtable discussion

The roundtable provided an opportunity to discuss the issue of complexity in more detail. We proposed five approaches to dealing with complexity (the four listed above plus the idea of minimising the number of domains). Participants voted to discuss the idea of headline indicators, which we then considered in terms of strengths, challenges, and potential strategies to overcome those challenges.

The advantages of using headline indicators reflected comments made during interviews.

[3] See https://wellbeingeconomycourse.org/policy-course/67-more-work-is-needed-to-measure-impacts-on-wellbeing-elsewhere for more information on this approach.

Participants argued that a small set of headline indicators is easy to remember and understand for a broad audience, including the public and politicians, and is amenable to "one-page communication". Having a pre-agreed set ensures that political actors cannot just cherry-pick the indicators they want to highlight. They also noted that a small set of headline indicators makes it easier to ensure that target-setting is accountable and transparent.

Participants were concerned about the following challenges:

- It is not possible to encapsulate SIW with a small set of indicators (there was a suggestion that around eight was an absolute minimum).
- There is a risk of reductionism and even paternalism, of reducing SIW to a few priorities.
- It is unlikely that it will be possible to harmonise the selection of headline indicators across countries, given that each country will have its own priorities. Similarly, changes of government are also likely to lead to the desire to change headline indicators.
- The suggestion that, even with a very small number of headline indicators, politicians will still cherry-pick those indicators which fit their political agenda better

It was clear that the relative importance of different strengths and weaknesses depended very much upon *how small* the set of indicators would be. We heard that the 12 headline indicators in the French IRN were still too large a set to fully address the problems of complexity, with political actors still finding them hard to synthesise and understand. We also heard that even within only 3 headline indicators in the EU Social Pillar, politicians have tended to cherry-pick the indicators that best fit their agenda.

Participants proposed various solutions to address the challenges raised above:

- Case study research to assess the effectiveness of existing headline indicator sets (e.g., the EU Social Pillar), with particular attention to the set size as a critical factor.
- Develop headline indicators only as a top-level, sitting above a larger set of secondary indicators (as in the EU Social Pillar)
- To address harmonisation, develop a broad internationally agreed set, from which individual countries or polities can select headline indicators democratically. The approaches and criteria for selecting indicators could also be developed internationally.
- Identify techniques to assess how well individual indicators capture the statistical variation in broader sets of indicators. Options include

principal component analysis, variable clustering techniques or principal variable analysis.

- Consider creating indices for domains or dimensions and using them as the headline indicators. This approach has been adopted by Carnegie UK in their Life in the UK report, and it is understood that it is an approach being considered by the UN HLEG on Beyond GDP.

5. Recommendations

The interviews we conducted provided an invaluable 'insiders' perspective into the challenges faced by those developing or managing SIW frameworks within NSIs and other government bodies. But they also demonstrated huge appetite and enthusiasm for these frameworks, and offered valuable insights into how their development, maintenance and use can be supported. In this section, we provide recommendations which we have derived from the interviews and roundtable, augmented with learnings from other sources. We have divided these recommendations into two sets: one for NSIs and other national public bodies (section 5.1), and one for non-national actors, including European and international organisations, but also researchers and civil society organisations (section 5.2).

5.1 Recommendations for NSIs and other national public bodies

When starting out:

- Ensure **clarity of purpose** internally. Is there an intention to truly move 'Beyond GDP', in the sense of developing a framework for assessing how well society is doing in a broad sense, or is the framework more focused on a specific policy area, for example, health, social cohesion, or environmental sustainability? Is the intention to provide a detailed evidence base for policy analysts, a monitoring or evaluation framework for policymakers, or an overall framework for assessing society that is relevant to the public and politicians? Or indeed all three? Knowing what the purpose is, and is not, can help inform the development of the framework and help identify best practices. Assuming there is an interest in creating a broad framework for assessing how well society is doing, we recommend adopting **sustainable and inclusive wellbeing** as an approach (although the public framing of the framework should be adapted to local realities). This conceptual framing is

scientifically supported, has a long political track record (stemming from the Brundtland report) and is gaining momentum internationally. Bypassing a coherent conceptual framework can lead to problems down the road.

- Review **international guidance and models** to map out possible measurement domains. As Kubiszewski et al. (2025) & Zeidler (2022) show, there is a large degree of overlap between most frameworks that have been developed. There are now several resources that bring together different frameworks, including the OECD's Knowledge Exchange Platform,[4] the WISE Database,[5] the JRC Indicators Explorer[6] and several reviews conducted as part of the MERGE project (e.g., Costanza et al., 2024 & Rum et al., 2024).

- Nevertheless, the **national context** is critical. It is important to develop a framework that will resonate domestically and will be useful for national policy. **Engaging with civil society and citizens** in a genuine way is a key aspect of this process. It is important to acknowledge that engagement with civil society organisations will not necessarily achieve the same aims as engaging directly with citizens. Civil society can be consulted using formal consultation processes (e.g., the recent consultation in Australia). Meanwhile, citizens can be engaged through multi-channel, organic consultations with self-selecting citizens (e.g., the National Well-Being Debate in the UK) or through deliberative citizen panels or assemblies where citizens are selected to engage using sortition techniques (e.g. OECD, 2020). Charveriat et al. (2024) provide a review of several initiatives that have engaged citizens in the development of SIW frameworks and make a proposal for future citizen engagement. Previous research conducted as part of MERGE has demonstrated broad-based public support for new indicators of progress covering sustainability, inclusivity and wellbeing (Silvi & Bleys, 2024).

- **Harmonise indicators**. Regardless of the degree of harmonisation with respect to domain coverage, populating the framework predominantly with *indicators* that are collected in a harmonised fashion internationally will ensure comparability and the possibility to contextualise national performance. Harmonisation includes considerations about how data are collected, the precise wording of questions and response categories. This is particularly important when starting out, as it is hard to change indicators once frameworks have been established. Organisations such as the OECD have

[4] https://www.oecd.org/en/about/programmes/kep.html
[5] https://beyond-gdp.world/wise-database/wise-metrics
[6] https://composite-indicators.jrc.ec.europa.eu/explorer

produced guidelines on several aspects of wellbeing data collection.

- Consider both **subjective and objective** indicators. Interviewees noted how subjective indicators capture the imagination of the public and can help in ensuring the framework is seen as relevant. They may also help contribute to improving trust in NSIs data by better aligning with the lived experiences of citizens.

Building a strong institutional setup:

- **Ensure a whole-of-governance approach** which straddles different types of public bodies, ideally with coordination across the NSI, policy-oriented independent public bodies, data owners, and departments within government. Whilst the latter is needed to ensure policy engagement and use, the former two can ensure perceived neutrality and resilience to government change. Many successful approaches have involved public bodies or government departments with cross-cutting or overarching responsibilities (for example, the Office of the Taoiseach or NESC in Ireland or the Treasury in New Zealand) that are able to develop policy mechanisms that are relevant to multiple policy areas.
- Work with different government departments and other actors to identify potentially useful **administrative data** and other potential data sources and encourage data-sharing agreements between national data providers.
- Build technical **expertise** in terms of working with new kinds of data (subjective, environmental, geospatial, administrative, big data) as well as communication expertise.
- A **legal framework** is important, but not sufficient to ensure use.

Maintaining frameworks, particularly in the face of political change:

- Ensure **perceived neutrality** of the data, maintaining separation between data collection and policy. For instance, publish criteria behind indicator selection, including how stakeholders' views were taken into account, methodology and metadata.
- Maintain **collaborative relationships,** both with civil society and academics, for example, through regular public consultation to evaluate the framework. Stress the participatory approach to defining the framework.

- **Ensure public support** – by focusing on communication. Developing attractive communication strategies can also ensure SIW frameworks are appealing to different governments. Showcase the common goals and connections to the lived realities of citizens. For instance, develop simple dashboards and visualisations on the NSI website, and produce annual short reports on the state of wellbeing in the country.

To strengthen the quality and coverage of data in SIW frameworks, NSIs can focus on the following practical strategies:

- **Maximising the use of existing data** by mapping available sources across data providers.
- **Strategically pursue new data collection** to fill the most critical conceptual gaps, using external funding when available.
- Aim to improve survey response rates or use sampling strategies.
- **Leverage alternative and innovative data sources**: Use administrative, geospatial, big data, or third-party sources where legally feasible, and combine with predictive modelling.
- **Build technical and analytical capacity**.

Assuming that the public and/or politicians will be one of the intended audiences of the framework (i.e. it is not just intended for policy analysts or civil servants), a strategy is needed for addressing the **complexity** of the topic. Indices for adjusted economic measures, structured domains, headline indicators or presentation techniques such as traffic light systems have all been used to help manage the complexity of SIW frameworks. All have their strengths and weaknesses, and it is not the purpose of this report to adjudicate between them. In the roundtable, we discussed the proposals to develop sets of headline indicators and came to the following recommendations that are relevant to NSIs (see section 4.7.1 for more detail):

- Develop headline indicators only as a top-level, sitting above a larger set of secondary indicators (as in the EU Social Pillar)
- Involve civil society and/or citizens in the selection of headline indicators to enhance democratic legitimacy and minimise the risk that they will be associated with a specific government. Use legal devices to ensure their durability through government

change.

Policy use was not the main focus of this task (see Exton & Shinwell, 2018; Jansen et al., 2023 and Costanza et al. 2024 for dedicated reviews), but here were a few best practices that we came across:

- Link the framework to the budget, such as with the Budget Law in Italy, whereby the annual budget must be assessed in terms of its impact on key wellbeing outcomes, or budget tagging in Ireland.
- Develop local or regional level frameworks through geographical disaggregation of indicators, which can enable new and meaningful policy applications. (Italy)
- Develop frameworks and requirements to qualitatively consider wellbeing outcomes in policy (Ireland)
- Acknowledge that impact early on may be more intangible, shifting conversations rather than necessarily leading to specific policies. Consider evaluative methods to monitor this kind of intangible impact. Document popular policy decisions where the framework can credibly claim to have played a role.

5.2 Recommendations for non-national actors

The following recommendations are more relevant for actors working at the international level (e.g., the OECD and Eurostat), academics and research institutes.

On harmonisation:

- Common agreement and collaboration between authoritative institutions such as the UN, OECD, and Eurostat (while involving NSIs) was seen as a key driver of harmonisation. To maximise the chances of harmonisation among countries, those actors should align their efforts to agree on a common SIW conceptual framework and on recommendations on indicator collection and harmonisation.
- The priority for harmonisation efforts should be in terms of the ways in which specific indicators relevant for wellbeing and Beyond GDP frameworks are collected and produced across countries. The OECD's Guidelines on Subjective Wellbeing represent a good example of how guidelines on indicators can influence NSIs and lead to greater harmonisation and comparability. The UN's System of National Accounts serves as a model for how this can occur in other areas.

- Still, even if full harmonisation is not possible, international organisations can aim for a partial harmonisation approach based on a common core set of indicators that could allow for 1) encouraging political commitment towards the issue at the higher national level, 2) providing a benchmark for countries without any SIW framework, 3) ensuring comparability while leaving autonomy for MS to monitor their national priorities. To create this common set of indicators, particular attention should be paid to finding a balance between using existing, already harmonised data and avoiding conceptual gaps by focusing on the lowest common denominator.
- Non-national actors must continue working together with NSIs – through networks and expert groups to understand how countries can move towards harmonisation while acknowledging each country's own priorities and specificities. Notably, Eurostat can play a key role at the EU level to continue coordinating and funding the development and harmonisation of innovative European statistics.

On coordination for the development and maintenance of frameworks:

- International wellbeing frameworks such as that of the OECD have been very influential in shaping country-level initiatives by serving as a starting point or a sense-check. In particular, some countries (perhaps those where the agenda is particularly underdeveloped), may find a standardised framework useful, particularly one developed by an authoritative organisation.
- In a context of scarce resources, international networks and research groups can work together to identify priorities for the SIW agenda and allow resources to be pooled, including across NSIs. International organisations can also provide guidance for identifying possible data sources as well.
- Technical support and capacity building are key demands coming from NSIs. European NSIs would benefit from capacity building workshops, perhaps organised by Eurostat, to help them collect, integrate and use new data.
- Support communication and visibility of national frameworks, notably with free-to-use communication tools.
- Coordinate expert groups and international networks and encourage cross-country learning. Notably, sharing best practices and examples of policy use can help reinforce the perceived relevance and resilience of frameworks.

Specific areas where innovation and harmonisation were highlighted by interviewees and roundtable participants:

- Social relations and loneliness
- Quantifying planetary boundaries overshoot
- Use of social media / big data
- Augmented national accounts
- Support on how to connect register-based censuses with rolling surveys

Almost all interviewees acknowledged that wellbeing / Beyond GDP frameworks are often too complex. Here is what non-national actors could do to help NSIs address this challenge:

- Conduct communication science and psychology research to understand what level of complexity is acceptable for different audiences, including policymakers, politicians and citizens.
- Conduct case study research to assess the effectiveness of existing headline indicator sets (e.g., the EU Social Pillar), with particular attention to the set size in relation to the intended policy use as a critical factor.
- Develop proposals for approaches and criteria for selecting headline indicators. Explore the potential of indices for specific domains.
- Identify and use techniques to assess how well individual indicators capture the statistical variation in broader sets of indicators.

6. Limitations and further research

This report provides a necessary insight into the perspectives and attitudes of people working on SIW frameworks within NSIs and other government bodies. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise certain limitations in the methodology.

First, we did not interview people from all EU NSIs. There may have been biases, both in terms of the contacts we approached and the people who agreed to be interviewed. There were sometimes difficulties identifying the relevant people to interview. In one country, for example, it appeared that a recent retirement meant that there was no person responsible for the SIW framework.

Second, it is important to note that this report presents the subjective views of the people we interviewed, which may not always coincide with the views of other people working in this field.

Third, as with all research, particularly qualitative research, it is important to acknowledge that the researchers' perspectives and biases may influence the interpretation of the results. Still, we note substantial similarities between our conclusions and those of the other research projects that were invited to our roundtable.

There were lines of inquiry which we felt we would have liked to pursue further but were unable to in the time available. These include:

1. Exploration of different framings (e.g. wellbeing, SIW or beyond GDP) and their strengths and weaknesses.
2. Comparative analysis to evaluate the relevance of different supporting and hindering factors, bearing in mind that we often relied on interviewees' opinions on which factors were helpful or otherwise.
3. Systematic sense-checking of conclusions, bearing in mind that we relied on comments on the discussion paper and the roundtable to do this.
4. Assessment of the budgets that have been required to develop SIW frameworks.
5. Further exploration of the question of the role of SIW frameworks (both national and international) on data collection, given that our results were somewhat mixed.
6. Exploration of the additional skills and expertise that NSIs feel are required within their institutions to advance SIW frameworks.

In general, it is critical that those advocating for the use of SIW frameworks from outside of statutory institutions continue these conversations with people working *within* those institutions to ensure that the proposals being made are realistic, and helpful for allies working within government. We anticipate that this study will not be the last one that canvases the opinions of people working in NSIs on sustainable and inclusive wellbeing.

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Summary table

	Key insights	Recommendations for NSIs	Recommendations for non-national actors
Developing a SIW framework	*Supportive factors:* • Political and institutional backing: National political commitment, individual leadership within the NSI, international momentum and guidance. • Autonomy and innovation space through independence of the NSI and/or support from independent public bodies. • Stakeholder engagement: Involvement of civil society and academics ensures legitimacy, expertise, and demand. • Funding, notably EU funding. • Strong methodological foundation with solid conceptual frameworks and inclusion of subjective measures. *Hindering factors:* • Resource constraints: Costs remain the main barrier and can lead to focusing on core statistical obligations • Lack of mandate or competing political priorities limit progress, even when data exists. • Complexity and methodological challenges: data gaps, uncertainty about new methods, limited expertise in the NSI.	1. **Clarify purpose:** Decide whether the framework is for broad societal assessment, specific policy monitoring, or both, and keep this purpose in mind throughout development. 2. **Adopt a conceptual approach:** Use a coherent framework like sustainable and inclusive wellbeing to guide indicator selection and structure. 3. **Leverage international guidance:** Review existing frameworks and indicators to identify overlaps and best practices. 4. **Adapt to the national context:** Ensure the framework resonates domestically by consulting civil society, citizens, and key stakeholders. 5. **Coordinate across governance:** Engage NSIs, independent public bodies, policy departments, and data owners to balance neutrality, resilience, and policy relevance 6. **Use internationally harmonised indicators:** to ensure consistency, comparability, and easier updates later. 7. **Identify existing data sources** to avoid unnecessary new data collection 8. **Include both subjective and objective measures** to increase relevance, public engagement, and trust.	1. **Provide a standardised framework** as starting point, particularly for countries with underdeveloped SIW agendas. 2. **Offer technical support and capacity building.** 3. **Provide funding opportunities** for new data collection.
Maintaining a framework	*Supportive factors:*	1. **Ensure perceived neutrality of the data,** maintaining separation between data collection and policy.	1. **Support communication and visibility:** Provide research or

	• Perceived political neutrality, policy and public relevance, and NSI autonomy. • Public and civil society support • Legal foundations. • Quality, credibility, transparency, and alignment with lived experiences. • European regulation provides stability and coordination. *Hindering factors* • Political change. • Dominance or momentum of other frameworks. • Limited use in policymaking.	2. **Continue stakeholder engagement** to maintain legitimacy and relevance. 3. **Develop technical and communication skills:** Build capacity for handling new data types and for presenting results clearly connecting to citizens lived experiences.	guidelines on how to present complex frameworks to politicians, policymakers, and the public. 2. **Encourage cross-country learning:** Share case studies, best practices, and examples of policy use to reinforce the perceived relevance and resilience of frameworks. 3. **Maintain expert groups and international networks** to help NSIs exchange experiences.
Data collection and quality	• National SIW frameworks rarely trigger new data collection. When new data were collected, this typically depended on external funding (e.g., Eurostat), not national budgets. • Key barriers to more granular, frequent, or expanded data collection include resource constraints, declining survey response rates, limited access to administrative and third-party survey, and legal and regulatory restrictions. • Despite constraints, NSIs are innovating in subjective wellbeing measurement, augmented accounts, large-scale rolling surveys, administrative and big data integration, geospatial analytics, and machine-learning applications. • Data dreams include developing adjusted GDP metrics, better quantifying planetary and social boundaries at the country level, and strengthening	1. Maximise the use of existing data and strategically pursue new data, using external funding when available. 2. Leverage alternative and innovative data sources. 3. Build technical and analytical capacity. 4. Link survey data to other sources (e.g., registers)	1. **Pool resources** across countries and organisations to set priorities, guide data collection, and identify data sources. 2. **Organise capacity-building workshops** (e.g., Eurostat) to help NSIs integrate and use new types of data. 3. **Support development in areas where harmonisation and innovation are most needed**: social relations/loneliness, big data/social media, augmented national accounts, and integration of register-based censuses with rolling surveys.

	capacities for handling complex data, communicating big data, and sharing NSI best practices.		
Harmonisation	• NSIs generally value harmonisation of indicators more than of entire frameworks. • Harmonised frameworks can support credibility, comparability, and aggregation of indicators but NSI are concerned about breaking time series, preserving national perspectives, and specificities. • Within the EU, many indicators are already harmonised. • Eurostat, OECD, and UN have a key role in harmonisation, but this process is not unidirectional.	1. **Engage with international guidance:** Use OECD, UN, and Eurostat guidelines to inform indicator definitions, survey methods, and best practices. Bear in mind that harmonisation might also mean harmonising methods (e.g., survey question order). 2. **Leverage harmonised data where available** (e.g., EU-SILC) as a foundation. 3. **Share and learn through** participating in international networks.	1. **Collaborate across authoritative institutions (UN, OECD, Eurostat) and with NSIs** to align conceptual frameworks and indicator recommendations. 2. **Promote partial harmonisation**: define a core set of comparable indicators while allowing countries to monitor national priorities. 3. **Engage actively with NSIs** via networks and expert groups. 4. Continue harmonisation efforts by developing international guidelines on **how to collect and produce indicators**.
Complexity	• Complexity remains a major challenge for SIW frameworks, making large dashboards hard to communicate and understand for policymakers, journalists, and the public. • Reducing the number of indicators to a small set of headline indicators is a common strategy, though it risks oversimplification and political cherry-picking. • Other strategies involve using visual tools like traffic light systems help communicate large indicator sets more clearly, developing adjusted economic indicators, or creating composite indices.	1. **Develop headline indicators,** for policymakers and citizens, sitting above a larger set of secondary indicators for researchers and technical experts. This simplifies communication while retaining richness of data. 2. Consider the advantages and disadvantages of using methodologies such as **indices or adjusted economic measures.** 3. **Use communication techniques** such traffic light systems to make complex information understandable.	1. Conduct research from communication science and psychology to understand acceptable complexity for different audiences. 2. Assess the effectiveness of existing headline indicator sets, including optimal set size. 3. Develop guidance on selecting headline indicators,

	• Roundtable discussions highlighted that headline indicators are easiest to remember and communicate but must balance comprehensiveness with simplicity.		including exploring indices for specific domains. 4. Identify statistical techniques to evaluate how individual indicators capture broader variation in the framework.
Policy use	• Policy use of wellbeing frameworks remains limited overall, often due to low political interest, short-term priorities, and lack of links to specific departments. • NSIs sometimes see promoting policy use as outside their mandate, limiting active engagement with policymakers. • Best-practice examples show frameworks used for monitoring, reporting, and embedding wellbeing in governance • Wellbeing frameworks can influence political discourse, public debate, and policy attention.	Depending on resources and political appetite: 1. **Link the framework to the budget** to directly embed the framework in policy decision-making. 2. **Develop local or regional frameworks** for policy applications at multiple governance levels. 3. **Develop frameworks and requirements to qualitatively consider wellbeing outcomes in policy**. 4. **Acknowledge intangible impact early on:** monitor shifts in policy discussions, public debate, and narrative to document the framework's influence.	

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