

1 **An appraisal of interlinkages between macro-economic indicators of**
2 **economic well-being and the Sustainable Development Goals**

3
4
5
6 David Cook (corresponding author), Environment and Natural Resources, School of
7 Engineering and Natural Sciences, University of Iceland, Gimli, Sæmundargötu 2, 102
8 Reykjavík, Iceland, email: dac3@hi.is, tel: +354 661 8998.

9
10 Brynhildur Davíðsdóttir, Environment and Natural Resources, Faculty of Economics and
11 Faculty of Environment and Life Sciences, University of Iceland, Oddi, Sæmundargötu 2, 102
12 Reykjavík, Iceland, email: bdavids@hi.is.

51 **Abstract**

52
53 Recognising the well-known limitations of economic growth as a litmus test of progress and
54 the call by Target 19 of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 17 to “develop measurements
55 on progress on sustainable development that complement gross domestic product”, this paper
56 advances understanding of the linkages between alternative measures of economic well-being,
57 the well-being economy and the SDGs. A conceptual model is presented, linking four capital
58 assets to well-being goals and domains, which are connected to related SDGs. An assessment
59 is conducted on the extent to which Gross Domestic Product and five alternative indicators of
60 economic well-being (Environmentally Adjusted Net Domestic Product, Measure of Economic
61 Welfare, Genuine Savings, Genuine Progress Indicator and Inclusive Wealth Index) align with
62 (a) the dimensions of economic well-being, and (b) various environmental, economic, social
63 and institutional targets set by the SDGs. The Genuine Progress Indicator (GPI) is found to be
64 the most comprehensive in coverage, accounting for market-based welfare, services from
65 essential capital, and various environmental and social costs, and linking directly to targets in
66 fourteen of the seventeen SDGs. The paper discusses how greater use of alternative measures
67 of economic well-being by policymakers can encourage transitions to economies which
68 prioritise well-being and desirability objectives.
69

70 **Keywords:** economic well-being; sustainable development goals; economic prosperity;
71 indicators; capital assets; measures
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103

1. Introduction

The United Nations' seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) provide a global vision and consensus for a more sustainable and prosperous future for the planet by the year 2030, which demands the tackling of a myriad of environmental, economic, social and institutional challenges (UN, 2015). Building on earlier goal-oriented blueprints, such as the Millennium Development Goals, the SDGs demand action by all nations, irrespective of their level of economic development. Rather than existing in isolation, the SDGs and their respective targets and indicators are intricately connected. Objectives to end poverty must occur in tandem with strategies to sustain economic growth, fulfil social needs, embrace the challenges of climate change and protect the environment (Barbier and Burgess, 2017; Bowen et al., 2017; Hak et al., 2016).

SDG 8, 'Decent work and economic growth', specifies a target for all nations to sustain per capita economic growth in accordance with national circumstances (UN, 2015). Irrespective of the level of economic expansion that is 'in accordance with national circumstances', primacy is placed on macro-scale growth. However, economic growth is not a panacea. More than two decades ago, the UNDP (1996) identified five types of harmful Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth: (1) jobless growth (a bigger economy and few jobs); (2) voiceless growth (a growing economy that represses freedoms and rights); (3) ruthless growth (growth with increasing inequality); (4) rootless growth (growth that leads to the undermining of culture); and (5) futureless growth (growth from undermining finite natural resources). In particular, in relation to (5), there are long-standing arguments, especially in relation to developed economies, that maintaining stocks of natural capital should be prioritised over the economic growth which derives from their depletion (Barbier and Burgess, 2017; Pelenc and Ballet, 2015).

Further complexities in the SDGs relate to how one goal should be prioritised over another, the contribution that their fulfilment makes with respect to human wellbeing, and the societal and policy changes necessary to ensure their achievement (Costanza et al., 2016a). SDG interactions are often described as synergies and trade-offs (Cook et al., 2019). Some trade-offs might be difficult to reconcile. Coscieme et al. (2020) argue that focus on SDG 8 entails the risk of policy incoherence, since its growth narrative does not chime with recognition of planetary boundaries. Furthermore, indefinite economic growth is incompatible with sustainable development and its focus can lead to the selection of misleading indicators, particularly in nations where the negative effects of growth outweigh the benefits (Hickel et al., 2019). Therefore, national SDG frameworks should not consider GDP as the sole indicator of a sustainable economy (Fioramonti, 2016; Fioramonti et al., 2019; Spaiser et al., 2017; Coscieme et al., 2020). This is recognised within the final target of the SDGs, 17.19, which calls for the development of measurements of progress on sustainable development that complement GDP (UN, 2015).

Given these shortcomings and challenges, it is necessary to consider the deeper interlinkages between economies and human well-being, and how these can be measured (Pais et al., 2019). This facilitates better understanding of whether the UN's vision is fomenting a world that is more sustainable, prosperous and desirable. In recent years, a global movement is building which endeavours to shift economies away from a narrow focus on marketed goods and services to sustainable well-being, with the aim of developing suitable evaluative metrics in this regard (Costanza et al., 2018; New Zealand Treasury, 2019; WEA, 2019). Alternative measures of economic well-being are macro-economic indicators that have been advanced regularly during the past few decades. They can override the risk of growth in GDP becoming prioritised as a nation's overarching policy goal (Coscieme et al., 2020; Costanza et al., 2014; Costanza et al.,

154 2016a; Costanza et al., 2016b). As Coscieme et al. (2020, p. 6) put it, “*measuring progress*
155 *towards SDG 8 needs to consider further macro-economic indicators that internalize social*
156 *and environmental externalities*”. Such indicators can operate alongside other emerging tools,
157 such as non-monetary well-being indicators, to provide a comprehensive evaluation of macro-
158 scale progress or regress in economic well-being (Aitken, 2019; Bleys, 2012).

159
160 This paper seeks to advance conceptual understanding of the linkages between alternative
161 measures of economic well-being, the well-being economy and the SDGs. This analysis is
162 conducted through use of a conceptual model linking the capital assets (natural, human, social,
163 and financial and physical) of a well-being economy to specific well-being goals and domains,
164 before these are connected to related SDGs. From these fundamental understandings, an
165 appraisal is conducted of the extent to which alternative indicators of economic well-being
166 capture the various aspects of sustainable economic well-being and their calculation
167 components can be linked directly to the SDGs.

168
169 This paper is structured as follows. Section 2 of the paper begins with background material,
170 including a brief literature review of the use and limitations of GDP as an aggregate measure
171 of economic well-being, and discussion of the well-being economy. The conceptual framework
172 of the well-being economy is then reviewed and discussed. Section 3 sets out the alternative
173 measures of economic well-being for analysis in this paper. Section 4 applies the conceptual
174 framework to analyse the extent to which alternative measures of economic well-being reflect
175 the vision of the well-being economy and link to the SDGs and their respective targets. Section
176 5 discusses the implications of the results, some possible economic approaches for maximising
177 economic well-being, and finally reflects on the limitations of alternative measures of economic
178 well-being.

179

180

181 **2. Conceptual background**

182

183 2.1 Economic well-being and sustainable economic well-being

184

185 In the field of economics, economic well-being¹ has been referred to as the sum of utility gained
186 through the consumption of material goods and services (Fisher, 1906; Weisbrod and Hansen,
187 1968). Based on such an interpretation, economic well-being derives mainly from material
188 consumption and can be measured via market data. This is a narrow view of the interlinkages
189 between economies, societies, the environment, institutions and well-being, and has often been
190 criticised in recent years for its failure to capture and address the major problems facing the
191 globe today, including poverty, inequality, environmental degradation and climate change
192 (Coscieme et al., 2020; Jackson, 2011; Stiglitz et al., 2009; McGregor and Pouw, 2016).

193

194 More modern interpretations of economic well-being consider quality of life outcomes and the
195 intertwining of economies with sustainability (McGregor and Pouw, 2016; Costanza et al.,
196 2018). The term thus encompasses a broader range of human activities that either enhance or
197 diminish economic well-being, including the benefits human beings receive from nature for
198 free, known as ecosystem services, and the economic, environmental and social externalities of
199 production and consumption (Cook, 2015; Kubiszewski et al., 2013; Lawn, 2003). These
200 broader aspects are components of the well-being economy, which is focused not just on
201 economic well-being but the sustainability of economic well-being (New Zealand Treasury,

¹ Also often referred to as ‘economic welfare’.

202 2019; WEA, 2019). Costanza et al. (2018, p.1) described the well-being economy as having
203 “the fundamental goal of achieving sustainable well-being with dignity and fairness for humans
204 and the rest of nature...A well-being economy recognises that the economy is embedded in
205 society and nature. It must be understood as an integrated, interdependent system.” Nordhaus
206 and Kokkelenberg (1999) contended that the notion of ‘sustainable income’ suggests that any
207 measure of economic well-being should account for all stocks of capital affecting consumption
208 and valuations that capture the social value of all goods.
209

210 For the purposes of this paper, economic well-being shall be considered to consist of the same
211 three core pillars which underpin the OECD’s Better Life Initiative. These are as follows:
212

- 213 • *Material living conditions* – the determinants of peoples’ consumption possibilities and
214 their command over resources;
- 215 • *Quality of life* – the set of non-monetary attributes that shape peoples’ opportunities and
216 life chances, and has intrinsic value under different cultures and contexts;
- 217 • *Sustainability* – the sustainability of the socio-economic and natural systems where
218 people live and work, which is important for well-being to last over time and depends
219 upon how human activities impact on the stocks of different types of capital (natural,
220 human, social, and financial and physical). (OECD, 2013)
221

222 Linked to the three pillars are a set of five core objectives for the well-being economy, set out
223 by Costanza et al. (2018, p.3):
224

- 225 (1) Stay within planetary biophysical boundaries – a sustainable size of the economy within
226 our ecological life support system;
- 227 (2) Meet all fundamental human needs, including food, shelter, dignity, respect, education,
228 health, security, voice, and purpose, among others;
- 229 (3) Create and maintain a fair distribution of resources, income, and wealth – within and
230 between nations, current and future generations of humans and other species;
- 231 (4) Have an efficient allocation of resources, including common natural and social capital
232 assets, to allow inclusive prosperity, human development and flourishing. A well-being
233 economy recognises that happiness, meaning, and thriving depend on far more than
234 material consumption;
- 235 (5) Create governance systems that are fair, responsive, just and accountable.
236

237 2.2 Conceptualising the well-being economy 238

239 Recognition of the limitations of GDP as a yardstick of economic well-being have helped to
240 promulgate arguments in favour of using a broader set of metrics to provide a more accurate
241 quantification. The OECD (2006, p.3) asserted that “*measures of GDP per capita and economic
242 growth remain critical for any assessment of well-being but they need to be complemented with
243 measures of other dimensions of well-being to get a comprehensive picture*”.
244

245 The history of the well-being economy is in fact long-standing, with Karl William Kapp, among
246 others, more than fifty years ago communicating that the goal of public intervention and
247 economic policy was to minimise human suffering and ensure continuation of human life on
248 Earth (Luzzatti, 2019). However, in more recent times, considerable work has taken place in
249 developing a conceptual framework for the evaluation of the well-being economy (Costanza et
250 al., 2018; McGregor and Pouw, 2016; WEA, 2019). This needs to capture the three pillars of
251 economic well-being: material living conditions, quality of life and sustainability (OECD,

252 2013), as well as the five objectives set out by Costanza et al. (2018). In 2019, the New Zealand
253 government published its first ‘Wellbeing Budget’, an attempt at putting human well-being and
254 the environment at the heart of its policies. New Zealand’s Wellbeing Budget is developed from
255 a Living Standards Framework (LSF) based on four capital assets (natural, human, social, and
256 financial and physical). Together, the four capital assets underpin and provide resilience for
257 twelve domains of well-being: civic, engagement and governance; cultural identity;
258 environment; health; housing; income and consumption; jobs and earnings; knowledge and
259 skills; time use; safety and security; social connections; and subjective well-being. Linked to
260 these twelve categories are a dashboard of 61 well-being indicators which enable progress to
261 be quantified over time (New Zealand Treasury, 2019). Other nations, such as Scotland and
262 Iceland have adopted similar approaches. Iceland published an initial draft pool of 39 well-
263 being indicators in September 2019, approved in April 2020, which were categorised according
264 to the three core dimensions of sustainable development: economic, social and environmental,
265 and charted links between the indicators and the SDGs (Government of Iceland, 2019).

266
267 Well-being indicators and their theoretical foundations have considerable merit as a means of
268 responding to the OECD and UN’s call for tools that complement GDP to provide a more
269 nuanced picture of national well-being. However, they are additional monitoring tools rather
270 than comparable to GDP, which is a macro-scale, monetary measure of economic well-being.
271 For the purposes of analysing the extent to which alternative measures of economic well-being
272 capture the various dimensions of the well-being economy and the SDGs, Table 1 sets out a
273 conceptual framework linking its four underpinning capital components to four overarching
274 goals² and the twelve well-being domains set out in the New Zealand Government’s Living
275 Standard’s Framework, and finally to related SDGs. The reason the New Zealand approach was
276 chosen as the basis for the conceptual framework was because, unlike the other countries to
277 date, it has been shown that their LSF can be taken to the next stage of operationalisation via
278 linking of well-being indicators to a national Well-Being Budget.

279
280 Due to the interlinked nature of the SDGs and their targets, some crossover the respective
281 domains of the well-being economy and thus appear more than once. Equally, the delineation
282 is contestable since some SDGs may also have peripheral overlap with multiple capital asset
283 classes e.g. SDG 2 (Zero hunger) may entail social and human capital aspects of well-being.
284

² Encompassing the five objectives for the well-being economy set out by Costanza et al. (2018).

Table 1. A capital asset, goal and domain-based conceptualisation of the well-being economy

Capital assets	Goal	Domain	Related SDG(s)		
Natural <i>All aspects of the natural environment that support life and human activity, including land, soil, water, plants and animals, minerals and energy resources.</i>	Planetary biophysical boundaries are not breached – a sustainable economy within our ecological life support system is maintained and even proactively regenerates the ecosystem, healing the harm already done.	Environment	6: Clean water and sanitation		
			7: Affordable and clean energy		
			11: Sustainable cities and communities		
			12: Responsible consumption and production		
			13: Climate action		
			14: Life below water		
Social <i>The norms, rules and institutions that influence the ways in which people live and work together and experience a sense of belonging; includes trust, reciprocity, the rule of law, cultural and community identity, traditions and customs, common values and interests.</i>	Fundamental human needs met – including the need to be valued and respected; social relations and self-determination; safety, security, and sense of dignity and purpose.	Civic engagement and governance	1: End poverty		
			16: Peace, justice and strong institutions		
			17: Partnerships for the goals		
		Cultural identity	11: Sustainable cities and communities		
			16: Peace, justice and strong institutions		
			17: Partnerships for the goals		
		Social connections	1: End poverty		
			16: Peace, justice and strong institutions		
			17: Partnerships for the goals		
		Human <i>The capabilities and capacities of human beings to engage in work, study, recreation and social activities; includes skills, knowledge, and physical and mental health.</i>	Human development, capacities and flourishing is supported and cultivated.	Health	1: End poverty
					2: Zero hunger
					3: Good health and well-being
Knowledge and skills	4: Quality education				
Time use	8: Decent work and economic growth				
Subjective well-being	3: Good health and well-being				
	5: Gender equality				
Financial and physical <i>Financial and man-made physical assets which support material living conditions; includes factories, roads, hospitals, houses etc.</i>	A fair distribution of resources, income and wealth is delivered – within and between nations, and across current and future generations of humans.	Housing	9: Industrial innovation and infrastructure		
			11: Sustainable cities and communities		
		Income and consumption	8: Decent work and economic growth		
			10: Reduced inequalities		
			12: Responsible consumption and production		
		Jobs and earnings	8: Decent work and economic growth		

3. Alternative measures of economic well-being

3.1 Alternative measures of economic well-being

Given the flaws in the use of GDP as a measure of economic well-being, over the past three decades several alternative, monetary-based, aggregate measures of economic well-being have been developed. These are generally classified according to their specific objectives in relation to GDP, particularly whether they seek to adjust or supplement GDP.

Indicators supplementing GDP include composites and dashboard approaches such as the Human Development Index, Happy Planet Index, Better Life and Social Progress Index. These are useful for measuring and integrating aspects of societal well-being, such as health, wealth and life expectancy, and seek to complement GDP with additional information on environmental and societal conditions, either via the creation of satellite accounts or linking GDP to other economic, social and environmental indicators (Goossens et al., 2007). This is akin to the approach of New Zealand in their development of well-being indicators and related budgets.

Indicators adjusting GDP monetise various environmental and social factors (Kenny et al., 2019; Kubiszewski et al., 2013). These have also been referred to in the academic literature as corrective indicators to GDP (Bleys, 2012; Costanza et al., 2009) and, more broadly, as green accounting (Hoekstra, 2019). Green accounting approaches include indicators adjusting GDP which also encompasses various stock and asset-based measures that extend the SNA used to calculate GDP, such as the UN's System of Environmental and Economic Accounting. This integrates economic and environmental data to generate a more informed analysis of interrelationships between the economy and the environment (Hoekstra, 2019).

3.2 Selected indicators for evaluation

Several alternative measures of economic well-being were considered for review in this paper. Two criteria guided the selection process: (1) application of the metric at the national level of analysis; and (2) use of a monetary metric for estimating the economic value of sub-components and aggregation. Criteria (2) underpins the basis for focusing on indicators adjusting GDP and green accounting approaches due to their potential to demonstrate greater capacity than GDP to approximate economic well-being on a macro-economic scale.

The six selected measures of economic well-being are as follows:

- Gross Domestic Product (GDP)
- Environmentally Adjusted Net Domestic Product (EDP)
- Measure of Economic Welfare (MEW)
- Genuine Savings (GS) (also known as Adjusted Net Savings)
- Genuine Progress Indicator (GPI)
- Inclusive Wealth Index (IWI)

This does not constitute an exhaustive list, but in order to confine the analysis to the space limits of this paper, it was deemed necessary to focus on measures that have been reasonably widely adopted, either in the not-too-distant past or currently. Thus, some similar measures, such as the Sustainable Net Benefit Index (Lawn and Sanders, 1999), the Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare (ISEW) (Cigliarano et al., 2014; Stockhammer et al., 1997), National

337 Welfare Index (Diefenbacher et al., 2010), and Total/Comprehensive Wealth (Ferreira and
338 Hamilton, 2010), were omitted. The ISEW, for example, is largely the same as the first version
339 of the GPI.

340
341 Each of the measures is briefly described in turn.

342 343 3.2.1 Gross Domestic Product

344
345 GDP constitutes a monetary aggregation of all the goods and services produced within a
346 nation's borders in a specific period, usually a year. The OECD defines GDP as "an aggregate
347 measure of production equal to the sum of the gross values added to all resident and institutional
348 units engaged in production and services (plus any taxes, and minus any subsidies, on products
349 not included in the value of their outputs)." (OECD, 2014). GDP thus includes all private and
350 public sector consumption, government expenditure, investments, additions to private
351 inventories, paid-in construction costs, and the foreign balance of trade. GDP can be calculated
352 by the SNA using three separate methods that should arrive at the same outcome: expenditure,
353 production (output) and income (OECD, 2008).

354 355 3.2.2 Environmentally Adjusted Net Domestic Product

356
357 Alongside the revision of the SNA accounts in 1993, a System for Environmental-Economic
358 Accounting (SEEA) was introduced and has been progressively reformed in subsequent years.
359 The EDP derives from the SEEA, adjusting SNA aggregates with estimates of natural capital
360 depletion and degradation (UN, n.d.). Typically, only a few resources are accounted for in EDP.
361 The first estimate for Sweden included monetary estimates of the depletion of metal ores, loss
362 of agricultural soils, and increments of stock pollutants influencing environmental degradation
363 through acidification and eutrophication (Skanberg, 2001).

364 365 3.2.3 Measure of Economic Welfare

366
367 The MEW was the first green accounting measure which sought to estimate the annual real
368 consumption of households. Similarly to EDP, the starting point in the MEW is the outcome
369 from the SNA, which is adjusted to account for the monetary value of non-market commodities,
370 both positive and negative. In the MEW, the adjustments include the monetary value of unpaid
371 work, leisure time and environmental damages (Nordhaus and Tobin, 1972). Thus, it was fairly
372 limited in scope but provided the foundations on which the GS and ISEW were built.

373 374 3.2.4 Genuine Savings

375
376 First formalised by Pearce and Atkinson (1993), GS is derived from capital theory and based
377 on the Hartwick Rule. The measure constitutes a broad measure of weak sustainability that
378 values changes in the natural resource base and environmental quality in addition to man-made
379 assets (physical capital). The measure differentiates between gross and net saving. The former
380 equates to the total amount set aside for the future in terms of either foreign lending or
381 investment in productive assets. The latter accounts for depreciation. GS is an extension of net
382 saving, which subtracts the monetary value of resource depletion and pollution damages and

383 adds investment in human capital (Qasim et al., 2020)³. A positive GS suggests a weakly
384 sustainable economy.

385

386 3.2.5 Genuine Progress Indicator

387

388 Evolving from the ISEW, the GPI constitutes an attempt to measure whether the environmental
389 impacts and social costs of economic production and consumption are negative or positive
390 factors in economic well-being (Lawn, 2003; Talberth et al., 2007). Following methodological
391 criticism by Bagstad et al. (2014) concerning the GPI's somewhat arbitrary calculation practices
392 and lack of a solid theoretical basis, Talberth and Weisdorf (2017) advanced the GPI 2.0
393 methodology. GPI 2.0 will be the version analysed in this paper, which is defined as "*a*
394 *monetary measure of economic welfare for a given population in a given year that accounts for*
395 *benefits and costs experienced by that population in association with investment, production,*
396 *trade, and consumption of goods and services"* (Talberth and Weisdorf, 2017, p. 142). A
397 capital-asset approach is applied to the various flows of well-being benefits, grouping 'services
398 from essential capital' into human, social, built and natural capital. Financial capital is already
399 included within market-exchange value, so is excluded from GPI 2.0, avoiding the potential
400 double counting of benefits.

401

402 3.2.6 Inclusive Wealth Index

403

404 The IWI measures the wealth of nations by analysing stocks of capital assets. Launched in 2012
405 by the UN University's International Human Dimensions Programme and the UN Environment
406 Programme, the IWI is a bi-annual estimate of the trajectory of a nation's wealth using the
407 shadow prices of its productive bases and adjusting for damages relating to greenhouse gas
408 emissions, oil capital gains and total factor productivity (UNEP, 2018).

409

410 3.3 Method of analysis

411

412 The analysis is exploratory rather than deterministic. Direct linkages between the measures and
413 SDGs were classed as impacts to SDGs that might occur in tandem with macro-economic
414 activity, especially its expansion. For example, aspects of the SDGs linked to jobs and
415 productivity, or the social, economic and environmental externalities of production and
416 consumption. For example, if an indicator included a cost deduction for greenhouse gas
417 emissions, then a direct link is evident between its calculation method and SDG 13 on climate
418 action.

419

420 Indirect linkages were the more speculative, tangential consequences of economic output, such
421 as enhanced opportunities to fulfil healthcare and education-related targets due to increased
422 wealth. These are discussed in the ensuing analysis but are likely implications of economic
423 output (and often growth) rather than a specific component of an alternative measure of
424 economic well-being that might incentivise policy action to boost SDG performance.

425

426

427

428

429

³ This methodology referred to in this paper will be the one used in the recent national assessment of New Zealand's GS by Qasim et al. (2020), which is slightly broader in scope than the World Bank's approach.

4. Results

Each of the measures of economic well-being is reviewed in turn. The aim of the analysis is not to provide a critique of theoretical foundations, detailed calculation procedures or data availability for each measure, but rather to provide a conceptual assessment focused predominantly on the direct linkages between the measure's calculation procedures, the capital-asset foundations of the well-being economy and the SDGs.

4.1 Gross Domestic Product

GDP is the indicator via which progress towards SDG 8, Target 8.1 is assessed: "sustain per capita economic growth in accordance with national circumstances and, in particular, at least 7 per cent gross domestic product growth per annum in the least developed countries" (UN, 2016). Within SDG8, Targets 8.2, 8.3, 8.5, 8.9 and 8.B are directly aligned with the objectives of Target 8.1, seeking increased employment and productivity. Targets 8.1 and 8.B aim to boost investment and increase aid for trade, respectively, the fulfilment of which will translate into expanded macro-economic activity, all other factors being equal. There is also some direct synergy with aspects of the human, social and financial and physical capital asset classes in the well-being economy. The national pursuit of increased GDP is also likely to be an objective which has synergy with reducing poverty in the least developed countries, and thus concurs with Target 1.1's aim to eradicate extreme poverty for all people, measured by the number of people living on less than \$1.25 a day. Increased wealth can also directly contribute to meeting the part of Target 2.3 relating to the doubling of incomes for small-scale producers. Investment in industry boosts GDP, all other factors being equal, and assists with meeting Target 9.2 on raising industry's share in gross domestic product. Finally, boosting GDP can also help to fulfil Target 10.1 on achieving and sustaining income growth among the bottom 40 per cent of a nation's population at a rate higher than the national average.

The incoherence of GDP growth as a policy objective is revealed through the extent to which it does not capture the trade-offs of economic activity, which are indicated by the array of SDGs likely to be negatively impacted by increased economic activity if not managed properly. Even within SDG 8, the pursuit of increased GDP is likely to be inconsistent with the objective of Target 8.4 to improve progressively, through to 2030, global resource efficiency in consumption and production (Thomas et al., 2018). Boosting GDP might also be incompatible with the environmental goals linked to the natural capital asset class of the well-being economy, especially SDGs 13, 14 and 15 (Hickel et al., 2019). Equally, there could be negative implications of expanding GDP with respect to the human and financial and physical asset classes, particularly concerning SDGs 10 and 12 (Lafortune et al., 2018). Extensive evidence suggests that increased GDP typically leads to increased income inequality, undermining the ambitions of SDG 10 (Cosciene et al., 2020; Piketty, 2014).

Overall, GDP can be directly linked to ten targets within five of the SDGs. None of these five SDGs relate to the natural capital asset class, reconfirming that the well-being economy's environmental domain is overlooked in the SNA. As exemplified above, there are likely numerous indirect negative impacts to the environment caused by increased wealth. There are also likely positive indirect effects, such as increased capacity to provide high-quality healthcare (SDG 3) and education (SDG 4).

480 4.2 Environmentally Adjusted Net Domestic Product

481
482 The EDP bears quite close similarity to the IWI. Based on the SEEA, it takes a stock rather than
483 flow-based approach, but also seeks to account for the various externalities of economic
484 activity. Physical resource accounts are linked to the monetary balance and flow accounts
485 calculated in accordance with the methodology of the SNA. Emphasis is also placed on
486 accounting for changes in environmental quality and the maintenance of tangible wealth.

487
488 The SEEA accounts for the following: materials flow and solid waste; energy and carbon
489 emissions; water and wastewater; agriculture, forestry and fisheries; ecosystems; and land-use
490 and management. In addition to SDGs 1, 2, 8 and 9 on zero poverty, zero hunger, economic
491 growth and infrastructure, respectively, a broad array of SDG goals and targets can be directly
492 linked to these physical resource accounts. Materials flow and solid waste can be connected to
493 SDGs 11 and 12. Energy and carbon emissions link to SDGs 7, 12 and 13. Water and
494 wastewater management is a core component of SDG 6. Agriculture links to SDGs 2 and 15.
495 Forestry and fisheries link to several targets within SDGs 14 and 15. The sustainability of
496 ecosystems, such as mountains and deserts, are included in SDG 15. Sustainable land-use and
497 management is also addressed within SDG 15.

498
499 Overall, eleven SDGs can be linked directly to the SDGs in the EDP. Akin to expanded GDP,
500 there are likely several indirect links with other SDGs. These might include enhanced health
501 and well-being (SDG 3), better education (SDG 4), and stronger institutions (SDG 16).

502 503 4.3 Measure of Economic Welfare

504
505 The MEW was an early forerunner which led to the emergence of the ISEW and the GPI. It
506 starts with the value for GDP before adding the monetary value of leisure time and unpaid work,
507 before deducting the costs of environmental damage. The value of leisure time and unpaid work
508 are difficult to link to any SDG targets. However, the costs of environmental damage can be
509 connected to a broad variety of goals and targets depending on the breadth of the included costs.

510
511 Overall, the MEW is a little more extensive than GDP in incentivising action likely to be of
512 benefit to SDG performance. Like GDP, direct links are evident with targets in SDGs 1, 2, 8
513 and 9, but also potentially various pollution-related targets, including air pollutants (Targets 3.9
514 and 11.6), greenhouse gas emissions (Targets 9.2, 9.4, 11.3 and 13.2), water pollutants (Targets
515 14.1 and 15.5) and reducing solid waste (Target 11.6). The MEW can be directly linked to and
516 drive policy action concerning targets within nine of the seventeen SDGs.

517 518 4.4 Genuine Savings

519
520 In the first stage of the GS, Gross National Savings (GNS) are calculated, which amount to the
521 difference between gross national income and public and private consumption plus net current
522 transfers. Net National Savings (NNS) are then calculated by deducting depreciation of fixed
523 capital from Gross National Savings. Boosting GNS/NNS could be achieved mainly through
524 focus on SDG 8 via expanded economic activity or SDG 12, particularly via Target 12.1 on
525 implementing national sustainable consumption and production plans.

526
527 From NNS, the Net National Savings Minus Rents (NNSFR) are calculated by deducting
528 natural resource rents from Net National Savings. These exclude potentially renewable
529 resources and instead include rents from non-renewable resources such as fossil fuels, minerals

530 and metals. Increased values for the NNSFR are likely to be delivered through more sustainable
531 management and efficient use of natural resources (Target 12.2 of the SDGs), which will reduce
532 natural resource rents. Where feasible, the NNSFR calculation could incentivise policymakers
533 to focus on circular economy principles in relation to non-renewable resources, which would
534 lead to alignment with Target 12.5 aimed at substantially reducing waste generation through
535 prevention, reduction, recycling and reuse. Reduction in the use of fossil fuels for energy
536 generation and associated resource rents also chimes with the pursuit of SDG 7's objectives
537 concerning increasing access to affordable and clean energy. Targets 7.2 and 7.3 on increasing
538 the share of renewable energy and improving energy efficiency are particularly apt in this
539 context. There are obvious co-benefits between the pursuit of environmentally focused SDGs
540 and meeting the climate change objectives of SDG 13.

541
542 The Net National Savings Minus Rents Plus Forestry (NNSF) are estimated by adding the rents
543 from forest depletion to the NNSFR. Rents from forestry are excluded from World Bank
544 estimates of the GS but were included within the New Zealand estimate. This approach is
545 potentially aligned with the objectives of SDG 15, especially Target 15.2 on the conservation,
546 restoration and sustainable use of terrestrial and inland freshwater ecosystems and their
547 services. A resource rent approach alone, however, is unlikely to incentivise the conservation
548 of ecosystem services of value to human well-being. Thus, fulfilment of Target 15.9 is unlikely
549 to be stimulated by the NNSF, which seeks to integrate ecosystem and biodiversity values into
550 national and local planning. A broader approach to the NNSF would be necessary to incentivise
551 policy action that is aligned with the overarching objectives of SDG 14 on the conservation and
552 sustainability of marine and aquatic life.

553
554 The GS is calculated by adding investments in education to the NNSF and deducting for
555 pollution damage. The former amounts to a proxy measure for human capital and has synergy
556 with all ten of the targets linked to SDG 4 on ensuring inclusive and equitable access to
557 education. The latter has health and well-being implications that contribute to the meeting of
558 Target 3.9 on reducing the health impacts of air, water and soil pollution. Similar objectives
559 relating to the minimisation of pollution impacts can be observed in Targets 6.3 and 11.5
560 (drinking water quality), 11.6 (cities), 14.1 (marine environment) and 15.5 (degradation of
561 natural habitats).

562
563 Overall, the calculation methodology of the GS goes well beyond GDP by capturing several
564 environmental externalities, and pursuing its maximisation is likely to have the potential to
565 incentivise direct policy action across targets in twelve of the SDGs: 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12,
566 13, 14 and 15. Of these, seven of the SDGs⁴ belong to the natural capital asset class, three to
567 human, one to social, and two to financial and physical. None of the directly aligned SDGs
568 related to the intangible well-being domains of civic engagement and governance, cultural
569 identity and social connections.

570 571 4.5 Genuine Progress Indicator 572

573 The new calculation methodology – GPI 2.0 – embraces a capital asset to services approach.
574 Links to the SDGs can be identified by examining its calculation processes – for this task, the
575 methodology set out in Table 1 of Talberth and Weisdorf (2017, p.6) is utilised. GPI 2.0 splits
576 its calculation into three categories: market-based welfare, services from essential capital, and
577 environmental and social costs. Each of these has multiple sub-categories and sub-components,

⁴ SDG 11 cuts across the capital asset classes, however, Target 11.6 relates specifically to an environmental dimension within SDG11.

578 which are monetised and aggregated to arrive at the three category totals, which in turn are also
579 aggregated to determine a monetary value for economic well-being in each time period.
580

581 Akin to the GS, the market-based welfare category in the GPI commences with consumption.
582 There is thus direct joinability with SDGs 1, 2, 8 and 9, as per the other measures. Various
583 deductions from consumption in this category can be directly linked to SDGs and their targets.
584 In the case of the sub-category of defensive and regrettable expenditures, the direct links are as
585 follows: costs of medical care (3.7 and 3.8), costs of legal services (16.3), costs of food and
586 energy waste (7.3, 12.3, and 12.5), household pollution abatement (3.9), welfare neutral goods
587 (12.1), and household security (11.1). In the case of the sub-category of household investments,
588 the direct links are as follows: costs of consumer durables (8.4 and 12.5), costs of household
589 repairs and maintenance (11.1 and 11.C), costs of home improvement (11.1 and 11.C), and the
590 costs of higher and vocational education (4.3 and 4.4). The market-based welfare category then
591 deducts the costs of income inequality (10.4) and adds the economic value for the public
592 provision of goods and services (11.2, 12.7 and 17.17).
593

594 Services from essential capital include benefits from human, social, built, and natural capital
595 classes. For human capital, these include services from higher education (4.3 and 4.4),
596 manufacturing jobs (8.2, 8.3 and 9.2) and green jobs (8.9). For social capital, these include
597 benefits from leisure time, voluntary work and internet services (9.C). Of these, leisure time
598 and voluntary work are not possible to link directly to any SDG targets. Built capital comprises
599 benefits from transportation infrastructure (9.1 and 11.2), water infrastructure (9.1), and
600 household capital (11.1). Protected natural capital benefits encompass the many ecosystem
601 services from ecosystems, including marine and freshwater (14.2, 15.1 and 15.8), deserts (15.1),
602 forests (15.2), grasslands (15.1) and wetlands (15.1).
603

604 Environmental and social costs account for the negative environmental and social externalities
605 of economic activity. This category includes three sub-categories: the depletion of natural
606 capital, costs of pollution and social costs of economic activity. The depletion of natural capital
607 involves monetisation of the costs of land conversion (15.1 and 15.A), replacement costs of
608 non-renewable energy resources (9.2, 9.4, 11.3 and 13.2), replacement costs of groundwater
609 depletion (15.1), and productivity losses due to soil erosion (15.3). The costs of pollution
610 include air pollutants (3.9 and 11.6), greenhouse gas emissions (9.2, 9.4, 11.3 and 13.2), water
611 (14.1 and 15.5) and solid waste (11.6). The social costs of economic activity include
612 monetisation of the impacts of crime (16.3 and 16.5), underemployment (8.5, 8.6 and 8.B),
613 homelessness (11.1), commuting (11.2) and vehicular accidents (3.6).
614

615 Overall, the GPI aligns very closely with the conceptual framework for the well-being economy
616 outlined in this paper. Direct links are evident between the natural, financial and physical, social
617 and human capital asset classes, and targets across fourteen of the seventeen SDGs. Limited
618 direct connections were observed with respect to the SDGs in the social capital class, especially
619 SDG 5 on gender equality and SDG 17 on the forging of partnerships to meet the goals.
620 However, indirect benefits relating to SDG 17 are very likely to be stimulated by maximising
621 the services from essential capital (especially human) and minimising the negative
622 environmental and social externalities of economic activity. In addition, although GPI 2.0 does
623 not account for the costs of gender inequality, its pursuit could be enhanced indirectly through
624 its simultaneous integration into company policies seeking to maximise the sustainability of
625 production (SDG 12), or as part of government action to boost employment rights (SDG 8).
626
627

628 4.6 Inclusive Wealth Index

629

630 The IWI has some comparable features to the GPI in terms of its scope, capital asset foundations
631 and SDG linkages. The social capital aspect in the GPI is not included – directly, at least – and
632 instead the IWI’s measurement is confined to manufactured (physical), human and natural
633 capital assets. Within natural capital, the IWI focuses on forests, agricultural land, rivers and
634 estuaries, the atmosphere, oceans and subsoil resources such as soil nutrients. The total stocks
635 of assets across the set of capital assets determine a nation’s wealth, its productive base. Despite
636 direct links between the components in IWI and the targets of the seventeen SDGs, neither SDG
637 8 nor any of the other SDGs recognise the need to transition to an SNA that contains wealth
638 estimates. In cases where wealth increases because of the pursuit of the SDGs, then government
639 actions could be said to be sustainable, and unsustainable if wealth declined.

640

641 Similarly to the other measures reviewed in this paper, an objective of the IWI is to partially
642 fulfil the ambitions of Target 17.19 by providing a complementary assessment to GDP. Thus,
643 it is complementary to SDG Target 8.1. However, its linkages are far broader through emphasis
644 on wealth, since the SDGs, together with their respective targets and indicators, link in a direct
645 manner with the productive base of the economy, especially natural capital stocks such as water,
646 air, soil and forests. A decrease in the IWI could be due to a reduction in natural capital stocks,
647 such as unsustainable use of marine resources (SDG 14) or terrestrial ecosystems, forests and
648 biodiversity (SDG 15), or failure to tackle the impacts of climate change (SDG 13). Increases
649 in the IWI could directly lead to SDG benefits in targets linked to SDGs 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 11, 12,
650 13, 14 and 15. Akin to natural capital accounting, the IWI incentivises policy-action to preserve
651 capital assets intact, or to increase stocks, which in turn has the potential to contribute to the
652 meeting of various SDGs and their targets. In comparison to the GS and GPI, the IWI includes
653 only a limited adjustment for the environmental and social externalities of economic activity,
654 seeking to account for the impacts of greenhouse gas emissions (SDG 13), total factor
655 productivity (exogenous factors impacting economic growth) (SDG 8), and oil capital gains
656 (SDGs 8 and 12). Thus, unlike the GS (to an extent) and the GPI (more comprehensively), the
657 IWI does not directly focus on the quality of natural capital stocks and incentivise links with
658 targets in the SDGs relating to the minimisation of pollution, such as 9.2, 9.4, 11.3, 11.6, 13.2,
659 and 14.1. In addition, the social externalities of economic activity, such as inequality (SDG 10)
660 are overlooked.

661

662 Overall, the IWI is similar to the EDP in providing a useful measure of the extent to which a
663 nation is weakly sustainable, providing more depth than the MEW, and a similar capital asset
664 framework to the GPI, but with limited comprehensiveness concerning the environmental and
665 social externalities of economic activity. The measure can be directly linked to ten of the
666 seventeen SDGs.

667

668 4.7 Performance summary

669

670 Table 2 provides a summary of the performance of each indicator, highlighting the areas of
671 overlap between the calculation method and at least one of targets linked to the goals of the
672 respective SDGs. The Genuine Progress Indicator (GPI) is found to be the most comprehensive
673 in coverage, linking directly to 14 of the 17 SDGs.

674

675

676

677

Table 2. Indicators of economic well-being and direct SDG alignment.

Sustainable Development Goal	Indicator of economic well-being					
	GDP	EDP	MEW	GS	GPI	IWI
1 No poverty	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2 Zero hunger	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3 Good health and well-being			✓	✓	✓	✓
4 Quality education					✓	
5 Gender equality						
6 Clean water and sanitation		✓		✓	✓	
7 Affordable and clean energy		✓		✓	✓	
8 Decent work and economic growth	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
9 Industry, innovation and infrastructure	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
10 Reduced inequality	✓				✓	
11 Sustainable cities and communities		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
12 Responsible consumption and production		✓		✓	✓	✓
13 Climate action		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
14 Life below water		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
15 Life on land		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
16 Peace, justice and strong institutions						
17 Partnerships						
Total number of alignments	5	11	8	12	14	10

679

680

681

5. Discussion

682

5.1 Summary of outcomes and challenges of operationalising the alternative measures

683

684

685

686

687

688

689

690

691

692

693

694

695

696

697

698

699

700

Alternative measures of economic well-being provide a nuanced means of assessing progress, providing more detailed information about the economic well-being implications of macro-economic activity. They either seek to account for the environmental and social costs of activity, assess decline in resource asset stocks, or both. Although forged on similar capital asset foundations, the IWI's omission of the social asset limits its comprehensiveness in comparison to the GPI, which, with fourteen direct linkages between its methodology and the SDGs, was found to be the most extensive of the six measures.

The extent to which any alternative measure of economic well-being encompasses SDG components is a byproduct of its scope. More straight-forward measures, such as the MEW, are not especially data intensive, but lack comprehensive in breadth. More extensive measures, such as those based on the GPI 2.0 methodology, are data intensive, procedurally challenging and potentially cumbersome to calculate. Moreover, however complex, no metric can capture of all the multifarious dimensions of economic well-being specific to a nation. In addition, at the indicator rather than goal and target level, the extent to which the SDGs embrace the well-being economy is limited, excluding even a well-being metric. The specifics of well-being will

701 also vary from one nation to another, which reiterates concerns about the extent to which any
702 sustainability-themed indicator should be used to form international performance comparisons
703 (Olafsson et al., 2014; Cook et al., 2017). Aggregate economic well-being measures and well-
704 being indicators are also static measures of performance, which give hints as to the likely
705 sustainability of national economic activity and the likelihood of indirect linkages to SDGs
706 being realised. Costanza et al. (2016b) voiced the importance of developing dynamic, non-
707 linear systems models of what was coined ‘the economy-in-society-in-nature’, which could
708 keep track of stocks and flows of the four capital assets, and their costs and benefits. Although
709 highly complex, such models would help to facilitate better understanding of past, present and
710 likely future performance, facilitating better understanding of the economic approaches and
711 policies that are most likely to generate recovery from the impacts of the COVID-19 crisis and
712 accord with the United Nations’ 2030 vision for a more sustainable and desirable world.

713

714 5.2 Economic approaches to securing and promoting well-being

715

716 The recent and, to date, ongoing COVID-19 crisis has the potential to induce record rates of
717 unemployment, bankruptcies, and private and public sector debt levels, to mention just a few
718 of the global economic implications. It is clear GDP will decline across the planet, at least in
719 the short-term, predominantly due to a fall in personal disposable income and severe contraction
720 in production and consumption. However, within weeks of widespread lockdown across the
721 planet, there were reports of environmental benefits from the partial suspension of capitalism,
722 including cleaner air in Chinese cities due to a 40% reduction in coal consumption by the
723 nation’s six largest power plants (Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 2020). In Europe, satellite
724 data revealed reductions in nitrogen oxide emissions across Northern Italy (ESA, 2020).
725 Although measures of economic well-being will, in time, be able to approximate some of the
726 economic well-being implications of COVID-19, the fact remains that any overall effects,
727 positive or negative, will be the result of unplanned forces imposed on the world rather than
728 intended systemic and policy changes.

729

730 The current crisis has, however, reinforced the importance of systemic, paradigm-level
731 transitions of a planned character in which economic activities of least damage to the
732 environment and society have been promulgated. In systemic language, these are economic
733 activities that have the natural, social, human, and financial and physical capital assets as their
734 bedrock, but have limited negative feedback, not exceeding the waste assimilative capacity of
735 the environment, socially just and desirable. This paper does not wish to speculate on which
736 economic approach will maximise economic well-being, but to use the ongoing hiatus to briefly
737 mention the merits of three possible options – steady state economics, degrowth, and doughnut
738 economics – in the light of the need to recover from the damage of COVID-19 and maintain
739 pursuit of the United Nations’ 2030 vision.

740

741 5.2.1 *Steady-state economics*

742 The concept of the steady-state economy has been articulated and promoted most prominently
743 by Daly (1974; 1991). A steady-state economy involves constant stocks of physical wealth,
744 maintained by throughput of natural resources. Emphasis is placed on maximising the durability
745 of the stocks, reducing the flow of natural capital necessary for maintenance and minimising
746 negative ecological impacts. Growth is assumed to entail expansion in stocks of physical
747 wealth, increasing drawdown on scarce natural capital and straining the waste assimilative
748 capacity of affected ecosystems. Steady-state approaches instead encourage economic activities
749 reliant on a sustainable yield of renewable resources (Ekins, 2003; Goodland and Daly, 1996).
750 Although various arguments have been outlined concerning the limited practicability of the

751 steady-state economy in a growth-dominated world and often the undesirability of such an
752 approach in the developing world or after a deep recession, evidence suggests that the
753 ecological implications of non-adherence have been increasingly apparent. These includes
754 impacts such as overpopulation, increased pollution, increased concentrations of greenhouse
755 gas emissions, ocean acidification, reduced stocks of non-renewable energy resources and
756 minerals, and biodiversity loss. With regards to the latter, a recent report by the
757 Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (2019)
758 identified that damage to various ecosystems was undermining 35 of 44 UN goals, including
759 the SDGs relating to poverty (SDG 1), hunger (SDG 2), health (SDG 3), water (SDG 6), cities
760 (SDG 11), climate (SDG 13), oceans (SDG 14) and land (SDG 15).

761

762 *5.2.2 Degrowth*

763 Closely tied to the idea of the steady-state economy is degrowth which, for developed
764 economies, is likely to be a stage in the transition from a growing to non-growing economy. In
765 March 2020, the US-based Center for the Advancement of the Steady-State Economy voiced
766 that in cases where the size of the economy has overshoot the carrying capacity of the ecosystems
767 that contain it, degrowth may be required before establishing a steady state economy that can
768 be maintained over the longer term (CASSE, 2020). Kerschner (2010) argued for degrowth as
769 an objective of developed countries, leaving ecological space for developing nations to catch
770 up, and eventually for the whole world to reach a steady-state whereby economic well-being
771 needs, prosperity and desirability are fulfilled. The socio-economic implications of the
772 transition to the steady-state are likely to be challenging for developed nations (Kallis et al.,
773 2012), much like the current, unplanned economic impacts of the COVID-19 crisis. Given that
774 SDG 8, ‘Decent work and economic growth’, sets a target for all nations to sustain per capita
775 economic growth in accordance with national circumstances (UN, 2015), it could be argued
776 that this includes the possibility of targeting negative or zero growth in developed nations,
777 provided this commitment has positive synergies with other SDGs and their respective targets.

778

779 *5.2.3 Doughnut economics*

780 Doughnut economics was first elaborated in 2012 and has since been expanded to reflect social
781 (twelve dimensions) and ecological boundaries (9 dimensions) in line with the objectives of the
782 SDGs and planetary boundaries, respectively (Raworth, 2017). Although perhaps more of a
783 coherent visual framework for sustainable development than a prescriptive guide concerning
784 how to manage an economy, doughnut economics nevertheless has considerable implications
785 for economic policymaking. Firstly, it reinforces linkages between planetary health and human
786 well-being. This has profound implications in terms of the quality of the four capital asset stocks
787 depicted in this paper as contributing to economic well-being. Secondly, through the embedding
788 of the social objectives of the SDGs, it helps to identify the various deficiencies and related
789 economic inequalities, many of which could be causally related. Thirdly, through recognition
790 of planetary boundaries, doughnut economics chime with the constraints-based approach of
791 steady-state economics and drives home arguments against political prioritisation of GDP
792 growth. Economies must be regenerative and distributive by design (Raworth, 2017). Fourthly,
793 considerable modelling work is likely to be needed to best understand how to transform modern,
794 developed economies that are highly unsustainable into ones that are simultaneously
795 regenerative and distributive, and socially just. Fifthly, evaluative tools such as alternative
796 measures of economic well-being could play an important role as part of a suite of monitoring
797 indicators in this regard. In April 2020, the city of Amsterdam in the Netherlands relied on
798 doughnut economics as the theoretical basis and framework for their circular economy strategy
799 2020-2025, intending to then commence the process of developing suitable monitoring tools
800 (City of Amsterdam, 2020).

801
802 The three approaches of steady state, degrowth and doughnut economics encompass several
803 SDG objectives, but also represent macro-economic models of the well-being economy that can
804 transition beyond economic growth objectives. The well-being economy has been envisioned
805 as an approach that goes beyond the limitations of the SDGs, placing strong emphasis on
806 personal and environmental health, which implies fundamental shifts in the forms of production
807 and consumption, work and governance (Fioramonti, 2016; Fioramonti et al., 2019). The SDGs
808 thus provide a potential bridge between the old, growth-based and new, well-being focused
809 models of the economy. They recognise the merits of growth in GDP, particularly in developing
810 nations, and simultaneously advance deployment of alternative measures of economic well-
811 being, such as the GPI, which are more appropriate for evaluating the well-being economy on
812 a macro-economic scale.

813 814 5.3 Challenges in conceptualising and modelling economic well-being

815
816 The capital asset approach modelled in this paper depicts economic well-being as deriving from
817 four categories. Translating these assets and their flows into monetary values is, in many cases,
818 a challenge. Even monetary valuation of financial and physical capital, which may appear
819 easiest as it already forms part of the SNA used to calculate GDP, can be more complex than it
820 first appears. Financial products are vulnerable to risks and market distortions that can change
821 their value greatly from one day to the next. Equally, the value of physical assets depends
822 greatly on assumptions, not least how long the capital stock will survive and the extent to which
823 its capacity to produce will diminish. SEEA methods for estimating the monetary value of
824 resource stocks and flows still require assumptions to be made, such as those concerning future
825 extraction rates, prescriptive discount rates and wider market impacts. In addition, many of the
826 well-being benefits (ecosystem services) from natural capital have public goods characteristics
827 that cannot be traded in markets. Although monetary (non-market) methods exist to estimate
828 the value of flows or marginal changes in the quantity and quality of such benefits, these are
829 methodologically challenging and sometimes controversial. The concept of social capital is
830 equally elusive, not just in terms of how to value it but also how it should be defined in the first
831 place. This was observed and reported in relation to the quality of life aspects in the Better Life
832 Index that are non-monetary, contextual and culturally specific (Costanza et al., 2018). Many
833 of the benefits of intangibles, such as social networks, community cohesion and institutional
834 support systems, appear to lie beyond the realm of economic well-being, constituting broader
835 aspects of human well-being. In that respect, perhaps the IWI should be praised for the omission
836 of the social capital asset class from its methodology.

837
838 Another dilemma with respect to capital asset approaches to modelling economic well-being is
839 the extent to which they should be considered substitutable. In terms of delivering sustainability
840 of economic well-being, capital asset approaches tend to assume that this objective is met if the
841 total stocks of capital do not decline over time. This suggests that capital assets are substitutable
842 along the lines of the Hartwick Rule. For example, declining natural capital could be
843 compensated with more human capital – investment in education – or more physical
844 infrastructure – roads, hospitals, power plants etc. This is ‘weak sustainability’ and it is evident
845 in GDP and the alternative indicators of economic well-being, where increases in consumption
846 of physical goods and services can potentially offset various environmental and social damages.
847 Criticism of weak sustainability has been extensive, predominantly because of ignorance of the
848 importance of maintaining ‘critical’ natural capital. These are the environmental stocks that
849 should not be drawn down below a certain quantity or diminished greatly in quality due to their
850 fundamental role in supporting life and economic activities on the planet. The lack of a strong

851 sustainability approach in alternative measures of economic well-being entails the risk that
852 natural capital stocks will become over-extracted, however, defining critical thresholds in a
853 national context is another very challenging issue. Despite these methodological weaknesses
854 and concerns about the extent to which the macro-scale sustainability of economies is measured,
855 the capital asset approach retains advantages in terms of providing information about the
856 potential level of economic production in the future.

857

858 5.4 Alternative conceptualisations of economic well-being

859

860 There are alternative conceptualisations of economic well-being that have merit, especially
861 when considered in the light of the SDGs. These include needs and capability-based approaches
862 that are particularly relevant in developing nation contexts, where the population may have few
863 opportunities to access food (SDG 1 and SDG 2), health (SDG 3), clean water and sanitation
864 (SDG 6), shelter, energy (SDG 7) and education (SDG 4). Sen's (1985) 'capability approach'
865 to economic well-being looks at not only the consumption activities available to individuals,
866 but also their capacity to choose from different options. In other words, the approach
867 differentiates between functioning, capabilities and potential. A person without access to
868 healthcare is unlikely to have the potential to enjoy many consumption activities available to
869 others within that society. Although difficult to operationalise in practice, capability thinking
870 formed part of the basis underpinning the formation of the Human Development Index, a
871 composite index using GDP, health and educational data to estimate the level of development
872 and opportunity within nations. It has often been cited as an alternative to GDP, however, it is
873 better thought of as a supplement providing a snapshot of socio-economic well-being. National
874 well-being indicator sets, although lacking the macro-scale evaluative and monetary advantages
875 of alternative indicators of economic well-being, are more comprehensive in scope and, in the
876 case of New Zealand, were developed using a capital asset framework. If used in conjunction
877 with systemic approaches, such as doughnut economics, and linked well-being budgets, they
878 may be very useful for ensuring that economic and social well-being is both maximised and
879 sustainable in developed and developing economies alike.

880

881

882 **6. Conclusion**

883

884 Alternative measures of economic well-being can capture the deeper realities of the prosperity
885 and sustainability of a national economy. This paper's conceptualisation of the well-being
886 economy and delineation of linkages between its capital asset components, domains and SDGs
887 enabled an appraisal to be made of the extent to which aggregate indicators of economic well-
888 being capture the vision of a more sustainable and prosperous future for the planet. Pursuit of
889 economic growth per capita, a core target of SDG 8, is calculated effectively using GDP data.
890 However, the GDP calculation is unable to reveal the deeper intricacies of economic well-being,
891 including the various capital and domain components which provide its productive base.
892 Calculation components within alternative measures of economic welfare, such as the GPI, can
893 be linked directly or indirectly to targets within most of the SDGs. Through the deployment of
894 such measures, monetary insights can be provided to decision-makers concerning the well-
895 being advantages of aligning policy objectives with the SDGs, and the costs of non-adherence.

896

897 In recent times, nations such as New Zealand, Iceland and Scotland have published well-being
898 indicator sets, which include economic, environmental and social dimensions, and have been
899 designed to align with the SDGs. These are useful for revealing trends in well-being dimensions
900 and are important barometers of progress. However, well-being indicators alone cannot

901 estimate, monetarily, macro-level progress in national economic well-being, nor give
902 indications of its likely sustainability and prosperity. The use of alternative measures of
903 economic well-being, alongside traditional activity yardsticks such as GDP and emerging well-
904 being indicator sets, has the potential to provide a highly nuanced macro-economic evaluation
905 of a nation's economic well-being. In addition, in the light of the COVID-19 crisis in 2020 and
906 emerging global recession, voluminous work is needed among the academic community to
907 articulate the modelling tools, and the economic paradigms and systems, necessary to mitigate
908 the potentially negative impacts to economic well-being, maintaining the possibility of
909 fulfilling the United Nations' transformative 2030 vision.

910
911

912 **Acknowledgements**

913 The main author, David Cook, is in receipt of a Post-Doctoral Fellowship Grant from the
914 University of Iceland.

915
916

917 **References**

918

919 Aitken, A. (2019). Measuring Welfare Beyond GDP. *National Institute Economic*
920 *Review*, 249(1), R3-R16.

921

922 Barbier, E. B.; Burgess, J. C. The Sustainable Development Goals and the systems approach to
923 sustainability. *Economics: The Open-Access, Open-Assessment E-Journal* 2017, 11(2017-
924 28), 1-23.

925

926 Bleys, B. (2012). Beyond GDP: Classifying alternative measures for progress. *Social Indicators*
927 *Research*, 109(3), 355-376.

928

929 Bowen, K. J., Cradock-Henry, N. A., Koch, F., Patterson, J., Häyhä, T., Vogt, J., & Barbi, F.
930 (2017). Implementing the "Sustainable Development Goals": towards addressing three key
931 governance challenges—collective action, trade-offs, and accountability. *Current opinion*
932 *in environmental sustainability*, 26, 90-96.

933

934 CASSE (Center for the Advancement of the Steady State Economy). (2020). Steady State
935 Economy Definition. Retrieved from: <https://steadystate.org/discover/definition/> (accessed
936 17th April 2020).

937

938 Gigliarano, C., Balducci, F., Ciommi, M., & Chelli, F. (2014). Going regional: An index of
939 sustainable economic welfare for Italy. *Computers, Environment and Urban Systems*, 45,
940 63-77.

941

942 City of Amsterdam. (2020). Amsterdam Circular 2020-2025 Strategy. Retrieved from:
943 <https://www.amsterdam.nl/en/policy/sustainability/circular-economy/> (accessed 30th
944 April 2020).

945

946 Cook, D., Davíðsdóttir, B., & Pétursson, J. G. (2015). Accounting for the utilisation of
947 geothermal energy resources within the genuine progress indicator—A methodological
948 review. *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews*, 49, 211-220.

949

- 950 Cook, D., Saviolidis, N. M., Davíðsdóttir, B., Jóhannsdóttir, L., & Ólafsson, S. (2017).
951 Measuring countries' environmental sustainability performance – the development of a
952 nation-specific indicator set. *Ecological Indicators*, 74, 463-478.
953
- 954 Cook, D., Saviolidis, N., Davíðsdóttir, B., Jóhannsdóttir, L., & Ólafsson, S. (2019). Synergies
955 and Trade-Offs in the Sustainable Development Goals – the Implications of the Icelandic
956 Tourism Sector. *Sustainability*, 11(15), 4223.
957
- 958 Coscieme, L., Mortensen, L. F., Anderson, S., Ward, J., Donohue, I., & Sutton, P. C. (2020).
959 Going beyond gross domestic product as an indicator to bring coherence to the sustainable
960 development goals. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 248, 119232.
961
- 962 Costanza, R., Hart, M., Posner, S., & Talberth, J. (2009). Beyond GDP: The need for new
963 measures of progress. *The pardee papers*, 4, 46.
964
- 965 Costanza, R., Kubiszewski, I., Giovannini, E., Lovins, H., McGlade, J., Pickett, K. E.,
966 Ragnarsdóttir, K. V., Roberts, D., De Vogli, R. & Wilkinson, R. (2014). Development:
967 Time to leave GDP behind. *Nature News*, 505(7483), 283.
968
- 969 Costanza, R., Fioramonti, L., & Kubiszewski, I. (2016a). The UN Sustainable Development
970 Goals and the dynamics of wellbeing. *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment*, 14(2),
971 59-59.
972
- 973 Costanza, R., Daly, L., Fioramonti, L. & Giovannini, E. (2016b). Modelling and measuring
974 sustainable wellbeing in connection with the UN Sustainable Development Goals.
975 *Ecological Economics*, 130, 350-355.
976
- 977 Costanza, R., Caniglia, B., Fioramonti, L., Kubiszewski, I., Lewis, H., Hunter Lovins, L.,
978 McGlade, J., Mortensen, L. F., Philipsen, D., Pickett, K. E., Ragnarsdóttir, K. V., Roberts,
979 D., Sutton, P., Trebeck, K., Wallis, S., Ward, J., Weatherhead, M. & Wilkinson, R. (2018).
980 Towards a sustainable wellbeing economy. Club of Rome.
981
- 982 Daly, H. E. (1974). The economics of the steady state. *The American Economic Review*, 64(2),
983 15-21.
984
- 985 Daly, H. E. (1991). *Steady-state economics: with new essays*. Island Press: Washington, D.C.
986
- 987 Diefenbacher, H., Zieschank, R., & Rodenhäuser, D. (2010). Measuring Welfare in Germany. *A*
988 *suggestion for a new welfare index*. Federal Environment Agency: Dessau-Roßlau.
989 Retrieved from:
990 <https://www.umweltbundesamt.de/sites/default/files/medien/461/publikationen/3903.pdf>
991 (accessed 22nd January 2021).
992
- 993 Ekins, P. (2003). Identifying critical natural capital: Conclusions about critical natural
994 capital. *Ecological economics*, 44(2-3), 277-292.
995
- 996 ESA (European Space Agency). (2020). Coronavirus: nitrogen oxide emissions drop over Italy.
997 Retrieved from:
998 [http://www.esa.int/ESA_Multimedia/Videos/2020/03/Coronavirus_nitrogen_dioxide_emi](http://www.esa.int/ESA_Multimedia/Videos/2020/03/Coronavirus_nitrogen_dioxide_emissions_drop_over_Italy)
999 [ssions_drop_over_Italy](http://www.esa.int/ESA_Multimedia/Videos/2020/03/Coronavirus_nitrogen_dioxide_emissions_drop_over_Italy) (accessed 17 April 2020).

1000

1001 Ferreira, S., & Hamilton, K. (2010). *Comprehensive wealth, intangible capital, and*

1002 *development*. The World Bank. Retrieved from:

1003 <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/3935> (accessed 22nd January 2021).

1004

1005 Fioramonti, L. (2016). Well-being economy: A scenario for a post-growth horizontal

1006 governance system. Next System Project. Retrieved from: [https://gnhusa.org/gnh/well-](https://gnhusa.org/gnh/well-economy-scenario-post-growth-horizontal-governance-system/)

1007 [economy-scenario-post-growth-horizontal-governance-system/](https://gnhusa.org/gnh/well-economy-scenario-post-growth-horizontal-governance-system/) (accessed 22nd January

1008 2021).

1009

1010 Fioramonti, L., Coscieme, L., & Mortensen, L. F. (2019). From gross domestic product to

1011 wellbeing: How alternative indicators can help connect the new economy with the

1012 Sustainable Development Goals. *The Anthropocene Review*, 6(3), 207-222.

1013

1014 Fisher, I. (1906). *The nature of capital and income*. The Macmillan Company: New York.

1015

1016 Goodland, R., & Daly, H. (1996). Environmental sustainability: universal and non-

1017 negotiable. *Ecological applications*, 6(4), 1002-1017.

1018

1019 Goossens, Y., Mäkipää, A., Schepelmann, P., van de Sand, I., Kuhndtand, M., & Herrndorf, M.

1020 (2007). Alternative progress indicators to gross domestic progress (GDP) as a means

1021 towards sustainable development. In *IP/A/ENVI/ST/2007-10*. Policy Department—

1022 Economic and Scientific Policy (European Parliament), Brussels, Belgium.

1023

1024 Government of Iceland. (2019). Mælikvarðar um hagsæld og lífsgæði [Measures of economic

1025 prosperity and quality of life]. Retrieved from: [https://www.stjornarradid.is/efst-a-](https://www.stjornarradid.is/efst-a-baugi/frettir/stok-frett/2019/09/13/Tillogur-um-39-maelikvarda-um-hagsaeld-og-lifsgaedi-kynntar/)

1026 [baugi/frettir/stok-frett/2019/09/13/Tillogur-um-39-maelikvarda-um-hagsaeld-og-](https://www.stjornarradid.is/efst-a-baugi/frettir/stok-frett/2019/09/13/Tillogur-um-39-maelikvarda-um-hagsaeld-og-lifsgaedi-kynntar/)

1027 [lifsgaedi-kynntar/](https://www.stjornarradid.is/efst-a-baugi/frettir/stok-frett/2019/09/13/Tillogur-um-39-maelikvarda-um-hagsaeld-og-lifsgaedi-kynntar/) (accessed 6 May 2020).

1028

1029 Hák, T., Janoušková, S., & Moldan, B. (2016). Sustainable Development Goals: A need for

1030 relevant indicators. *Ecological Indicators*, 60, 565-573.

1031

1032 Hickel, J. (2019). The contradiction of the sustainable development goals: Growth versus

1033 ecology on a finite planet. *Sustainable Development*, 27(5), 873-884.

1034

1035 Hoekstra, R. (2019). *Replacing GDP by 2030*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK.

1036

1037 Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services. (2019).

1038 Summary for policymakers of the global assessment report on biodiversity and ecosystem

1039 services of the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem

1040 Services. Retrieved from:

1041 https://ipbes.net/sites/default/files/downloads/spm_unedited_advance_for_posting_htn.pdf

1042 [f](https://ipbes.net/sites/default/files/downloads/spm_unedited_advance_for_posting_htn.pdf) (accessed 17 April 2020).

1043

1044 Jackson, T. (2011). *Prosperity without Growth: Economics for a Finite Planet*. Taylor and

1045 Francis: London.

1046

1047 Kallis, G., Kerschner, C., & Martinez-Alier, J. (2012). The economics of degrowth. *Ecological*

1048 *economics*, 84, 172-180.

1049

- 1050 Kenny, D. C., Costanza, R., Dowsley, T., Jackson, N., Josol, J., Kubiszewski, I., Narulla, H.,
 1051 Sese, S, Sutanto, A & Thompson, J. (2019). Australia's Genuine Progress Indicator
 1052 Revisited (1962–2013). *Ecological economics*, 158, 1-10.
 1053
- 1054 Kerschner, C. (2010). Economic de-growth vs. steady-state economy. *Journal of cleaner
 1055 production*, 18(6), 544-551.
 1056
- 1057 Kubiszewski, I., Costanza, R., Franco, C., Lawn, P., Talberth, J., Jackson, T., & Aylmer, C.
 1058 (2013). Beyond GDP: Measuring and achieving global genuine progress. *Ecological
 1059 Economics*, 93, 57-68.
 1060
- 1061 Lafortune, G., Fuller, G., Moreno, J., Schmidt-Traub, G. & Kroll, C. (2018). SDG Index and
 1062 Dashboards. Detailed Methodological Paper. Annex 7: Statistical Clustering of the Goals
 1063 (Exploratory). Bertelsmann Stiftung and Sustainable Development Solution Network, New
 1064 York.
 1065
- 1066 Landefeld, J. S., Seskin, E. P., & Fraumeni, B. M. (2008). Taking the pulse of the economy:
 1067 Measuring GDP. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 22(2), 193-216.
 1068
- 1069 Lawn, P. A. (2003). A theoretical foundation to support the Index of Sustainable Economic
 1070 Wellbeing (ISEW), Genuine Progress Indicator (GPI), and other related indexes.
 1071 *Ecological Economics*, 44(1), 105-118.
 1072
- 1073 Lawn, P. A., & Sanders, R. D. (1999). Has Australia surpassed its optimal macroeconomic
 1074 scale? Finding out with the aid of benefit' and cost' accounts and a sustainable net benefit
 1075 index. *Ecological Economics*, 28(2), 213-229.
 1076
- 1077 Lipsey, R. G., & Harbury, C. D. (1992). *First principles of economics*. Oxford University Press,
 1078 UK.
 1079
- 1080 Luzzatti, T. (2019). Human Needs, Sustainable Development and Public Policy: Learning from
 1081 K.W. Kapp (1910-1976). Chapter 14 in Salvadori, N. & Opocher, A. (eds). (2019). Long-
 1082 run Growth, Social Institutions and Living Standards. Edward Elgar Publishing,
 1083 Cheltenham. UK.
 1084
- 1085 Marcuss, R. D. and Kane, R. E. (2007). US National Income and Product Statistics: Born of the
 1086 Great Depression and World War II. *Bureau of Economic Analysis: Survey of Current
 1087 Business*, 87 (2): 32-46.
 1088
- 1089 McGregor, J. A., & Pouw, N. (2016). Towards an economics of well-being. *Cambridge Journal
 1090 of Economics*, 41(4), 1123-1142.
 1091
- 1092 New Zealand Treasury. (2019). The Wellbeing Budget. Retrieved from:
 1093 <https://treasury.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2019-05/b19-wellbeing-budget.pdf> (accessed
 1094 24th October 2019).
 1095
- 1096 Nordhaus, W. D., & Kokkelenberg, E. C. (1999). Nature's Numbers. Nat. Aca. Press,
 1097 Washington, DC.
 1098

- 1099 Nordhaus, W. D., & Tobin, J. (1972). *Economic growth* (Vol. 5). National Bureau of Economic
1100 Research, Cambridge, MA.
1101
- 1102 OECD. (2006). Alternative Measures of Well-Being. OECD Economics Department Working
1103 Papers No. 476. OECD Publishing, Paris. Retrieved from: [https://www.oecd-](https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/832614168015.pdf?expires=1587377131&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=36234EE2917B3C1D27D63E5C41BD94AF)
1104 [ilibrary.org/docserver/832614168015.pdf?expires=1587377131&id=id&accname=guest](https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/832614168015.pdf?expires=1587377131&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=36234EE2917B3C1D27D63E5C41BD94AF)
1105 [&checksum=36234EE2917B3C1D27D63E5C41BD94AF](https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/832614168015.pdf?expires=1587377131&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=36234EE2917B3C1D27D63E5C41BD94AF) (accessed 20th April 2020).
1106
- 1107 OECD. (2008). OECD National Accounts Statistics. OECD Publishing, Paris. Retrieved from:
1108 [https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/data/aggregate-national-accounts-sna-2008-or-](https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/data/aggregate-national-accounts-sna-2008-or-sna-1993/aggregate-national-accounts-sna-2008-gross-domestic-product-edition-2016-1_0ee0035c-en)
1109 [sna-1993/aggregate-national-accounts-sna-2008-gross-domestic-product-edition-2016-](https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/data/aggregate-national-accounts-sna-2008-gross-domestic-product-edition-2016-1_0ee0035c-en)
1110 [1_0ee0035c-en](https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/data/aggregate-national-accounts-sna-2008-gross-domestic-product-edition-2016-1_0ee0035c-en) (accessed 6th May 2020).
1111
- 1112 OECD. (2013). OECD Framework for Statistics on the Distribution of Household Income,
1113 Consumption and Wealth. OECD Publishing: Paris. Retrieved from: [https://read.oecd-](https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/framework-for-statistics-on-the-distribution-of-household-income-consumption-and-wealth_9789264194830-en#page3)
1114 [ilibrary.org/economics/framework-for-statistics-on-the-distribution-of-household-](https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/framework-for-statistics-on-the-distribution-of-household-income-consumption-and-wealth_9789264194830-en#page3)
1115 [income-consumption-and-wealth_9789264194830-en#page3](https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/framework-for-statistics-on-the-distribution-of-household-income-consumption-and-wealth_9789264194830-en#page3) (accessed 28th October
1116 2019).
1117
- 1118 OECD. (2014). Glossary of statistical terms – gross domestic product. Retrieved from:
1119 <https://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=1163> (accessed 6th May 2020).
1120
- 1121 Olafsson, S., Cook, D., Davidsdottir, B., & Johannsdottir, L. (2014). Measuring countries'
1122 environmental sustainability performance – A review and case study of Iceland. *Renewable*
1123 *and Sustainable Energy Reviews*, 39, 934-948.
1124
- 1125 Oxford Institute for Energy Studies. (2020). China Day 2020 Summary: Geopolitical shifts and
1126 China's energy policy priorities. Retrieved from:
1127 [https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Geopolitical-shifts-](https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Geopolitical-shifts-and-Chinas-energy-policy-priorities.pdf?v=7516fd43adaa&utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=newsletter_axiosgenerate&stream=top)
1128 [and-Chinas-energy-policy](https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Geopolitical-shifts-and-Chinas-energy-policy-priorities.pdf?v=7516fd43adaa&utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=newsletter_axiosgenerate&stream=top)
1129 [priorities.pdf?v=7516fd43adaa&utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_cam](https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Geopolitical-shifts-and-Chinas-energy-policy-priorities.pdf?v=7516fd43adaa&utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=newsletter_axiosgenerate&stream=top)
1130 [paign=newsletter_axiosgenerate&stream=top](https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Geopolitical-shifts-and-Chinas-energy-policy-priorities.pdf?v=7516fd43adaa&utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=newsletter_axiosgenerate&stream=top) (accessed 16th April 2020).
1131
- 1132 Pais, D. F., Afonso, T. L., & Fuinhas, A. (2019). Are economic growth and sustainable
1133 development converging? Evidence from the comparable Genuine Progress Indicator for
1134 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Countries. *International*
1135 *Journal of Energy Economics and Policy*, 9(4), 202.
1136
- 1137 Pearce, D. W., & Atkinson, G. D. (1993). Capital theory and the measurement of sustainable
1138 development: an indicator of “weak” sustainability. *Ecological economics*, 8(2), 103-108.
1139
- 1140 Pelenc, J., & Ballet, J. (2015). Strong sustainability, critical natural capital and the capability
1141 approach. *Ecological Economics*, 112, 36-44.
1142
- 1143 Piketty, T. (2014). *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Belknap Press of Harvard University,
1144 Massachusetts.
1145
- 1146 Qasim, M., Oxley, L., & McLaughlin, E. (2020). Genuine savings as a test of New Zealand
1147 weak sustainability. *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, 22(1), 89-127.
1148

- 1149 Raworth, K. (2017). A Doughnut for the Anthropocene: humanity's compass in the 21st
1150 century. *The lancet planetary health*, 1(2), e48-e49.
- 1151
- 1152 Sen, A. (1985). Well-being, agency and freedom: The Dewey lectures 1984. *The journal of*
1153 *philosophy*, 82(4), 169-221.
- 1154
- 1155 Skånberg, K. (2001). *Constructing a partially environmentally adjusted net domestic product*
1156 *for Sweden 1993 and 1997*. National Institute of Economic Research, Swedish Ministry of
1157 Finance, Stockholm, Sweden.
- 1158
- 1159 Spaiser, V., Ranganathan, S., Swain, R. B., & Sumpter, D. J. (2017). The sustainable
1160 development oxymoron: quantifying and modelling the incompatibility of sustainable
1161 development goals. *International Journal of Sustainable Development & World*
1162 *Ecology*, 24(6), 457-470.
- 1163
- 1164 Stiglitz, J. E., Sen, A. K. & Fitoussi, J-P. (2009). *Measuring Economic Performance and Social*
1165 *Progress*. Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social
1166 Progress: Paris.
- 1167
- 1168 Stockhammer, E., Hochreiter, H., Obermayr, B., & Steiner, K. (1997). The index of sustainable
1169 economic wellbeing (ISEW) as an alternative to GDP in measuring economic wellbeing.
1170 The results of the Austrian (revised) ISEW calculation 1955–1992. *Ecological Economics*,
1171 21(1), 19-34.
- 1172
- 1173 Talberth, J., Cobb, C., & Slattery, N. (2007). *The Genuine Progress Indicator 2006, The Nature*
1174 *of Economics. Redefining Progress*, Oakland, CA.
- 1175
- 1176 Talberth, J., & Weisdorf, M. (2017). Genuine progress indicator 2.0: pilot accounts for the US,
1177 Maryland, and City of Baltimore 2012–2014. *Ecological Economics*, 142, 1-11.
- 1178
- 1179 Thomas, A., Dziobek, C. H. & Galeza, T. (2018). Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and
1180 GDP: What National Accounts Bring to the Table. IMF Working Paper No. WP/18/41.
1181 Retrieved from:
1182 [https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WP/Issues/2018/03/07/Sustainable-Development-](https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WP/Issues/2018/03/07/Sustainable-Development-Goals-SDGs-and-GDP-What-National-Accounts-Bring-to-the-Table-45706)
1183 [Goals-SDGs-and-GDP-What-National-Accounts-Bring-to-the-Table-45706](https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WP/Issues/2018/03/07/Sustainable-Development-Goals-SDGs-and-GDP-What-National-Accounts-Bring-to-the-Table-45706) (accessed
1184 12th May 2020).
- 1185
- 1186 UN (United Nations). (2015). *Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable*
1187 *Development*. UN Publishing: New York. Retrieved from:
1188 <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld> (accessed 15th
1189 November 2019).
- 1190
- 1191 UN (United Nations). (n.d.). Environment Glossary. Retrieved from:
1192 <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/environmentgl/gesform.asp?getitem=467> (accessed 6th May
1193 2020).
- 1194
- 1195 UNDP (United Nations Development Programme). (1996). *Economic Growth and Human*
1196 *Development. Human Development Report 1996*. Retrieved from:
1197 http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/257/hdr_1996_en_complete_nostats.pdf
1198 (accessed 29th October 2019).

1199
1200 UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme). (2018). Inclusive Wealth Report 2018.
1201 Methodological Annex: Conventional Approach. Retrieved from:
1202 [https://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/27598/IWR2018_ConvMA.pdf?s](https://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/27598/IWR2018_ConvMA.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y)
1203 [equence=1&isAllowed=y](https://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/27598/IWR2018_ConvMA.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y) (accessed 6th May 2020).
1204
1205 UNU-IHDP & UNEP. (2012). Inclusive Wealth Report 2012. Measuring progress towards
1206 sustainability. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from:
1207 <http://f.cl.ly/items/2C2y022A2j1s472s0T1I/IWR%20Lo-Res.pdf> (accessed 6th May
1208 2020).
1209
1210 WEA (Wellbeing Economy Alliance). (2019). Our vision for a movement to bring about
1211 economic system change: bold, vital and entirely possible. Retrieved from:
1212 <https://wellbeingeconomy.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/WEAll-brochure.pdf>
1213 (accessed 23rd October 2019).
1214
1215 Weisbrod, B. A., & Hansen, W. L. (1968). An income-net worth approach to measuring
1216 economic wellbeing. *The American Economic Review*, 58(5), 1315-1329.
1217
1218
1219
1220
1221
1222