Working Paper 17 (fourth edition)

Ideas and Reflections About the Application and Elaboration of the Social Quality Approach (Sqa) in Central and Eastern European countries: The Case of Ukraine

Starting Points of the previous international Joint Research Project Ukraine (INRU project), as well as new SQA-Projects in Europe South-East Asia, Australia and Beyond

International Association on Social Quality (IASQ) in dialogue with representatives of a multitude of university Institutes

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Foreword

The IASQ’s working papers are outcomes of preliminary research and provisional discussions about topics, concerning the Social Quality Theory (SQT) and Approach (SQA). The present working paper is an outcome of a dialogue between scholars from Ukraine and scholars from member states of the European Union. The initiative for this in fact globally oriented dialogue has come from the Institute for Economics and Forecast of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (IEF/NASU). Their question formulated at the end of 2015 was, if – with support by Western European universities – the SQA could be applied in this country, being in a state of transition. This led to the start of the previous International Joint Research Project Ukraine (INRU Project). Objective was (and is) to explore the possibilities for a extensive project and for an application of the SQA in other Central and Eastern European countries and elsewhere. This invitation particularly stimulated social quality scholars to reflect again on the rationale and nature of contemporary SQT and SQA in also other continents. Some of the results have already been published in the International Journal of Social Quality (IJSQ) since 2016.

A main aim of the SQA is to contribute to scientific strategies, with which to go beyond the deep-rooted disciplinary fragmentation seen all over the world. This fragmentation prevents a comprehensive understanding of people’s continuously changing daily circumstances. This fragmentation stimulates and feeds an ideological created disdain for people who live in precarious conditions. Hypothesized is, that a comprehensive understanding of the application of the five normative factors of SQT – social justice, solidarity, equal value, human dignity and eco-equilibrium in daily circumstances in all countries, and for all human beings – will deliver points of departure for a change of course. Thus, a positive reaction to the request from the side of Ukraine was more than obvious. Honoring the request may be also relevant for deepening current contacts, especially with academic institutes in the European Union, South-East Asia and Australia, as well as the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; and the start of the collaboration with the Russian Academy of Sciences and related institutes.

One of the outcomes of this previous INRU-project is the start of an Eastern European project-group for preparing of a thematic issue of the IJSQ, to be published at the end of 2020. The aim is to start a dialogue on, among other things, sociopolitical processes regarding the rule of law in Central and Eastern European countries. Supposed is that the previous INRU-project and the thematic issue will open new horizons in this part of the world and far beyond..
1. the Rationale of the Invitation and Background Information about the Analytical Framework and Its Content

1.1 Introduction

This section is dedicated to explaining the rationale of the invitation by the National Academy of Sciences in Ukraine to apply the Social Quality Approach (SQA) in this country. The positive answer from the side of the International Association on Social Quality (IASQ) has been underscored by SQA-studies published in previous working papers. This delivers arguments to distinguish between five frameworks to be applied in the context of the SQA. Then follows an explanation of the present working paper’s objective as an outcome of this invitation and a summary of work done since the invitation from the side of many academic institutes. It will be completed with a presentation of the SQA’s ‘analytical framework’ as a crucial instrument of the SQA, and also as the point of departure for the rationale of the invitation. With help of this start, ideas of the objective of the proposed research project in Ukraine can be formulated. This will be complemented with some references to past and actual debates about specific aspects of the position of Eastern European Member States of the European Union. These aspects may be comparable with those of the position of Ukraine. This section will be concluded with a summarize of the content of the following six sections of present working paper.

1.2 Some background considerations

As an outcome of SQA research till now, a new distinction is coming into view between five frames of reference: the ‘conceptual,’ the ‘analytical,’ the ‘procedural,’ the ‘policy,’ and the ‘normative’ framework. Actual SQA-projects, notably in Europe and South-East Asia, deliver arguments for sharpening the rationale, nature and heuristic meaning of these five frames. In this, SQA differs from other approaches in especially the Western world, such as ‘quality of life,’ ‘social capital,’ ‘capability approach,’ ‘human development,’ or ‘human security.’ The first four frameworks will be discussed in the present paper. The fifth framework is still in its infancy. It should function as a source for determining the adequacy of societal processes, with the consideration of the five normative factors of the SQA. Its objective is to judge the extent of the ‘quality’ of ‘the social.’
The challenges for a new interdisciplinary approach – an important target of the SQT and SQA – are enormous. The ongoing digital revolution, the growth of economic-financial inequalities, the unmistakable climate change, the multitude forms of water, ground and air pollutions – see for example the catastrophic air conditions of Delhi in the months of October and November each year – the increase of the global population, and the growth of megacities are decisive aspects in contemporary societal processes. Classical assumptions as cornerstones of the rule of law and hereupon based national constitutions in especially the Western hemisphere become problematic and underlie the increase of inequality and the herewith associated absurdities. A tiny part of the world population disposes of more or less three quarts of all global wealth. According to these assumptions, all resources in the earth are defined as property of nations and their de facto ruling classes.

The SQT and SQA may be appreciated as a proposed way to gain insight, with the application of these frameworks, on what happens and why. Its normative framework should be an interdisciplinary heuristic instrument for judging the outcomes of ‘what happens.’ The results of this continuous assessment should pave the way for societal oriented law which is adequate for contemporary production and reproduction relationships. Following the ‘rule of law’ as intention is not enough. Crucial is to know ‘which law’ to follow. It should be the law with which to strengthen the five normative factors. Hypothesized is with help of the application of the four other frameworks of the SQT, that academics and policy-makers can go beyond the existing fragmentation in analyses and policymaking. The elaboration and application of the normative framework will challenge the inadequate aspects of classical law assumptions, as well as stimulate processes that will lead to consensus in and between nations. At this stage they refer in many cases to essential differences. For example, this concerns the actual debate about the nature of democratic principles and the hereupon based constitutions. How some outcomes of the digital revolution affect certain parts of these constitutions (rules, practices etc.) negatively. This working paper, as a compilation of many hypotheses, aims to contribute to the abovementioned role and objective. At the same time, it will contribute to the start of the proposed INRU project

1.3 The invitation and its rationale

In November 2015, the Institute for Economics and Forecasting of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (IEF/NASU) invited the International Association on Social Quality (IASQ) to apply the Social Quality Approach (SQA) for stimulating new politics and policies on
community, city, sub-regional (provincial) and national levels of Ukraine. The rationale of the theory of social quality is to design for a new theoretical based approach in order to understand the consequences of a multitude of societal processes. This may happen with help of a herewith related ‘analytical framework’ (see Figure 1, section 1.3), for being enabled to evaluate the outcomes of these processes. The objective of the herewith related SQA is to contribute to daily circumstances of people in such a way that its conditional, constitutional and normative aspects are improved or fully addressed (see Figure 1). According the ‘procedural framework’ (see Figure 3, section 4.5), the invitation concerns politics and policies oriented on – tentatively speaking – processes within and between four main dimensions of societal life: the socioeconomic/financial, sociopolitical/legal sociocultural/welfare and socioenvironmental dimensions. Also in accordance with the ‘procedural framework,’ this will be realized in three fields, namely, societal complexities, rural/urban circumstances, and ecosystems. The distinction between these four dimensions with regard to the field of societal complexities has already been tentatively applied to Ukraine in the study by Zuzana Novakova. She argues that in the past years after the Revolution of Dignity the Ukrainian society passed through multiple parallel transitions, but we are confronted with a rather fragmented reforms discussion. It is important to embed this discussion in a broader sociospatial context of societal life in post-revolution Ukraine.

Over the past three years, investments have been made by the European Commission (EC) to assist a European Support Group for Ukraine. This group of EU-experts tries to elaborate and modernize relevant institutional settings of these four dimensions, e.g. modernization of the financial sector, strengthening the rule of law reform, development of welfare provisions and public health, and addressing traditional forms of severe pollution. A review document was published about the first outcomes. It can be concluded that there is a lack of the application of a clear, all-encompassing theoretical framework for a comprehensive understanding of these settings as interrelated parts of the four dimensions. The question should be raised if these external organized investments are really sufficient for addressing

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1 V. Heyets. 2015, Letter to Laurent J.G. van der Maesen, director IASQ. Kiev: IEF/NASU, 11 November, 135/10/693.
2 Z. Novakova. 2017. “Four Dimensions of Societal Transformation: an Introduction to the Problematique of Ukraine.” International Journal of Social Quality, 8 (1): 1-30. Available from: https://doi.org/10.3167/IJSQ.2017.070202. This fourfold distinction differs essentially from the traditional and non-theorized distinction between the economic, the social and the environmental dimensions, as happens in the discourse on sustainability up till now. This will be discussed in section 4.
the extremely difficult daily circumstances of Ukraine, as e.g. presented in the study by Gianfranco Tamburelli.\textsuperscript{5} During the past three years, representatives of the IASQ have discussed with representatives of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine how to approach their invitation from the perspective of the SQA and its rationale. It was concluded that support by the European Commission would be highly attractive, on the grounds that its intentions were to assist the population of Ukraine to enhance the quality of their daily circumstances.

1.4 Previous Working Papers as Point of Departure for the Present Paper

At this stage it makes sense to refer to recent working papers published on IASQ’s website. They deliver an overview of the \textit{faits et gestes} made in the context of the SQT and SQA, and so provide us with important background information. They are also helpful for answering the request from the Academy. For example, during the past years, scholars related with the IASQ started a discussion on how to enhance the SQA in such a way, that it can contribute to the development of the overall sustainability. This issue refers to Working Paper nr 11, an outcome of a think tank of Dutch experts, organized by the IASQ.\textsuperscript{6} The attention for sustainability resulted into a rethinking of social quality indicators for analyzing processes in (i) the field of societal complexities and in (ii) the field of ‘rural and urban circumstances.’ This resulted into Working Paper nr 12, incorporating outcomes of social quality conferences in Rome, organized by Eurispes, as well as to two conferences in Hangzhou, organized by its municipality.\textsuperscript{7} As a result of the increasing collaboration between social quality scholars in Europe, Asia and Australia, the IASQ published an overview of the international application of the theory between 1994 and 2014, Working Paper nr. 13.\textsuperscript{8}

Since 2012, the IASQ became committed to the Environmental Governance Programme of the European Commission and the Chinese government. It contributed to empirical research about the outcomes of the approach in the city Jiaxing in the Zhejiang Province, concerning applied community strategies for preventing pollution in and around this city to serve as an example for ten other cities in the Zhejiang province. On behalf of this work in China, theoretical references have been made to the outcomes of contribution of the IASQ to the ‘demonstration project’ in the borough of Laak of the Dutch city of The Hague. The first reflections about the Dutch demonstration project, financed by the European Commission and the municipality of the Hague, are presented in Working Paper nr. 8. The role of the IASQ in this EC-Chinese project resulted into Working Paper nr 14. Of interest to mention is, that since the beginning of 2011, the Zhejiang University financed a part of the costs of the International Journal of Social Quality as successor of the European Journal of Social Quality till 2016. The first issue was especially dedicated to clarify the differences and similarities with other approaches to cope with societal transformations as ‘quality of life,’ ‘social capital,’ ‘human development,’ and ‘human security,’ In the wake of the aforementioned Dutch demonstration project in the city of The Hague, the IASQ has stimulated studies about these societal transformations in connection with the challenge of sustainability. That was also the motivation to publish Working Paper nr. 16, as a point of departure for a Manifesto on Climate Change. This manifesto was published on the eve of the Paris Conference on Climate Change in December 2015 (see note 111).

Finally, it is important to add that the IASQ has been able to start discussion with representatives of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in 2017 for its support of the International Journal of Social Quality as a successor of the Zhejiang University. The

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reaction of CASS was positive and together with the IASQ it signed a contract with Berghahn Journals of New York. An argument was, that CASS was already very active to prepare a yearly production of nation-wide reports about the ‘social quality circumstances’ of people in China. In other words, the aforementioned working papers and the manifold of articles in the International Journal of Social Quality since 2011 up till now will deliver a context of this fourth draft of the present Working Paper nr. 17. During a social quality conference of CASS in September 2018, it was also decided to develop the social quality indicators as analytical instruments for understanding the nature of social quality in connection with particular places and moments. With this in mind the challenge is to develop concepts and methods which are comprehensible on a global level (see section 6). All working papers referred to are strongly connected with the quintessence of the social quality’s third main book (see note 21). They have delivered cornerstones for the elaboration and also changes of aspects, presented in this book. Thanks to this, we can at this moment hypothesize that we should distinguish between:

- a conceptual framework as point of departure (the ontological aspects),
- a herewith related analytical framework (the epistemological aspects),
- a procedural framework for distinguishing societal processes as subject of these frameworks (the aspects of ordering),
- A policy framework for understanding how and when to discuss (or to influence) the multitude of societal layers (the aspects of application),
- A normative framework for evaluating the outcomes of processes, politics and policies (the normative aspects).

In this working paper, the attention is dedicated to the first four frameworks. The final framework concerns an urgent challenge for the SQA in order to reach a global meaning for playing an adequate role in the debate on the position of all human beings with regard to the global challenge of sustainability.

### 1.5 This Paper’s Objective and the Analytical Framework as an Argument

#### 1.5.1 The previous INRU project and contacts with the European Commission

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The paper’s objective – as well as the study about the interrelationships of the four dimensions in Ukraine (see note 2) – is to explain tentatively the rationale of the SQT and SQA as a starting point for an application in this country. Furthermore, the scholars involved could pave the way for a definitive successor of the previous International Joint-research Project Ukraine’ (INRU project). The challenge for this project will be to operationalize the application of the SQA, above all on behalf of inhabitants of Ukraine. The First vice-prime minister of Ukraine wrote to the first vice-president of the European Commission in January 2017, stating that it is ‘very important to support [such final] international research project[s] of applied character in order to the implementation of European approaches in the Ukrainian state regulation system to also accelerate its socioeconomic development. To support the preparation of this present paper as point of departure for the INRU project, the IEF/NASU published its Analytical Review, its herewith related Research Proposals and its paper about the Implementation of the SQA.

Why stimulate a successor of the previous INRU project next to the already existing European Support Group Ukraine? The argument is, that it is evident that for many reasons an extra initiative should be highly recommendable. First, the absence of a comprehensive overview of institutional arrangements in the four dimensions of Member States respectively. Second, the absence of an overview and consensus of the similarities and differences of these arrangements in these Member States. And therefore the question may also be raised, if for example the following challenges can be addressed with the implicit reproduction of existing arrangements in EU Member states, namely, that:

- At this stage of the EU’s history, new main challenges arise due to fundamental changes of communications, production, distribution, and reproduction systems and conditions, which foster demand for fundamental changes in all four dimensions in Ukraine and far beyond. New points of departure to adjust institutional arrangements are needed.
- The increasing opinion in nearly all Member States is that citizens/inhabitants also lack sufficient possibilities to play an effective and responsible role in shaping their own daily

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circumstances. The president of the EC highlighted in May 2017 that this has to be seriously considered (sic).\textsuperscript{18} But already twenty years before, the Comité des Sages – installed by the European Commission - concluded: ‘Europe will be a Europe for everyone, for all its citizens, or it will be nothing.’ \textsuperscript{19} This implies a change of the content of herewith related institutional arrangements. The recent movements of populism are clear examples.

- It is argued that it is very urgent to restore relationships between Ukraine and Russia and more broadly between Russia, Ukraine and the European Union. This implies also a new consensus about the rationale of the institutional arrangements in the future (see note 5).
- The conceptual framework used by the European Commission and the European Union needs a stronger theoretical foundation to reduce ambiguity in applied concepts for improving changes. This strengthens the necessity for a rigor \textit{conceptualization} of aspects of the new arrangements (see note 2).

By focusing on societal circumstances – with the above four issues in mind – the task at hand is to understand the interrelationships of the four frameworks mentioned above for analyzing the dialectic between processes that determine the overall societal context of Ukraine. The SQA presents an example. The application of such an approach is all the more necessary because this country has to cope with a societal crisis (see note 5) and also radical forms of migration and actual climate change causes (see note 2, 15 and 16). It is hypothesized, that this application will enable to cope constructively with increasing international interdependencies.

1.5.2 \textit{the social quality architecture as analytical framework}

In answer to the request of the government of Ukraine to the European Commission to support the preparation of the proposed INRU project, the responsible member of the European Commission wrote, that ‘considering the nature [or rationale] of the project you refer in your letter, I would like to take up your suggestions of a working-level meeting . . . as well as make a first assessment of the substance of such an initiative.’\textsuperscript{20} The substance refers to the social quality’s analytical framework, uniting the three sets of factors. Together they constitute the

\textsuperscript{19} Comité des Sages. 1996. \textit{For a Europe of Civic and Social Rights}. Brussels: European Commission, Directorate V: 23. The members of this Comité argued, that without a strengthening of the social dimension and social rights the EU will not tackle the challenges now facing it.
\textsuperscript{20} J. Hahn (2017), \textit{Letter to Deputy Prime Minister Stepan Kubiv of Ukraine}, (Brussels: European Commission, 10 March).
social quality architecture, (see Figure 1). For logical reasons, this figure should be presented after and not before Figure 2. But because most social quality research concerns the application of its indicators of the conditional factors – see Figure 1 – we start for practical reasons with this framework. This figure differs from the original figure as published in the third social quality main book. Added are to each set of factors an 'ecosystems' related factor. This will be discussed further in section 5.3.

**Figure 1: The Extension of the ‘Social Quality Architecture’ as an Analytical Framework (an Epistemological and Methodological Challenge)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>constitutional factors (processes)</th>
<th>conditional factors (opportunities + contingencies)</th>
<th>normative factors (orientation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>personal (human) security and resilience</td>
<td>socioeconomic security</td>
<td>social justice (equity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social recognition and self-worth</td>
<td>social cohesion</td>
<td>solidarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social responsiveness</td>
<td>social inclusion</td>
<td>equal value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personal (human) capacity or self-efficacy</td>
<td>social empowerment</td>
<td>human dignity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>to add:</strong> eco-conscience</td>
<td><strong>to add:</strong> eco-reality</td>
<td><strong>to add:</strong> eco-equilibrium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instruments</td>
<td>instruments</td>
<td>instruments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>application of profiles for the qualification of the changes of the constitutional factors</td>
<td>application of indicators for understanding the changes of the conditional factors</td>
<td>application of criteria to judge the outcomes of the linking of the changes of the conditional and the constitutional factors</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The set of objective aspects of daily circumstances concerns the four conditional factors. They are especially important in processes resulting in collective identities in all four dimensions of societal life. Since 2001 the nature of these factors has been analyzed in fourteen EU-Member States and discussed in the third social quality book. Taken together, this is called the first

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wave of SQ-indicators research. From 2007 onwards this also happened in seven regions of South-East Asia and Australia as explained in the third social quality book as well (see note 21; see section 6). This may be called the second wave. Recently, the CASS in Beijing took the initiative to start the third wave of social quality indicators research. This was discussed during the social quality conference by CASS in September 2018. The intentions are in collaboration with the IASQ to enhance this third wave into an intercontinental effort.22 The set of subjective aspects of daily circumstances concerns the four (or recently, five) constitutional factors. They are especially essential in processes resulting into people’s self-realization as actors in societies and their communities. This is illustrated and discussed further with help of Figure 2 (see section 4.2). The aim was and is to determine if societal-based causes of the changes in the conditional factors will influence the set of subjective aspects of the five constitutional factors and vice versa. By applying the five normative factors to the outcomes of the linking of the above mentioned both set of factors, the extent of social quality at a certain space and time can be determined (see note 21).

For the first time all herewith related concepts of this architecture are in a tentative way theoretically interconnected as a condition for understanding their interrelationships. For example, the concepts of ‘social cohesion,’ ‘social inclusion,’ and ‘social justice’ are derived from the conceptualization of ‘the social’ as an outcome of the dialectic between processes of self-realization of human beings and the formation of collective identities. This will be discussed with help of Figure 2 of section 4.2. This attempt makes the SQA different compared to ‘quality of life,’ ‘capability theory,’ ‘social capital,’ ‘social development,’ ‘human development,’ or ‘human security’ approaches and especially from the rather estranged and ego-oriented ‘happiness approach.’ The policy consequences are, that by applying the SQA a manifold of different processes within one of the four dimensions of societal life can be understood in an interrelated way, and that a manifold of processes in these dimensions can be understood comprehensively. Fragmented approaches will obstruct adequate answers to the five aforementioned issues, related with the approach of the European Support Group Ukraine. As the International Social Science Council (ISSC) concluded in 2013, social sciences (including economics and law) all over the world are divided. National challenges as outcomes of global challenges are therefore addressed insufficiently. This has dramatic consequences.23

1.6 The Objectives of the SQA in Ukraine and Also Eastern European Member States

We hypothesize that a final successor of the INRU project will obtain insights on how to stimulate new societal-based processes for the elaboration of daily circumstances in Ukraine with a responsible role of its residents. These circumstances should enhance the social quality on community, city, and national levels according the normative principles of the SQA. This will be compared to circumstances in surrounding countries and far beyond with regard to the four dimensions mentioned above. Furthermore, if the European Commission will pave the way for the Ukrainian Government and the Academy of Sciences to start the INRU project, universities in this country might benefit from a systemic collaboration with a number of academic institutions in surrounding countries (for realizing the comparative approach, seen from the social quality’s five frameworks). Ukraine ‘as argument’ for the application of the SQA means that herewith related developments in Ukraine may be important for the future of other countries. Finally, the outcomes may be of interest for circles in and around the European Commission to open new horizons with help of the INRU project for presenting new strategies which are more acceptable, also for EU populations. It may also be seen as a first answer to the outcomes of the social quality conference of CASS in China to pave the way for enhancing comparative social quality research on global level (see note 13 and 22).

Let us evoke the words of the grand old Lady of social policy in Hungary, Zsuzsa Ferge, for delivering arguments for dedicating our attention to the current daily circumstances in most Eastern European countries. At the time of the admission of Central Eastern European countries to the EU - when the approach applied was in many respects close to the original neoliberal World Bank agenda - she warned that...

... the weakening of the existing approach [in the EU member countries] in the accession countries may antagonize their citizens [of the first countries] who may then use the accession countries as scapegoats. If the EU members do not follow the monetarist recipe [as applied in the accession countries] the gap will grow between Eastern and Western Europe. The accession countries may decrease the level of the
public commitments, and they may create new institutions such as two-tier, disintegrative system of health or education.\textsuperscript{24}

She expressed her concern about the maintenance of a genuine welfare benefit system in especially Eastern Europe. Some years later the Hungarian scholar Gábor Juhász concluded, that ‘the rationalization and simplification of the [applied] open method of co-ordination [by the EU] also has the potential to decrease the importance of particular fields [health, income security, education etc.]. This could weaken EU’s influence on national social policies of its members states.’\textsuperscript{25} With help of the application of social quality indicators, Ferenc Bodi and colleagues demonstrated in their recent study of four Eastern European countries, that especially employment possibilities and fair income are of a huge concern for those living there. This main aspect of the socioeconomic/financial dimension influences in negative sense processes in the three other dimensions.\textsuperscript{26} The situation in Ukraine is much more serious (see note 2 and 5). The suggestion to accentuate this point of departure of ‘The Implementation’ is convincing, namely that ‘according to official statistics, in Ukraine for 2013-2016 real nominal income at the disposal of the population declined by 31%; and real wages respectively by 18.7%, and real gross pensions by 40.3%’ (see note 15). With the application of SQA, Ukraine will be enabled to pave the way for new insights on national level, the EU-level and beyond, on how to address some of the main questions related with the four dimensions of societal life.

Not only recent research but also current outcomes of processes in the sociopolitical/legal dimension demonstrate the rationale of Zsuzsa Ferge’s deep concern of the neoliberal World Bank Agenda of the past two decades. An agenda that was permitted by the European Commission at that time and afterwards. The Law and Justice Party in Poland became stronger in the elections of mid-October 2019. It kept its promise to set out on the most radical overhaul of the relationships in the socioeconomic/financial and the sociocultural/welfare dimension. According to Marc Santora,


The government has not only expanded the child credit program – which now provides a monthly stipend of around 125 dollars for every child in a family – it has increased pension payments and eliminated taxes for people under 26. In the weeks before Sunday’s election, the government said it would nearly double the minimum wage, to around 1,000 dollar per month . . . [Critics say] the spending was coming at the cost of funding other essential services like health care and education [but according the leader, Jaroslav Kaczynski] the economy should benefit the whole society, instead of just one group and leaving the rest of the society in God’s good grace. 27

With regard to the sociopolitical/legal dimension, this ruling party was hard criticized for its anti-democratic measures from the side of also the European Commission. It was also criticized for its refusal to accept immigrants from Syria and beyond, and its ostentatious lack of environmental policies and its efforts to make the juridical institutions subjected to political interests, thus paving the way to the ‘rule by law.’ A comparable state of affairs can be noticed in Hungary. Viktor Orbán, leader of the Party Fidesz (nationalist conservatists) proclaimed that Hungary was breaking with the kind of early 21st-century liberalism that had been bankrupted so spectacularly in 2008. Instead, he declared in the same vain as the Polish leader, a desire for a non-liberal society, based on community, (his interpretation of) Christianity and social solidarity by combatting socioeconomic inequalities. From the side of the United Nations, Zeid Ra’ad Al Hussein argued, that the current ‘Orbán government has dismantled checks and balances, politicized the country’s constitutional court and restricted its powers, and undermined the independence of the judiciary and the press. Recent legislative proposals will further curtail an already restricted space for civil society activism.’ 28

1.7 The Contents of Working Paper nr. 17

Section 2 is dedicated to the further explanation of the invitation by the National Academy of Sciences in Ukraine. This invitation is viewed within the context of the European Union-Ukrainian Association Agreement. This section continues with the work that was done between 2015 and 2020 to prepare the INRU project. In order to deliver more insight in the


SQA as subject of the invitation, this section addresses two books and four studies as main point of reference for this preparation.

**Section 3** is dedicated to the start with the presentation of issues and problems of Ukraine as discussed in the IEF/NASU’s Analytical Review (see note 15) and in Gianfranco Tamburelli’s study about the crisis in Ukraine (see note 5). These issues and problems are ‘situated’ in respectively one of the four dimensions of societal life in Ukraine, also corresponding with the study by Novakova (see note 2). The outcomes will be related to the information by the European Commission about the achievements of its support to Ukraine and the first outcomes of the European Support Group Ukraine. This section will be completed with references to the new EC’s whitepaper, a French debate about the consequences of neoliberal politics and the recent start of a new Declaration on Social Quality, in response to the neoliberal causes in the United Kingdom of Brexit.

**Section 4** addresses the theoretical issue of ‘the social’ as the core issue of the SQA, with which to address the above-mentioned problems and themes. It concerns its conceptual framework. The traditional careless use of the noun ‘social’ and its adjective, and the necessity to theorize its subject matter can be clarified by referring to the problematique of sustainability. A specific motive for this attention is that the SQA should contribute to the development of the overall sustainability as a comprehensive result of processes in four societal dimensions, which will be realized in three fields, including the field of ecosystems (see the procedural framework).

**Section 5** discusses what it means to apply the SQA as discussed in previous sections for bridging the IEF/NASU’s ‘Analytical Review,’ its ‘Research Proposals,’ and its ‘Implementation’ (see note 15, 16 and 17). The arguments stimulate to revisit the previous presentations of the analytical framework (and its extension to ecosystems), the conceptual framework as the core issue of the social quality theory, and the meaning of the procedural framework. Their interrelation stimulates to design the first contours of a policy framework, with which to realize the bridging of the three aforementioned documents from Ukraine. This the section will conclude with the hypothesis of the logic-based pitfalls of the European Support Group Ukraine.

**Section 6** is dedicated to a discussion about the application of the three measuring instruments of the SQA: profiles, indicators and criteria. Up till know, the accent in the SQA is laid upon the indicators research of the objective (conditional) aspects of daily circumstances.
Profiles for explicating the subjective (constitutional) aspects of daily life, as well as criteria for judging the ethical (normative) aspects remained underdeveloped. In addition to the renewed focus on profiles and criteria, the section responds on the request of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS). Namely, how based on the established social quality indicators research in recent decades, to start a new stage for more adequate international comparison of this empirical oriented research. This will imply an international based think tank for its orchestration.

Addition

Since 2010, the SQA is more and more oriented towards the reciprocity between societal processes and processes concerning ecosystems. The rationale is trying to contribute to the challenge of sustainability and going beyond the non-theorized distinction between the so-called economic, social and environmental dimensions of sustainability (see UN-Brundtland Report, 1987). See therefore IASQ’s working papers since 2010 and studies, published in the International Journal of Social Quality. Se further section 4 of this working paper.
2. The Invitation by the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and the Work Done So Far

2.1 Introduction

According to representatives of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (NASU), the purpose of the request to the International Association on Social Quality (IASQ) is – with help of the implementation of the SQT and SQA – to contribute to the ‘achievement of the objectives of ‘social and economic development’ of Ukrainian society as defined by the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union, signed in June 2014’ (see note 1). This section is dedicated to the further explanation of the invitation. It explains the connection of the Association Agreement with e.g. the Lisbon Treaty of the European Union of March 2000 and notices some ambiguities. It continues with the work done to prepare the previous International Joint-Research Project Ukraine as an answer to the invitation. It consists of discussions of existing relevant books for deepening the understanding this project, and herewith related studies and publications. Especially the last ones are based on, or in dialogue with the third social quality book (see note 21). The section will be competed with some considerations: a referring to the Club of Rome, the recent plea by the European Commission to strengthen the role of citizens, and remarks about the inevitably need for a paradigm shift in economics, juridical and political sciences, sociology etc. The reason is that the reproduction of the current state of affairs (as is the case with the European Support Group Ukraine) becomes irrational. If this makes sense, the proposed INRU project will have to take it on board.

2.2 The Invitation by the NASU: A European Challenge and Beyond

The SQA’s main purpose is – with help of projects and any other activity – to stimulate politics and policies on local, city, provincial/sub-regional, national and supra-regional levels. Main motive is to strengthen a responsible role of citizens to participate in shaping their own fate. We hypothesize that by enhancing the social quality of their daily circumstances this process

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will be enhanced. This issue refers to the question of ‘social empowerment’ and concerns a main subject of the present working paper. The EU-Ukraine Association Agreement points in the same direction; it delivers the argument for the invitation from the national Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. It ‘focuses on support to core reforms, economic recovery and growth, and governance and sector cooperation in areas such as energy, transport and environment protection, industrial cooperation, social development and protection, equal rights, consumer protection, education, youth and cultural cooperation.’ This Agreement is based on the Lisbon Treaty of the European Union, signed in March 2000. In its article 2, the emphasis is laid on values as ‘respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law, and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.’ The Agreement also refers to article 3 of the Treaty, aiming at the establishment of ‘an internal market. It shall work for the sustainable development of Europe based on balanced economic growth and price stability, a highly competitive social market economy, aiming at full employment and social progress, and a high level of protection and improvement of the quality of the environment.’ According Sylvie Kauffmann, the Agreement includes the most wide-ranging free trade agreement ever concluded by the Union. If Ukraine will be successful to adjust its political and legal, economic and sociocultural conventions, regulations and institutions in line with those of the Member States of the European Union it will be allowed to fully integrate its economy into the European Single Market.

For the IASQ, this invitation may be appreciated as a challenge, because the similarities and differences of the Agreement and the SQA are not immediately clear. Added can be, that the current sociopolitical/legal and sociocultural/welfare relationships in the European Union are changing drastically because growth of inequalities, fear of migration flows, increasing insecurity in many layers of societies, differing interpretations of what can be called the Rule

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of Law, and not least with the possibility of a Brexit.\textsuperscript{34} The increasing socioenvironmental dangers and the inclination to ignore them – see the withdrawal from the Paris Treaty by the USA Trump Administration – will also function as potential sources of tensions.\textsuperscript{35} Furthermore, the new communication technologies – leading to digitalization of economic production, financial and distribution systems – will change values, lifestyles, and open unforeseen new horizons. It will at the same time challenge existing economic productive and reproductive relationships. The 11 EU Member States from Central and Eastern Europe (ECC) and also Ukraine are part of herewith related processes. As Alina Bârgăoanu and Clara Volintiru argue, not only socioeconomic factors stimulate the east-west divide. The EU’s relationship with the United States also challenges the current status of these states: ‘The recent proposals for an EU army and the commission recommendation on the international role of the euro in energy transactions amplify the geopolitical anxiety of CEE member states for whom the west has represented a homogeneous concept. Brexit and other developments in the transatlantic relationship have resurrected fears of CEE being caught in the crossfire of superpower confrontation.’\textsuperscript{36} And the May 2019 elections of the European Parliament indicate the sociopolitical divide. For example, green (climate oriented) parties from Italy, the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Estonia and Greece did not obtain a seat in this parliament.\textsuperscript{37}

2.3 Work Done in the Recent Past

From December 2015 onward, work has been carried out to address the invitation by the IEF/NASU. This implies also a clear understanding of the meaning of the SQT and SQA and the Association Agreement and the EU in the context of the main challenges referred above. With this in mind the IASQ – with support by Eurispes in Rome\textsuperscript{38} – has proposed to explore possibilities to construct a preliminary project group with which to elaborate an International Joint-Research Project Ukraine (INRU project). This resulted in:


\textsuperscript{37} “Groenen claimen de sleutelrol” (“Greens claim the key role”). De Volkskrant (Dutch Daily Newspaper), May 28, 2019: 8-9.

• Discussions with the first potential academic supporters from twelve European and one Chinese academic institutes, and members of the National Academy of Sciences in Ukraine resulting in drafts of this working paper.39
• The participation of the IEF/NASU and academic relations in Ukraine in the support of the Manifesto on Climate Change, prepared by the IASQ and the ISS.40
• Discussions with civil servants of DG Research and Innovation, Unit C.3 of the European Commission. They proposed to use the Horizon 2020 programme.41
• To take on board the study by the University of Aberdeen about a social quality approach for explaining the economic and social transformations of also Ukraine. The analysts draw upon a sample survey of 8.400 individuals carried out in 2001 together with qualitative interviews with a purposefully selected sample of individuals, health experts and focus groups conducted in 2002.42
• The preparation and presentation by the IEF/NASU of the Analytical Review concerning the socioeconomic and sociopolitical dimensions of Ukraine (see note 15).
• The preparation and the first research proposals by the IEF/NASU with regard to the objectives of the proposed INRU project (see note 16).
• The dissemination of the study by the National Italian Research Council about the food aid to conflict-affected populations, notably the in the case of Eastern Ukraine. The purpose is to improve – and render more effective – the efforts of the international

39 With support by: Prof. Dr Alan Walker (UK), Prof. Dr Peter Herrmann (Germany), Prof. Dr Peter Robert (Hungary), Prof. Dr Dave Gordon (UK), Prof. Dr Krzysztof Zagorski (Poland), Prof. Dr Gianfranco Tamburelli (Italy), Prof. Dr Marco Ricceri (Italy), Dr Steve Corbett (UK), Prof. Dr Claire Wallace (UK), Dr Zuzana Novakova (Netherlands), Prof. Dr Georg Vobruba (Germany), Prof. Dr Monika Eigmüller (Germany), prof dr Des Gaspere (Netherlands), Prof. Dr Ka Lin (China), Prof. Dr Valeriy Heyets cs (Ukraine).
41 L.J.G. van der Maesen. 2016). Letter to Prof Valeriy Heyets about the discussion with DG Research. Amsterdam: IASQ, 16 July, and L.J.G. van der Maesen. 2016. Letter to Prof. Valeriy Heyets about steps to be made. Amsterdam: IASQ, 3 August 2016. The ‘Horizon 2020 programme’ of DG Research of the European Commission is not attractive for a comprehensive understanding of the application of the SQA because of its logical based intrinsic fragmented character. See therefore the implicit suppositions of about the support by the European Commission to the academic world of Ukraine,note 3 and 4.
community.43

- A correspondence between the IASQ and the IEF/NASU about strategies to engage the European Commission with the proposed INRU project. This has resulted in a letter by the First Vice-Minister of the Government of Ukraine to the Vice-President of the European Commission (note 6) and the answer by a member of the European Commission, namely, that the Commission is open for a discussion about a comprehensive approach of the research proposals in *status nascendi* (see note 14).

- The dissemination of the study about the application of social quality indicators for developing international comparative research by the Zhejiang University.44

- The dissemination of the study by the Kozminski University about indicators and a new Balanced Development Index as an answer to the one-sided application of the GDP measurement systems.45

- The dissemination of the study by the Sheffield University about social quality indicators for analysing contextual processes of individual health.46 The dissemination of the study *The Crisis in Ukraine* by the National Research Council of Italy. This refers to ‘the complexity of the situation, and the worsening of the political, economic and social difficulties which have followed on the heels of the exceptional events and radical changes in the political direction’ (see note-5).

- The study by Steve Corbett, exploring the societal consequences of the Brexit from the perspective of the SQA with in mind the challenges of its application in Ukraine and Eastern European member states (see note 34).

- The dissemination of the renewed Declaration on Social Quality by the University of Sheffield and the Hope University of Liverpool as a comment on the plans for a Brexit of the United Kingdom, seen in the context of nationalist and populist tendencies.47

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The publication of the first implementation by the IEF/NASU of its research proposals (see note 4).

The study about the transition of Ukraine in the past 30 years of especial its sociopolitical/legal and socioeconomic/financial dimensions by the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. In this study accent is especially dedicated to the state as main actor in the sociopolitical and legal dimension. It reflects the consequences and compare this with the dominant Western interpretation of the welfare state.48

To take on board the recent articles about Central and Eastern European countries and Ukraine in the International Journal of Social Quality and the decision by the editors of this journal to dedicate a thematic issue to Eastern European countries in 2020.

The objective of this 2020 thematic issue is formulated as follows. ‘This year has marked the 30th anniversary of the fall of the iron curtain as well as 15 years since the big bang integration of Central and Eastern European states to the European Union. Meanwhile, a sense of a crisis of (neo)liberalism penetrates this region with an ever-increasing salience. An erosion of rule of law on one hand and a rise of ‘anti-systemic’ radicalization on the other, appear to be the common denominators, albeit taking their distinctly localized forms. At the International Journal of Social Quality, we believe that these recent challenges are not a mere product of the last few years but rather an iteration of the longue durée process of transition affecting all spheres of society. Our special issue aims to explain the current erosion of rule of law in the region from the perspective of changes in the “social quality”, using the case-studies of Hungary, Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, and Ukraine. Together, the articles will open an empirical exploration with regard to four dimensions of “societal complexities” in these countries: socioeconomic/financial, sociocultural/welfare, sociopolitical/legal, and socioenvironmental dimension. Particular attention is devoted to the first two spheres, i.e. how the interaction of some of the processes unfolding in these dimensions of societal development contributed to the current crisis of the contemporary approach of liberal democracy in the region.’

These articles and all other publications referred to above were inspiring for the nature of the extensive editorial of the first issue of Volume 8 of the International Journal of Social Quality, with served to explain the new collaboration with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

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(CASS), as well to elaborate the SQA globally (see note 13). This editorial was also inspired by the online dialogue of members of the preliminary project group.

2.4 SQA Books and Related Studies as Points of Departure

2.4.1 Two Relevant Books as Reference on Behalf of the INRU Project

a. The IASQ’s third social quality book – Social Quality: from Theory to Indicators

There are at least two books which should function as main points of reference for the INRU project for understanding the subject matter of social quality, thus the hereupon based SQA. The first main point of reference is the so-called third social quality book, Social Quality: From Theory to Indicators, published in English in 2012 and in Chinese in 2016 (see note 21). It delivers the most recent design of the ontological aspects of the theory and the epistemological aspects of its methodology. This book is an outcome of the first social quality book, Social Quality of Europe, which presented a preliminary idea about social quality, published in English in 1997. This main point of reference is based on the second social quality book, Social Quality: A Vision for Europe, which presented the first contours of its theory and methodology in comparison with other approaches. It was in published in English in 2001 and in Chinese in 2016. This second book inspired the European Commission for taking on board explicitly some essential arguments of these contours. This resulted in different projects, financed by various directorates of the EC. The outcomes were published in a manifold of reports and working papers, as well as in thematic issues of the European Journal of Social Quality.


51 Commission of the European Communities. 2000. Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: Social Policy Agenda. Brussels: European Communities, COM, 379, final. It concerns a plea, to take on board the SQA. But at the end of the day it invested for million euros in the ‘quality of life’ approaches. This plea disappeared like snow in the sun.

The essence of the theory concerns primarily its sociophilosophical based subject matter. Important is the affinity with the work by the philosopher Roy Bhaskar, as explained in the second book (see note 50) and the third book on social quality (see note 21). SQ scholars try to conceptualize the subject-matter of ‘the social’ as a point of departure for an encompassing analytical and procedural framework for economics, juridical sciences, sociology, political sciences, and cultural and environmental sciences. This will be discussed further in section 5. Thanks to this conceptualization the social quality theory and approach go beyond the current supposition of duality between ‘the economic’ and ‘the social’ as applied by many mainstream economic and social scientists in the Western hemisphere. In this line of reasoning, Zuzana Novakova remarks, that:

The traditionally accepted duality between ‘the economic’ and ‘the social’ stipulates that the latter is a residual that is not ‘economic’ or is everything that is not ‘economic,’ yet such duality cannot be appreciated in a dialectical sense. Such an understanding is a result of a hegemonic common sense related to a particular ideology and as such is not power isolated but rather an ideational expression of the increasing power of interests in the (neoliberal-dominated) economic dimension. These interests cause a handmaiden position of all relevant processes in all three other dimensions.53

As we will discuss in section 4.3, this duality – based on the application of the noun and the adjective ‘social’ as a black box – causes also a dysfunctional orientation for the debate about the overall sustainability as main challenge of humankind (see note 6). This first point of reference explains furthermore the difference of the SQA with comparable approaches such as ‘quality of life,’ ‘social capital,’ ‘human development,’ ‘human security,’ ‘capability theory,’ or ‘social harmony.’ This difference has an important heuristic meaning, which is sometimes underscored in empirical oriented social quality research.54 The main drive of the SQA is – on the basis of the conceptual framework – first, to enhance the analytical framework and to start

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53 Z. Novakova, note 2, page-6 The other three dimensions are 'sociopolitical/legal,' sociocultural/welfare,' and socioenvironmental dimensions..

the development of the procedural framework. This is a condition for really understanding the nature and transformation of daily circumstances of people in a comparative way. Second, to stimulate politics and policies to strengthen the main normative factors, namely, social justice, solidarity, equal value, human dignity and eco-equilibrium (see Figure 1, section 1.2). This understanding and strengthening are *conditio sine qua non* for adequate processes resulting into the overall sustainability of human existence on earth.

**b. The Decent Society: Planning for Social Quality**

A second main point of reference is the recently published book by Pamela Abbott, Claire Wallace and Roger Sapsford about a new form of planning for social quality in order to realise a decent society. This book, *The Decent Society: Planning for Social Quality*, may be important for the INRU project for a number of reasons. First, it tries to explain the surplus value of the SQA compared to the ‘capability approach’ (A. Sen, M. Nussbaum), and the ‘quality of life approach’ (H. Nol, A. Sen, J. Stiglitz) as explained by Peter Herrmann (see note 54). According to the authors, social quality is a radically different approach because it shows a recognition of the interdependency of human beings and the conditional or foundational components of their experiences in contrast to many of the measures of quality of life, satisfaction and wellbeing: ‘In the Social Quality approach the social (collective) quality of a society is seen as more than the accumulation of the experiences and actions of its individual members’ (p. 14). Second, this book elaborates the social quality theory in a specific way, diverging from the presentation in the first main point of reference. Third, the authors attempt to deliver arguments for changes of – among other things – methodological aspects of the theory concerning the constitution and application of (social quality) indicators. Fourth, and this is essential for the INRU project, it presents outcomes of a research in Ukraine and other parts of the former Soviet Union. Finally, it is dedicated to one of the normative factors of the SQA, namely, social justice. This provides a distinctive upgrade from the first point of reference. This study is one of the social quality pioneers in taking on board the normative framework of this theory. The interesting question remains, if with this new step of this study, ‘social justice’ is really conceptually related with the other normative factors, as well as with the conditional and constitutional factors (see Figure 1, section 1.2).

2.4.2 Deepening the Two Main Points of Reference: Four Studies

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In this part we add four studies which address issues, important for determining the position of the theory and methodology of social quality and the hereupon based SQA. It concerns short explorations which need to be deepened in for example the INRU project.

a A study about quality of life and social quality: Aristoteles’ good society

The first study concerns David Philips’ book about the nature and origins of different streams of the ‘quality of life approaches,’ published in 2006. Since the 1990s, the European Commission invested a huge amount of money in the elaboration and application of this (or these) approach(es). In his study, Philips introduces also the SQA and tries to explain the differences. One of his theses is that ‘quality of life’ approaches are dedicated also to subjective aspects of human life, and that this is not the case with the SQA. But this is a misunderstanding. The SQA explicitly differentiates between the subjective, the objective and the normative aspects in a comprehensive way, as demonstrated in the social quality architecture (see Figure 1, section 1.2). Notwithstanding this, Phillips’ study is important for explaining the rationale and outcomes of the theoretical groundwork of the theory of social quality, compared to quality of life approaches.

Of particular interest is his distinction between the hedonic tradition and the eudaimonic tradition. While the first one stresses the nobility of the individual, with an emphasis on personal freedom, self-preservation and self-enhancement (see the work by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau), the second one focuses (see the work by Aristoteles) on the concept of ‘the good life,’ of moderation, reason and justice, and it focuses on meaning, self-realisation and the actualisation of human potential" oriented on a state of personal expressiveness. Phillips continuous with remarking, that

. . . unlike hedonic measure [see endeavours to stimulate individual happiness or his/her quality of life] (which are intrinsically linked to desire fulfilment), personal expressiveness is strongly related to personal growth and development and to the realisation of one’s true potential [in the context of the societal whole]. (see note 56:32).

As we will see, the orientation of the theory of social quality concerns the second tradition, on a personal level as well as societal level. In the first issue of the International Journal of Social Quality, Phillips adds in 2011 new considerations about this theme. He discusses the lack of a

conception of ‘the social’ in the quality of life, human development and happiness approaches as well. He indicates alternative responses, one of which is to cooperate with the SQA and its far more elaborated engagement with social theory, or in our terms ‘societal oriented theory.’

b. A study about human security and social quality

For developing the points of departure of the INRU project it makes also sense to refer to a second study about the differences and complementarity of the SQA and the human security approach. This debate is an outcome of the project collaboration between the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague and the IASQ embodied in the ISS’s Working Paper about the contrasts and complementarities of the human security approach and the SQA, published in 2008. According to the ISS paper, human security is guided by concerns with critical threats and risks of life destroying crises. The boundaries it crosses are also national and intercontinental. It aims to bring integration within the thinking of international organizations, notably the United Nations. It contains also correspondingly strong attention to themes of human rights and democratization. In contrast, some authors of this ISS Working Paper argue that most work on social quality has not been directly guided by concerns about threats of war, pandemics, climate change, or massive population movements driven by various forms of human insecurity. Supposed is that in social quality analyses, citizens it describes are not the people fighting to enter Fortress Europe. Important is to notice, that since 2010 the question of climate change and the challenge of the overall sustainability has become more and more important for the SQA, and as a logical consequence the same goes for the problematique of socioeconomic inequality, forms of discrimination, flows of migrants, criminality etc. Vice versa, the question is ex ante raised if the human security approach is really appropriate to address the challenge of climate risks and other serious risks (or the quality of life approach with regard to social progress). According to Richard Jolly and Deepayan Basu Ray,

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Human security does not have any definite boundaries, therefore anything and everything could be considered a risk to security. This makes the task of policy formulation nearly impossible; Human security, when broadened to include issues like climate change and health, complicates the international machinery for reaching decisions or taking action on the threats identified . . . human security under the UN risks raising hopes about the UN’s capacity, which it cannot fulfil. 59

In the first social quality analysis of Ukraine, it has been indeed demonstrated that a massive amount of people in this country has to cope with unbearable and threatening circumstances. With the SQA the consequences could be recognized. See the study by Novakova (see note 2). In fact, openness for such tragedies in the SQA is recognised in the ISS’s Working Paper (see note 58). It has stressed the capacity for this openness thanks to its dedication to the richer conception of ‘the social.’ Humanism must think in terms of humans who are embedded in societies rather than of abstracted individuals. And more importantly, as we will discuss below, with theorising ‘the social’ the manifold of ‘loosely defined’ concepts in e.g. the Lisbon Treaty and the Association Agreement (and many UN-reports) can be redefined. This refers to the need of conceptual clarity and consistency. As we will see in section 4, this point is put into focus by the International Social Sciences Council (ISSC) in its 2013 Report (see note 23) and in its 2016 Report. 60 In 2011 Des Gasper has included human security thinking also in the comparison, and uses a structured framework to identify how theories about quality of life differ. In his opinion, the human security approach like the social quality theory offers also a way to upgrade the over-individualistic notion of humanity in the UN’s human development approach. The comparison suggests that these former two approaches could be mutually supportive rather than competitive.61 This paves the way for a theoretical and policy oriented solution for problems raised by Jolly and Ray. But according to Ananta Giri, we have to go further: the very (dominant) notions of ‘social’ and ‘human’ are products in European thought and do not include for example Indian philosophical interpretations of both notions.62 Of course this includes also far-reaching philosophical work to clarify the dialectic between the individual and collectivity

as proposed by social quality theorists.  

C. **Social Quality Theory: A new Perspective on Social Development. A study about social quality and social development**

A third study with which to deepen the discussions about the SQA concerns the recent book about new perspectives on social development, based on the SQT and SQA by Ka Lin and Peter Herrmann, *Social Quality Theory: A new Perspective on Social Development*. They argue that

> Although critical about many aspects of the European tradition, social quality thinking continues to find itself in the footsteps of progressivism and solidaristic thinking, rephrased in modern terms with a focus on socioeconomic security, social inclusion, social cohesion and social empowerment. Although the content, orientation and features of this theory come from a European tradition, the theory can be used to contribute to wider debates in the international social sciences (including economic and juridical sciences).  

In their introduction – and many other following articles – the focus is mainly on the conditional factors; not to the constitutional and the normative factors as presented in Figure 1, section 1.3. This causes a lack of clarity for empirical SQA-research.

**d. A thematic issue about ‘the social’ and ‘social policy’**

With this in mind, the thematic issue of the International Journal of Social Quality *In Search of the ‘Social’: European and Global Perspectives on the idea of the Welfare State* may be appreciated as a fourth study which should be taken on board. According to the guest editor Lutz Leisering,

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63 C. van Bruggen. 1919. Prometheus. N.V. Nijh en van Ditmar’s Uitgevers (published in 1946 and 1955 by: Amsterdam: van Oorschot). This Dutch book is (according to me) never translated into English. It is one of the most important Dutch publication about this dialectic. “One can learn from ‘freeing oneself’ from dogmas and systems, from old and new books, also from Prometheus.” (H.A. Gomperts).


Semantics can help to trace the essence of social phenomena. This inconspicuous term ‘social’ is a case in point. In British and French usage, ‘social’ is mostly used in a descriptive sense according to its Latin origins, referring to a relationship or interaction between at least two persons. In nineteenth-century Germany, the word ‘social,’ besides its descriptive meaning, assumed a strongly normative and critical connotation vis-à-vis living conditions seen to be unacceptable. . . . The precise meaning of the ‘social’ is difficult to pin down. This hints at problems of identifying the ‘social’ in ‘social policy.’

But this distinction between the three countries seems more complicated. In the first part of the previous century, the topic of the ‘social question’ (‘la question sociale’) was highly important in France. In his 1927 study, Alberic Belliot noticed already that it concerned the issue how people can live in dignity and the manifold of societally embedded obstacles to it. The point here is not the heuristic meaning of his analysis and research, but that also in France for decades there has been a strong normative and critical connotation. Of interest is to remark here that Belliot did not explain in his extensive study what the theoretical meaning is of the noun and adjective ‘social.’ These concepts seem to have an evidence sui generis. In other words, what does the ‘social question’ really mean?  

2.5 Some Final Considerations

2.5.1 A Plea by the Club of Rome in 1968

As argued, the EU-Ukraine Agreement (see note 31) was inspired by the Lisbon Treaty, signed in 2000 (see note 32). It contains a compilation of loosely defined objective, subjective and normative aspects. Especially, it stresses the need to realize values such as human dignity, social justice, solidarity, equal value, etc. With this in mind, we must understand what the differences are between values and norms. We will try to demonstrate below that the social quality approach –see its social quality architecture, illustrated in Figure 1 – may be an instrument to contribute to a reordering and reconceptualization of applied concepts. In this

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context it is of interest to recall the remarks of the co-founder and first director of 'The Club of Rome, Hazan Özbekhan ‘that any change that is not a fundamental change in values merely extends the present rather than creating the future . . . [in other words] only changes in the overall configuration can change the present situation . . . Progress represents such a new value configuration.’ 68 With regard to Özbekhan’s plea made decades ago, we have to ask the following: What is the source of values and the cause of their changes in order to really pave the way for an acceptable future? Do we also need a change of priority of applied norms? And if values and norms change, do they change the outcomes of the multidimensional interrelationships? The change of values implies a change of material and immaterial power relationships in at least all four dimensions of societal life. The Western sociopolitical/legal points of departure don’t set any boundaries to the socioeconomic interests and orientations. In terms of orientation, these interests subjugate all other aspects of societal life. In other words, societal based values are not phenomena *sui generis*, and neither are they primary ‘actors’ of transformations.

### 2.5.2 A New Plea by the EC Strengthening the Position of Citizens

More recently, the European Commission has added a new element to the list of desiderata for the revitalisation of the European Union. *Eo ipso*, this element regards also Ukraine. People living in the European Union – on local and city level, sub-regional and national level – should be placed again in the centre of attention. As already remarked in section 1.2.1, in May 2017 Jean-Claude Juncker, President of the European Commission, explained in Florence that a Europe without strong support by its citizens cannot function. The Commission intended to situate people (citizens) as the centrepiece of their work. According to Juncker, we should strongly support the social dimension of the Union as well (see note 18). Unclear remains what the ‘social dimension’ means. And how to explain this plea for a ‘new’ policy, as a ‘Europe of its citizens’ was already from the start a *conditio sine qua non*? And what happened since the authoritative advice to the European Commission by the Comité des Sages in 1996 (see note 19), which strongly formulated this condition at that time? And why ignore the proposals by Directorate General Social Affairs of the European Commission to take on board some essential characteristics of the SQA for addressing the position of citizens, as published in an official document of the European Commission in the year 2000 (see note 51)? And finally,

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what happened with the plea by commissioner of DG Social Affairs, Mrs Anna Diamantopoulou, who wrote that:

The Social Quality of Europe, has been widely welcomed by European policy-makers as well as scientists across Europe. It played an influential role in the development of the new social Policy Agenda . . . The idea of social quality captures perfectly what Europe has achieved and continues to aspire to. It also allows the everyday concerns of citizens to be reflected in the highest policy circles.  

This was recently expressed again in the Post Brexit Declaration on Social Quality in Europe, published in March 2017 (see note 48). In 2017 the vice-president of the European Commission, Federica Mogherini, implicitly explained the collective failure with regard to the role of EU citizens by arguing that their position – compared to the past twenty years – should be understood in a broader perspective: ‘Our citizens understand that we need to collectively take responsibility for our role in the world. This is no time for uncertainty: our Union needs a strategy. We need a share vision, and common action.’ It implies a fundamental reversal of socioeconomic and sociopolitical relationships.

2.5.3 Arguments for a Paradigm Shift

To reflect on a new vision, it is necessary to also reflect on societal changes in the European Union in the context of global relations. In the 2016 study by the European Social Observatory on social policy in the EU, an analysis was made of different so-called actual crises and their potential societal (socioeconomic, sociopolitical, sociocultural) causes and consequences. It concluded in a rather decisive way: ‘The cooperation between Member States is characterised by increasing mistrust, or even outright conflict. . . . [The EU faces] increasing difficulties to broker common solutions between national governments to solve the collective problems of

According to Ulrich Beck, an argument for a breakthrough is also the more encompassing problematique of climate change. He argues, that the

... second modernity [that] arises from the fact that society now finds itself confronted with the unwanted and unintended side-effects of its own modernizing urge ... breaking with the reproduction of social order and working towards a social theory of cosmopolitan transformation implies its own set of epistemological and methodological difficulties ... With global risks, old monopolies on reality definitions are being dissolved, and expert definitions or reality relying on the metaphysics of reproduction become irrational.  

A final argument is given by the accelerating effects of the digital revolution that will change relationships, forms of competition, ideas, and conventions in all countries. With maintaining traditional conceptual and analytical frameworks – oriented on the past instead of the future – the immense and destructive chances for worldwide organized crime or many invisible forms of digital warfare cannot be understood, discussed, treated and contested in a public (democratic) way. In their study about social quality and Brexit and the case of the city Stoke-on-Trent in England, Ian Mahoney and Tony Kearon underline – on the basis of many interviews – the plea by commissioner Federica Mogherini (see note 70). It may be supposed that they deliver a more interesting perspective than the aforementioned study of the Social Observatory in Brussels and its conclusions (see note 71). With this in mind, the following sections are developed with the existing problematique of Ukraine as a point of departure. In section 5.6 this study by Mahoney and Kearon will be discussed further.  

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### 3.1 Introduction

The IEF/NASU’s Analytical Review (see note 15) functions as a point of departure for paving the way to understand the current problematic of Ukraine. This concept refers to the outcomes of the reciprocity of interrelated problems. In the case of Ukraine, it has recently caused a qualitative leap downwards of these interrelated problems. This has recently been noted in the study about ‘the Crisis in Ukraine’ by Gianfranco Tamburelli (see note 5). Usually, country analyses of the state of affairs are restricted to a fragmented presentation of different sectors, their problems and challenges, without delivering points of departure for a more comprehensive understanding of the overall situation. The rationale of the SQT and SQA is to go beyond this unproductive state of affairs. We hypothesized that with help of its procedural framework, it will contain an ordering principle for distinguishing empirical verifiable processes. This framework will be fully explained in section 4. With help of its analytical framework these processes can be clarified. This analytical framework has already been introduced in section 1.3. It is based on the conceptual framework, which will be introduced in section 4.

The first part of this section consists of an introduction of one aspect of the procedural framework. It treats a distinction between four dimensions, namely: (1) the socioeconomic/financial, (2) the sociopolitical/legal, (3) the social-cultural/welfare and (4) socioenvironmental dimensions. This differs from the three-dimensional distinction that is applied (without any theoretical explanation) in the Brundtland Report about the development of the overall sustainability. This essential point will be discussed further in section 4. With regard to Ukraine this fourfold distinction has recently been applied in a study about its current societal transformation by Zuzana Novakova (see note 2). With the first part in mind, this section continues with reflecting two documents by the European Commission, related with the work of the European Support Group Ukraine. Relevant will be the question of the reproduction of existing societal relationships, neglecting new challenges. This section will be

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74 The conceptual framework will be illustrate in Figure 2 (section 4.2). The analytical framework is illustrated in Figure 1 (section 1.3). The procedural framework will be illustrated in Figure 3 (section 4.5). Figure 4 (section 5.4) will present the start of thinking about the SQA’s policy framework, based upon the interrelationship between Figure 1, 2 and 3.

concluded with a referral to a French debate about some essential tendencies and – in connection with this – the new white paper of the European Commission, as well as a SQA’s point of view, namely, the first presentation of a new Declaration on Social Quality. Many aspects of these documents concern issues that are mentioned in the first part of this section.

3.2 Reviewing the Four Dimensions of Societal Life in Ukraine

3.2.1 The Socioeconomic/financial Dimension

Aspects mentioned in the Analytical Review with regard to the socioeconomic/financial dimension are: the threefold devaluation of the Hryvnia versus the US dollar, drastic reduction of purchasing power of the population, introduction of an extremely austere budgetary policy, worsening situation in foreign markets. The consequences are that the aggregate accumulation of capital reduced immensely, and the share of wages in the income structure diminished seriously, diminishing national and foreign direct investments and causing the increase of an unbearable inflation. Also, the banking system came under pressure. This caused a sharp decline of employment and a deterioration of the national labour market during 2014-2016, stimulating the intensification of labor migration. The reduction of economic activity – with a huge amount of job losses and the corresponding rise of unemployment – is also a result of the reduction of production and investment; increased number of internally displaced persons (see below), deepening structural imbalances on the labor market that emerge due to the preservation of an outdated technological base in a significant share of domestic enterprises etc. In addition to the factors trends highlighted in the Analytical Review, it might be worthwhile to mention the role of informal sector (i.e. shadow economy), estimated to account for 40% of Ukraine’s GDP in 2015. The high volume of shadow economic activity should be taken into account for explaining the survival strategies of certain segments of the population amid overall economic hardships. At the same time the gap between formal and informal power institutions and practices is important to the outcomes and interrelations in the socioeconomic/financial dimension. With this in mind, in the study about ‘the Crisis of Ukraine’

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76 and around 35% percent of GDP in 2016, both figures published by the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine, press releases of 05.07.2016 and 14.02.2017 respectively. See also the ‘Implementation,’ note 4.

The Ukrainians will benefit from: improved consumer protection, in particular through superior quality and safety of locally grown agricultural products; greater business opportunities for small and medium businesses in a wider market, and consequently, more jobs and less emigration; lower process for consumers for products of superior quality; improved access to better health care; lower energy bills thanks to a more efficient use of energy resources etc.\(^7^8\)

### 3.2.2 The Sociopolitical/legal Dimension

The sociopolitical/legal situation (dimension) in Ukraine started to worsen rapidly because of, first of all, the question of the Crimea and the large-scale military conflict in Donbas. It stimulated illegal armed right-wing movements. In the recent study mentioned above, the concept of ‘crisis’ refers to the fact that Ukraine is a country at war (albeit undeclared) and not only because the status of Crimea or the Donetsk and Luhansk regions:

That are undoubtedly important, but [we like] rather to show the complexity of the situation, and the worsening of the political, economic and social difficulties which have followed on the heels of the exceptional events and radical changes in the political direction.\(^7^9\)

Added to the Analytical Review can be the research from the University of Aberdeen on the role of social media and the Ukrainian counterrevolution. The military struggle between separatists and Ukrainian military started in April 2014. Both pro-European as well as pro-Russian protests, and the escalation of political based violence have different orientations.\(^8^0\) The consequence, the undermining of safety, penetrates the blood circulation of Ukraine, not only in the sociopolitical/legal dimension. The state of affairs with this dimension is causing a

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\(^{78}\) G. Tamburelli, note 5, p. 370. He refers to: European Commission. 2016. EU-Ukraine DCFTA Economic Benefits and Opportunities, at trade.ec.europa.eu. F

\(^{79}\) G. Tamburelli, note 5, p. 359.

downward spiral in other dimensions. In the Analytical Review, we read that the societal disaster in Donbas due to the armed conflict has led to the emergence of a ‘large-scale of internally displaced people from Donbas and the Crimea to other regions of Ukraine. According to the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, in early August 2016 there were 1 million 726 thousand officially registered displaced people (including 20 thousand from Crimea)’ (see note 15). With this in mind, Tamburelli argues, that we have to consider that the Association Agreement is not ideological neutral:

On the contrary, it comes laden with many conditions. The EU imposes to Ukraine the pursuit of a series of goals, the passing of reforms concerning the rule of law, democracy, and basic human freedoms. These conditionality clauses constitute essential elements of the Agreement and their violation may be considered as a material breach of the Agreement itself. 81

For coping with the huge consequences of the past military conflict, a positive change is highly important.

3.2.3 The Sociocultural/welfare Dimension

Recognizing the scope of the situation in the sociocultural/welfare dimension – the amount of internally displaced people because political processes – the Ministry of Temporarily Occupied Territories and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) was officially established in 2016, with an uneasy mandate ahead. The forced internal migration flows have increased pressure on the formal and visible level (such as social welfare provision or housing stock in major cities), but also – and perhaps most importantly – on the informal level of social cohesion (i.e. prejudice, discrimination against IDPs and related challenges of social inclusion or cohesion of ‘host’ communities on urban level). 82 As a consequence of the socioeconomic processes since 2014 noticed is a dramatic narrowing of financing welfare provisions of the population. Especially mentioned is in the Analytical Review the categorical refusal to continue paying pensions and

81 G. Tamburelli, note 5, p. 365.
82 As highlighted in some of the expert interviews conducted in Kiev between June and December 2016. Conducted by Zuzana Novakova in the framework of an ongoing research project on ‘common sense’ in EU-Ukraine relations, partially hosted by the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence in European Studies, Kiev-Mohyla Academy. The information cited comes from preliminary assessments of interviews with experts from third-sector Ukrainian research organizations and major international organizations on the ground, not yet published. This information is presented in her study (see note 2).
welfare benefits to millions of Ukrainian citizens living in the uncontrolled territories of Donetsk and Lugansk Oblasts. As Tamburrelli concludes,

> The need for assistance of those conflict-affected populations who remained in the separatist areas has not yet been entirely quantified or addressed (...) Immediate assistance to displaced persons was initially provided by the civil society, national foundations and NGPs, soon, however, reaching breaking point and becoming no longer sustainable. Most of the displaced left their homes with limited or no resources, and many are unable to access their bank accounts, social entitlements, or savings once displaced and therefore fully dependent on external support for basic needs, including food. 83

The Analytical Review explains that the government eliminated some of the welfare benefits and commitments in the uncontrolled territories. In other parts of this country the Analytical Review refers to worsening conditions of retirement, deteriorated access to education and health services. The socioeconomic situation caused also an unbearable reduction of income: ‘Average monthly income per one household members is estimated to be 2.3 times less that the amount which, according to people’s opinion, is sufficient for normal living standards.’ (see note 15). Notwithstanding this, according to the Analytical Review, Ukraine disposes of a significant educational potential of highly qualified persons, which is consistent with a significant contribution of the educational component to this country’s high ranking in the human development index. This is important for the INRU project. In addition to the trends highlighted by the Analytical Review, the dynamics within and beyond the sociocultural/welfare dimension are likely to be affected by the ongoing processes of nation building. The inclusion/exclusion dynamics in the narratives of togetherness put forward in public discourses are inherently political in the sense that they both reflect and reshape the unequal power relations. In other words, the ongoing processes of ‘othering the others’ in order to foster a group identity internally, do reflect the current societal content of the ‘integral state.’

### 3.2.4 The Socioenvironmental Dimension

The socioenvironmental dimension is not discussed in the Analytical Review. But it plays a role in the Review’s research blocks, notably in the eighth block. It intends to pave the way for an

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83 G. Tamburelli, note 42, p.13-14.
'environmental strategy of Ukraine in the context of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change (2015) and the [comments from the side of the] social quality approach’ (see note 15). As we will discuss below (section 6.4), this point of view will be relevant for the other research blocks, e.g. for the main subject of the INRU project. Therefore, we should explain what we mean with the 'socioenvironmental dimension.' Our considerations (see below) may be taken on board in the further exploration of the current problematique of Ukraine, seen in a broader European (including Russian) context. The reason is clear. The European Commission (EC) updated after the EU-Ukraine Agreement its ideas about 'sustainable development.' Therefore, this Agreement should be made consistent with this update. The EC says in 2015, ‘

Sustainable Development stands for meeting the needs of present generations without jeopardizing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs – in other words, a better quality of life for everyone, now and for generations to come. . . . This requires profound changes in thinking, in economic and social structures and in consumption and production patterns.'

With the report by the European Political Strategy Centre, Sustainability Now!, a new step was made in 2016. In the social quality oriented study about the plastic pollution of oceans, landslides, seacoasts and rivers, the use in EC reports of non-theorized concepts as sustainability, the social dimension, and needs has been raised. These reports follow uncritically the Brundtland Report (see note 75), but the message is clear. The climate change is 'our most important challenge.' In this SQA oriented study, the four-dimensional approach is especially applied to the field of ecosystems (see Figure 3, section 4.5). The INRU project should address the issue of the overall sustainability. The work done in the context of the social quality research may be functional for this challenge (see notes 6, 7, 9, and 12). In the present working paper especially this study about the plastic pollution will function as a frame of reference.

3.2.5 The Sociodemographic Characteristics

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84 European Commission. 2015. Sustainable Development, available from: ec.europa.eu/environment/eu.ssd, 9 September. It repeats uncritically the first reports on sustainability, e.g. by Brundtland et al., note 75.
The Analytical Review has also paid to serious sociodemographic characteristics of Ukraine. Like the current characteristic, of safety these characteristics influence all four dimensions. Many changes are caused by authentic long-term reactions of interrelated citizens. The Review concluded that the death rate has exceeded birth-rate and the population is shrinking (caused by narrowing of opportunities and a loss of confidence) and ageing. This is known as a distorted age structure. It is expected that the share of elderly (over 60) will reach 32.9% in 2050. An analogous shift in age structure and the related challenges of ageing population are seen within the European Union. Máire Geoghegan Quinn - former EU Commissioner for Research, Innovation and Science – has argued that, ageing population combined with low birth rates will ‘bring about significant changes to the structure of European society, which will impact on our economy, social security and health care systems, the labour market and many other spheres of our lives.’

This aspect of societal life – which tendencies are influenced by processes in the four dimensions – will (without new perspectives) negatively influence the daily circumstances of Ukraine.

3.3 New Achievements Seen in a Broader Perspective

3.3.1 Recent Information by the European Commission and a Main Question

From the side of the EC’s ‘Support Group for Ukraine,’ investments and support by experts from the European Union have been delivered since the Spring of 2014 (see note 3 and 4). The main aim is to assist the elaboration and modernization of the institutional settings of these four dimensions, for example:

- Economic governance, the financial sector, trade and industry, transport, agriculture,
- Governance and rule of law, public administration reform, anti-corruption,
- Public health, employment and the labor market, internally displaced persons, education,
- Energy sector, environment.

According the European Commission in 2016, the European Support Group Ukraine

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has focused from the outset on the basic reforms required . . . and to work as catalyst, facilitator and supporter of reform: by providing advice directly; by bringing in experts from other European Commission services; by deploying experts provided by the Member States; and – having assumed responsibility for financial cooperation in July 2015 – by bringing to bear the substantial grant assistance made available by the European Union.  

Some of the 2016 lessons by the Support Group are of interest for the proposed INRU project, namely that

The Support Group will seek to further strengthen strategic coordination with Member States of ongoing assistance, with a view to increasing the overall impact of EU action and further synergies, and thus even greater impact, could be achieved by enhance coordination with Member States on programming, including on priorities for future intervention, with lead actors in each field.  

The question is of interest whether these investments alone are sufficient for addressing the extreme difficult circumstances of Ukraine. Or has the SQA something to add which is important for processes in this country? This concerns the rationale of this working paper.

In the same vein the European Commission published in November 2017 a comparable impression about the state of affairs of Ukraine:

In 2017, Ukraine has continued to undertake political and economic reforms in numerous key sectors, in the context of is political association and economic integration with the EU. It has also continued to successfully address significant macroeconomic imbalances. Through policy dialogue and financial assistance, the EU, in collaboration with international partners, has supported measures notably aiming at improved governance, in the fight against corruption, judiciary reform, public administration reform and decentralisation. Continuous emphasis has been placed in support for the implementation of the Association Agreement. 

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88 EC, note 3, p.3.  
89 EC, note 3, p. 22.  
90 EC, note 4, p. 15.
In other words, according to the EC, in the past two years more was achieved than ever before; this in spite of the illegal annexation of Crimea and Sevastopol by the Russian Federation and the conflict in the east of the country. Some practical points are:

- The democratic institutes have been revitalised. So, has the civil society been strengthened and is a vital part of Ukraine reform efforts?
- The economic bonds between the EU and Ukraine are strengthened. The rule of law in Ukraine was strengthened as a result of anti-corruption measures, increased transparency and improved public access to information.
- The protracted and painful energy sector reform has helped to increase market transparency and incentivise energy saving. The agricultural and transport sectors can contribute to a vibrant modern economy. Here it may perhaps be added that one-third of the worldwide fertile black soil is located within the territory of Ukraine; such exceptional agronomic conditions highlight the inherent potential of the agricultural sector (which at the same time is expected to strongly benefit under the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement).
- During 2016 the macroeconomic situation has stabilised, the restructuring of the banking sector lowered systemic risks to public finances and to the economy in general.

For the INRU project this information by the European Commission is of interest because it combines facts, suppositions, and desirable and realistic but also seemingly unrealistic political ambitions. The rather pessimistic book by the European Social Observatory demonstrates the consequences of this ‘business as usual’ attitude (see note 71). This illustrates, that for really understanding this combination (or reciprocity) of issues and information about the outcomes, we need, first, a form of ordering (read: ‘procedural framework’) as applied to the Analytical Review, namely, the distinction of main dimensions of societal life. Many aspects of the other dimensions are pertinent to the dimension in question. For the socioeconomic/financial, the necessity for Ukraine to import gas and oil is a crucial fact. For the sociopolitical/legal, various forms of corruption are specific. For the sociocultural/welfare the collective representations are a typical characteristic. As the Analytical Review noticed, ‘the paternalistic sentiments are still shared by the population as well as the reliance on the government’s and state’s responsibility for personal and public well-being.’ (see note 15). For the socioenvironmental dimension very specific are many micro-forms of pollution on household level. But in the current situation of Ukraine, the war or the renewal of the war is as well determining the

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dominant position of the sociopolitical/legal dimension as well as changing all other dimensions. In other words, it changes also all dimension-specific aspects.

The Analytical Review’s presentation of the socioeconomic/financial situation demonstrates this thesis. In other words, it explains, in the second place, the necessity to understand, after the ordering of processes, their interrelationships and reciprocities. For example, how the current configuration of the sociopolitical/legal dimension determines processes in the socioeconomic/financial dimension, and how the latter therefore undermines the sociocultural/welfare dimension and – as we will add below – the socioenvironmental dimension. All of this is reflected in the all-encompassing sociodemographic characteristics.

The point is that, without a procedural based understanding – which should be connected with an analytical framework – the consequences of the reciprocity, politics and policies for improving daily circumstances of the population cannot be effective. For coping with the problematique of Ukraine it will be unavoidable to analyse further the multi-dimensional aspects, their interrelationships and the way some essential all-encompassing characteristics influence the nature of these interrelationships. In the same vein, it is important to reflect on that nature of the 2017 information by the European Commission (see note 4). Which aspects of the information are outcomes of the reciprocity of processes in different dimensions, brought about by the influence of essential all-encompassing characteristics? A main question of this paper is that neither the European Commission, nor the European Support Group Ukraine seems to demonstrate the need of the development and application of a procedural framework, connected with an analytical framework. All other things being equal (ceteris paribus), both the EC and the Support Group pave the way, for logical reasons, for an uncritical reproduction of the state of affairs in Member States of the European Union. For the population of Ukraine this reproduction ‘introduces’ the current problems in many Member States. Nota bene, with this reproduction a great opportunity will be missed to create new examples for the EU Member States with the changes to be made in Ukraine.

### 3.3.2 A French Debate, the White Paper and a New Declaration on Social Quality

#### a. The French debate

With this question in mind, it is of interest to refer to the French philosophers Marcel Gauchet et al. who reflected on the question how economics precede the sociopolitical/legal dimension in France. The outcomes of this process result into increasing the gap between low- and high-
income groups. Two years before the ‘yellow jackets’ protests in France, they explained that this gap is shockingly wide for the majority of the French population. From the side of dominant political and intellectual groups this has been denied until now. But today French people realise according to Gauchet et al. that the powerful political and cultural position of France in the world is eroding because the value system, or better, the ideological power of the ancien régime is shriveling.\textsuperscript{92} Gauchet argues that these days earning money becomes the absolute purpose of more and more people in the Western and Eastern Hemisphere; for many French people, this is a development that leaves them behind. And are the recent massive protests in France not a demonstration of their conclusions?

David Brooks, a columnist of the New York Times, argues that ‘A society is healthy when its culture counterbalances its economics. That is to say, when you have a capitalist economic system that emphasizes competition, dynamism, and individual self-interest, you need a culture that celebrates cooperation, stability and committed relationships.’ \textsuperscript{93} He refers to a, as he calls it, high-level study by Kathryn Edin, Timothy Nelson et al. about the current circumstances of the ‘working-class men in the US’ \textsuperscript{94} and concludes, first, that such a balance is non-existent in the US, and second ‘that we have a culture that takes the disruptive and dehumanizing aspects of capitalism and makes them worse.’ But are the assumptions of Gauchet et al. and Brooks similar? Brooks apparently makes a strict distinction between the socioeconomic/financial dimension and the sociocultural/welfare dimension; each has its own guiding values. The strict distinction seems to be a consequence of the unjustified classical duality between ‘the economic’ and ‘the social’ (see note 2). It suggests that the first concerns evidence \textit{sui generis}. This obscures the view of the consequences of real societal processes. Gauchet et al. seem to refer to the reciprocity of processes in at least three dimensions and go beyond the implicit distinction of Brooks. It is exactly because of the nature of the actual sociopolitical/legal configuration and sociocultural/welfare conventions and values that the socioeconomic/financial dimension became dominant. Current interpretations of concepts such as possession and property are based on sociopolitical and juridical philosophies from

\textsuperscript{92} M. Gauchet, E. Conan, F. Azouvis. 2016. \textit{Comprendre le malheur francais}’ (\textit{Understanding the unhappiness of French people}), Paris: Stock Publishing House. The question may be raised, if the ideological power of the ‘ancien régime’ may be a cause of the actual state of affairs. Does it deliver a real frame of reference for the recent protests?


past centuries. Hereupon based dominant systems do not reflect in a critical way on the legacy of Machiavelli and Hobbes’ philosophical systems. These systems are based on greed and individual human selfishness that accentuate absolute power, struggle, competition, rivalry, and envy.\textsuperscript{95}

\textbf{b. The recent EC’s White Paper}

With this in mind, the orchestration of research with help of the proposed INRU project should also take on board the final White Paper published by the European Commission.\textsuperscript{96} According to Sergio Fabbrini, it provides ‘a modest and confused contribution to the discussion [about the future of the European Union]. Modest because there is no serious reflection on the causes of the European crisis. . . . Confused because it sets out (fully) five scenarios for the scenarios for the EU’s future which seem to be the result of some university seminar rather than real political reflection.’\textsuperscript{97} A functional and adequate conceptual (ontological oriented), analytical (epistemological oriented), procedural (methodological oriented), and policy framework (practical oriented) is a \textit{conditio sine qua non} for understanding the nature of the crisis. And in the same vein as the EC’s highly optimistic information about the outcomes of its support in Ukraine (see note 3- and 4), its White Paper showcases such optimism. The absence of a European consensus about a conceptual and analytical framework to understand European realities and to design new politics and policies may be the cause of the lack of ‘real political reflection.’

c. \textit{Designing a new Declaration on Social Quality}

Another endeavor for reflecting on the nature of also the circumstances of the European Union – and the causes of the Brexit – brings us to the recent design of a second Declaration on Social Quality (the first is published in the second book on social quality, see note 50). It can serve to indicate the consequences of an unsystematic approach to understand societal processes for elaborating politics with which to underpin human dignity in communities and cities. It states:

\textsuperscript{95} Editor. 2016. “Editorial.” \textit{International Journal of Social Quality}, 6 (1). See further the study by Steve Corbett, note 34.


Although Brexit was a largely British-made phenomenon the EU itself cannot escape some of the blame. It . . . promoted a variant of the long discredited ‘trickle-down’ economics. True to its utilitarian roots, neoliberalism argued that free trade would solve the problems of poverty and social exclusion. Taken to its extreme in the TTIP Europe would forget its right to societal regulation in key areas such as minimum wages and food safety. In short, the interests of European citizens were forfeited to those of the corporations and the hyper-elite 0.1%. So, in the UK’s referendum campaign the only case made against Brexit was a negative one about the dire economic consequences, the politics of fear. Little wonder that those excluded or marginalised by decades of neoliberal-driven policies, culminating in austerity, saw nothing to commend remaining in the EU. Instead there was an opportunity to rage against the liberal elite with the EU as a scapegoat, an open goal if ever there was one. The scapegoat was successfully set up by years of anti-EU propaganda by the right-wing press, which contributed to the creation of the UK Independence Party, formed specifically to campaign for exit from the EU. For its part, the Remain campaign had nothing positive to say about how, for example, European social solidarity could help to overcome exclusion and marginalisation, only that more free trade and deregulation would benefit all. It was the single market that was their sole focus. No-one spoke specifically to or for the excluded and the communities destroyed by de-industrialisation, although the highly negative portrayal of the EU in the British press and lukewarm support for it among English political leaders was so entrenched that it would have been hard to reverse it in a short campaign. (see note 47).

This deliver good lessons for also Ukraine, because there exists some comparability. In the study of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, in the concluding section we read (see note 48 page 45), that because the transformation of societal institutions of the Soviet past, circumstances and knowledge were destroyed with which people were enabled to make their own existential choices with the consequences that:

the so-called atomization took place in Ukraine, when the society had not pre-acquired experience, on whose basis it could have been possible to acquire knowledge for the future. These processes were accompanied by if not global degradation, then at least a deep transformation of the global spatial space – as result of globalization. Under such conditions, the temporal circumstances of the formation of mistrust consolidated.
4 Going Beyond the Tripartite Distinction of the Economic, Social and Environmental Dimensions: Considerations about the Conceptual Framework

4.1 Introduction

In this section, a short excursion is made to recognize two ‘basic problems’ of the exploration of the development toward overall sustainability. The first is the lack of an explanation of the adjective ‘social’ of the so-called social dimension as uncritically presented in the Brundtland Report on sustainability (see note 75). The second is the lack of frameworks for understanding the reciprocal relationships of processes in all dimensions, which are relevant for the overall sustainability. For addressing the first basic problem, this section will explain the SQA’s perspective of the noun ‘the social.’ This will happen with help of the illustration of Figure 2. Aspects of this presentation will be connected with five documents about central questions of sustainability, published by international institutes. They deliver interesting background information about the first, but also about the second basic problem. These documents refer implicitly to the connection of the four dimensions with three important fields, and to the four frameworks with which to understand the relationships of dimensions and fields. As will elaborated in this section, the 2015 SQA manifesto on climate change illustrates in a nutshell especially the core of the second basic problem. The following step is to present Figure 3, illustrating the procedural framework in order to deliver points of departure for addressing this second basic problem. For the INRU project especially the relationships between these dimensions and the field of societal complexities are most relevant. A start for a specific understanding of these specific relationships has been made in the study by Novakova (see note 2). A study about the relationships between these four dimensions with the field of the ecosystems has also already been published (see note 86). This will soon be further developed.98

4.2 The Conceptualisation of ‘the Social’ and Figure 2

Based on previous work, the concept of ‘the social’ as the main point of departure for the SQA is explained in the third social quality book (see note 21). ‘The social’ will be realised with help

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of the constitutive interdependency between processes of people’s self-realisation and processes steering the formation of collective identities. This is illustrated in Figure 2.

**Figure 2:** *Rethinking the Constitutive Interdependency (Dialectic) As the Core of the Conceptual Framework*

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**Left side**
- processes of self-realisation of people
- the sphere of the constitutional (subjective) factors

**Right side**
- processes of the formation of collective Identities
- the sphere of the conditional (objective) factors

**Constituting/developing**
- The social

**Constitutive interdependency**
- (dialectic)

**Leading to**
- leading to adequate conventions and competence to act
- leading into configuration of human interrelationships in structures and practices

**Resulting into the constituting/changing of the**
- the social
  - [= the always changing outcomes of the productive and the reproductive interrelationships of human beings concretised in structures, practices and conventions]

**Steering and judging the outcomes**
- The sphere of the normative (ethical) factors
  - linking the constitutional and conditional factors

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99 This figure is an elaboration of the figure about the constitution of ‘the social’, as published in the IASQ’s third book, see note 21
It figure does not really illustrate the reality of this dialectic between the left and the right side, because of its static character. People are born in circumstances, which are already determined by recent processes and processes far before. This is of course also the case with the formation of collective identities and configurations. But this figure tries to deliver a conceptual framework as point of departure for an analytical (see Figure 1), a procedural (see Figure 3), and the start of the elaboration of a policy framework (see Figure 4). All of this should be the main point of departure of the normative framework. Furthermore with this most essential figure of the SQA, accentuated is that as well the individual aspects as the collective aspects are crucial, as well as the subjective, objective and normative realities of human existence. But also the outcomes of these realities are an outcome of the supposed dialectic. Figure 1 (see section 1.2) - concerning the ‘social quality architecture’ - is dedicated to the constitutional, conditional and normative factors, underlined in this figure above.

The outcomes of this constitutive interdependency or dialectic (see Figure 2) – thus the interaction between people constituted as actors and the constructed and natural environment – results into people’s productive and reproductive relationships. Hypothesized is, that this conceptualization – as the core of the conceptual and also analytical frameworks – disposes of a non-moralistic and also heuristic meaning for analyzing all relevant dimensions of societal life in a comparative way. But for judging the ‘quality’ of ‘the social’ at a certain space and time, it is necessary to apply ethical standards, or the final normative framework of the SQT.100 As a consequence of this point of departure, economic activity – evolving around the production of goods and services and their consumption – is part of the overall productive and reproductive processes, thus of ‘the social.’ And, as argued before, the social quality theory disputes the supposed duality between the ‘economic’ and the ‘social,’ one of the basic assumptions of modern economics, accepted by well-known economists such as Joseph Stiglitz and Amartya Sen. In the SQT – referring to philosophical debates around the beginning of the 19e century – ‘the social’ encompasses the quintessence of each of the four main dimensions of societal life. This reductionistic and non-theorized duality is explicit in the Lisbon Treaty of the European Union (see note 32) and the herewith related Association Agreement between the Economic Commission and the Government of Ukraine (see note 31). This theme is not addressed either by guest editors of the thematic issue on ‘the social’ of the International Journal of Social Quality published in 2013 (see note 52). In other words, the authors did not go beyond this duality, implicitly accepting the assumptions of Western modern economics. This is neither the

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100 This normative framework should be designed urgently, in order to clarify the position of the SQA in the global debate about social justice, equivalence etc.
case in the second main point of reference for the INRU project, namely the book on the decent society (see note 55). The point of departure of the SQA – thus its current interpretation of ‘the social’ and its rejection of this duality – may deliver new perspectives for analyzing societal changes in Ukraine as well in the Member States of the European Union and beyond.

4.3 Two Basic Problems of the Sustainability Approach

In the classical discourse on sustainability, we may recognize two basic problems. The first problem concerns the distinction between three dimensions: the economic, the social and the environmental dimension as happened also in the Brundtland Report (see note 75). In this distinction, the social dimension remains an amorphous ‘black box,’ because its adjective lacks any conceptualization. Therefore the social dimension concerns everything that is not economic or environmental. According to Dutch experts who tried to contribute to the Rio+ 20 conference in June 2012, the incessant use of this black box is not merely a minor blemish but a fundamental basic problem that brings about a misunderstanding of well-being, welfare and societal dynamics and also of what could be effective policy responses to address the challenge of sustainability. These experts noticed also, that a consensus about the concept of sustainability is lacking. It has already been concluded earlier that the concept remains vague, partly because of the need to use it for different purposes and within different situations (see note 6:4).\footnote{M. Bernard, K. Darkoh and M.Kayesi. 2009. \textit{Climate change and Sustainable Development. New Challenges for Poverty Reduction}. Cheltenham UK: Edward Elgar: 179-82.} Seen from the perspective of the SQA, the reasons for its vagueness may be summarized as follows. First, the worldwide failure to define its supposed social dimension because of the lack of understanding of ‘the social.’ Second, this produces the impossibility to recognize its interrelationship (reciprocity) with the socioeconomic/financial and socioenvironmental dimensions and the effects of processes in the sociopolitical/legal dimension. The consequences of this impossibility have been discussed many times, also in the context of the ISSC Report 2013 (see note 23). Third, this prevents to problematize the disastrous consequences of the existing dominance of utilitarian oriented economic thinking (and interests) for the socioenvironmental dimension, as is for instance made manifest by the incessant plastic pollution of the oceans and landfills (see note 86). Under existing circumstances (\textit{ceteris paribus}) this already has resulted into an increasing commodification and marketization of aspects of the ecosystem. Fourth, this causes logically also an underdevelopment of the understanding of the key role of the field of rural and urban circumstances as a main aspect of the development of the overall sustainability. A second
problem concerns the lack of a theoretically founded analytical framework (see Figure 1, section 1.3) and procedural framework (see Figure 3, section 4.5) for understanding the reciprocity of processes in and between the four dimensions of societal life and its manifestation or articulation in three fields, namely, (i) of societal complexities, (ii) rural and urban circumstances and (iii) ecosystems.

4.4 Some International Documents Relevant for the INRU Project

As has already been noted, the tripartite distinction is still manifest in Reports of the European Commission since the publication of the Brundtland Report up till now (note 75). But it also the case in many mainstream approaches e.g. by international organisations. As the Director General of the World Wildlife Fund International remarks in the Living Planet Report 2016; ‘Perhaps more importantly, the interdependence between the social, economic and environmental agendas is being recognized at the highest levels through the truly revolutionary approach adopted in defining the new set of world’s Sustainable Development Goals.’\textsuperscript{102} This interpretation functions as evidence sui generis. In the 2013 Report of the ISSC (International Social Science Council) it is explicitly concluded that exactly this is highly problematic. According to the ISSC, social sciences (including economic and juridical sciences) are divided, and this poses an enormous problem: ‘Just as divided knowledge undermines the solidarity of humanity, so current environmental challenges – if inadequately understood and inappropriately managed – can impede achievement of the internationally agreed development goals’ (see note 23, 3). All the studies contained in this report adhere explicitly or implicitly to the tripartite distinction. This may explain why in the important Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Fifth Assessment Report – which also accepts the traditional tripartite distinction as an evidence sui generis – sustainability and sustainable development are not conceptualized.\textsuperscript{103} Notwithstanding this, the executive summary of the same Living Planet Report contains a proposition to seriously analyze all forms of interdependencies:

The growth of the Ecological Footprint, the violation of Planetary Boundaries and increasing pressure on biodiversity are rooted in systemic failures inherent to the


current systems of production, consumption, finance and governance. The behaviours that lead to these patterns are largely determined by the way consumerist societies are organized (see note 102).

And herewith appears the second basic problem. No reference is made to an indispensable analytical and procedural framework. And the conclusions by the ISSC (see note 105) are not taken on board in the Living Planet Report 2016. It did not take on board the conclusions of the 2009 Report by the UN-Habitat either. It concluded already in 2009, that all attention is dedicated to food crisis, energy crisis, financial crises, changes of climate change, but these activities are disparate and tend to ignore an equally unprecedented mega trend: that the world is undergoing an irreversible process of rapid urbanization. Failure to accommodate this mega trend has resulted in unsustainable forms of production and consumption, poverty and social exclusion, and pollution.¹⁰⁴

Possibly partly inspired by the UN Habitat, the 2016 World Social Science Report of the ISSC adds a new theme to its 2013 Report about the issue of sustainability. This Report is dedicated to the many aspects of inequality in the world. Without going beyond severe forms of inequality, the development toward overall sustainability will be impossible. It concerns two sides of the same coin. And this will also concern the heart of the matter of the proposed INRU project. In the preface of the 2016 Report Alberto Martinelli argues, that

. . . social scientists have long been studying the various dimensions of inequality. . . but more and more political leaders and concerned citizens are now becoming aware of the relationships and intersections between different forms of inequality and also other global challenges, including climate change and sustainable development, peace and conflict, corruption and crime, education and health. . . . At the heart of this report is a call for a revitalized research agenda on inequality, one that is global in its outlook and participation, and that draws from across the disciplines.¹⁰⁵


In 2015 the United Nations published its report about the transformation of the world, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. This is a strong endeavor to orient the world on new values as was the case for the Club of Rome (note 68). At the same time, it makes clear that the proposed INRU project should take on board this report in order to create a frame of reference to also situate the problematique of Ukraine in a broader perspective. The UN-Report says,

We envisage a world free of poverty, hunger, disease and want, where all life can thrive. We envisage a world free of fear and violence. A world with universal literacy. A world with equitable and universal access to quality of education at all levels, to health care and social projection. . . . A world where human habitats are safe, resilient and sustainable and where there is universal access to affordable, reliable and sustainable energy.¹⁰⁶

At the same time this UN-Report demands rethinking of applied concepts. But does it demonstrate sufficient conceptual consistency and coherency? Furthermore, does it address the consequences of the non-theorized classical tripartite distinction as its point of orientation? This issue will be discussed in following sub-section.

4.5 The Manifesto on Climate Change and the Focus on Three Fields

In the Manifesto on Climate Change of 2015 – published by the IASQ and ISS – the following has been argued:

The World Bank concludes in its report of 8 November 2015 that climate change could (under current circumstances) push more than 100 million additional people back into poverty by 2030. The 2014-15 joint statements between the USA and China about decrease of carbon emissions, for example, are a major but one-dimensional step. The mitigation of carbon emissions is essential for the sustainability of humankind on earth, but we have to go much further than this. Many current authoritative reports clarify that the world needs extra and orchestrated efforts from universities in order to fill gaps in past and current approaches. They demonstrate that many gaps lead to fragmentation

and stagnation in our development toward sustainability.\textsuperscript{107} . . . The ISSC’s (with UNESCO and OECD) 2013 World Social Science Report shows that these gaps arise because environmental change is still viewed primarily in physical science terms, whereby the (interrelationships of) socioenvironmental, socioeconomic, sociopolitical and sociocultural dimensions of sustainability receive insufficient attention. It shows too the regional divides in social sciences (including economics and law) are as strong as the divides between social sciences themselves and between these and natural sciences. We lack a comprehensive approach that links all relevant dimensions of human existence with the challenges posed by climate change. This inhibits the creation of knowledge about interrelated processes in these dimensions. For these reasons, the ISSC has called for the promotion of interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary science to fill the gaps in our understanding of overall sustainability. UN-Habitat warned already in 2009, that management of the current growth of cities to become mega-cities remains insufficiently connected with the sustainability challenge. The Sustainable Development Goals miss a systematic approach concerning (mega-) cities. The manifestations of climate change in many parts of the world, not least in parts of Africa, South-East Asia and the Pacific, are already dramatic. The international response to recent climate change-related disasters further illustrates the gap in our understanding of the interrelationships of dimensions [determining the development of the overall] sustainability [see Figure 3, section 4.5], and the way in which these dimensions influence the effectiveness of responses.\textsuperscript{108}

Implicitly, this form of reasoning stimulates to make a distinction between three for the SQA relevant and always changing fields, namely, (i) (the transformation of) societal complexities (health, education etc), (ii) (the transformation of) urban/rural context (human habitat), and (iii) (the transformation of) ecosystems (biodiversity etc.), as well as their interdependencies and reciprocities. (See Figure 3.) With regard to the social quality theory and application, a start was made in the third main book (see note 21) and by Dutch expert meetings on the question of the overall sustainability (see note 6). The most recent outcomes have been published in the study about the Plastic Soup Foundation, analyzed from an SQA perspective (see note 86). We hypothesize that the four dimensions deliver points of departure not only for analyzing

\begin{footnotesize}

\textsuperscript{108} This Manifesto (note 107) is also signed by a manifold of scientists from Ukraine, see list Available from: https://www.socialquality.org/wp-content/uploads/import/2015/12/Sustainability_manifesto_support_list_13-12-2015.pdf
\end{footnotesize}
the reciprocity and interdependencies of their processes, but also of the reciprocity of transformational processes in these fields. The reasons that these four dimensions are effective in each field and function as their common denominator. This will deliver points of departure for elaborating the Research Proposals by the IEF/NASU (see note 16). This issue was discussed for the first time in a study about the new challenges for the social quality indicators’ application (see note 7) and more extensive in the recent study about the pollution of the oceans (see note 86). In Figure 3 also refers to the question of the comparisons with other approaches, such as the quality of life, and social capital approaches.

**Figure 3**

*Focus on Three Fields and Their Interrelationships: the Procedural Framework* 109

109 The meaning of this figure will be further elaborated in Working Paper Series nr 18.
This figure differs in an essential way from the illustration in the Editorial of the IJSQ, 8 (1) 2018, note 13. The name of the third field has been changed from 'issues of sustainability' to 'ecosystems,' thanks to the study by Takahiro Sato, see note 113. This change is presented in the study about the Plastic Soup Foundation (see note 86). In the figure, published in that Editorial 8 (1) 2018, sustainability is too much restricted to nature and its ecosystems. Realised afterwards is, that according the SQA-definition (Working Paper nr 11, note 6) sustainability is an outcome of the reciprocity between three fields, instead of being restricted to only one field. Thanks to this a more adequate understanding of the role of urban processes concerning the increase or decrease of the overall sustainability can be reached.

As already noticed, aspects of this procedural framework are applied to the field of societal complexities of Ukraine as a first exploration, with which to pave the way for a successor of the previous INRU project as well (see note 2). In the centre of Figure 2 the application of the conceptual framework (see Figure 2) and analytical framework (see Figure -1, see section 1.3) are mentioned as point of departure of this procedural framework.
5 Some Aspects of the Social Quality Approach for Bridging the Ukrainian Analytical Review and the Research Proposals

5.1 Introduction

In this section we present new aspects of the SQA, thanks to the work in the recent period in order to understand its meaning for bridging the IEF/NASU’s Analytical Review (see note 15) and Research Proposals (see note 16). A run-up was already created in the previous sections. Four steps are taken for this in the following section. First, Figure 2 will be taken on board as point of departure for discussing shortly some ontological aspects of the ‘quality of the social’ and the herewith related SQA. This concerns its conceptual framework, which delivers the arguments for thoughts resulting in Figure 1. The second step concerns a short reflection about this first figure, namely, the social quality architecture as an analytical framework. Compared to the original architecture as presented in the social quality’s third book (see note 21), ‘eco-related factors’ are added to the three sets of factors. The reasoning is that an increase of social quality at a certain space and time is an anachronism if it causes somewhere else a decrease of the overall sustainability at the same time. This addition encourages an instrumental expansion of the SQA. The third step is to refer again to Figure 3 as illustration of the procedural framework. This referral expresses shortly the linking of the SQA with the challenges, related with all three fields, namely, (i) societal complexities, (ii) rural / urban circumstances, and (iii) ecosystems. The fourth step is to add a new figure, Figure 4, presenting preliminary ideas about the elements of the SQA’s policy framework. It will illustrate the interrelationships of the three previous figures. With help of Figure 4, pathways may be found to enable connecting the Analytical Review and the Research Proposals with the recent Ukrainian document about the Implementation (see note 17). With help of Figure 5, a specific part of Figure 4 will be accentuated in order to explain the reordering of the Research Proposals according the assumptions underlying the SQA. With help of this fourth figure (and also the fifth figure), the serious and logic based pitfalls of the EU’s European Support Group Ukraine will be analyzed.

5.2 Figure 2 Revisited: About ‘the Social’ as Ontological Question

In Figure 2 (see section 4.2) the three sets of factors, with which to understand the nature of social quality at a certain space and certain time, are signed up. These three sets form the
heart of the matter of the extended ‘social quality architecture’ as signed in Figure 1 (see section 1.3). On the left side of Figure 2, the set of constitutional factors play the main role in processes resulting in reproductive relationships. On the right side, the set of conditional factors play the main role in processes resulting in productive relationships. The linking of both sets of factors will be determined by the set of normative factors with which to steer and judge processes of authoritative allocation of resources based on ethical considerations. The constitutive interdependency (or dialectic) resulting in ‘the social’ plays in an ontological sense the main role in the three fields, as indicated in Figure 3 (see section 4.5). In this approach the meaning of ‘the social’ goes beyond the common sense use of the undefined (and thus meaningless) adjective ‘social,’ which is according to Leisering ‘difficult to pin down [, which] hints at problems of identifying the “social” in ‘social policy’ (see note 65 and 66). More to the point, it seems to conclude about the impossibility to identify the ‘unknown social’ in ‘social policy.’

At this stage, it is relevant to notice, that the SQT is not originated from only assumptions and suppositions about societal systems, institutions and organizations. Its core lies with is people’s objective circumstances and the subjective processing of these circumstances. Its first aim is to elaborate an approach for analysing societal powers and constitutions and the role of, or outcomes for people (as citizens, i.e. all inhabitants), by analyzing the changes of the five conditional and the five constitutional factors. The aim is to understand the nature of all-encompassing processes and their consequences for daily circumstances of people. This is indicated with Figure 2. The start of thinking about ‘the social’ refers to the dialectic or constitutive interdependency between ‘processes of self-realization of human beings’ and ‘processes, resulting in the formation of collective identities. The SQA is not – expressed in traditional terms – a theory and application restricted to so-called macro processes. It is oriented on the dialectic between micro and macro processes, going beyond the duality between micro and macro. Its second aim is – with help of applying the five normative factors of social quality – to stimulate intersubjective and communicative based interpretations of societal transformations (regarding collectivities) and the consequences for daily circumstances (regarding the self-realization of human beings). The challenge is to know if these transformations contribute to the development of the quality of the social, as well as the overall sustainability of human existence on earth.

Three theses are underlining Figure 2 (as well as Figure 1). The first thesis: as argued in the third book about social quality, for understanding processes of transformation and paving the
way for adequate politics and policies, we need a conceptualization of the noun ‘the social’ and its adjective.\textsuperscript{110} The second thesis: therefore an understanding of applied ground-patterns of thought in political science, economics, juridical science, sociology and anthropology is a conditio sine qua non for making a choice with which to comprehensively understand main drivers of societal transformations and their outcomes in daily (personal) circumstances.\textsuperscript{111} Third thesis: in social quality thinking up till now, assumptions are formulated that differ from those most interesting representatives of four (Western articulated) ground-patterns of thought by respectively Vilfredo Pareto c.s. (also referring to Scottish philosophers), Karl Marx c.s. (referring to also Hegel), Max Weber c.s. (also referring to Kant) and Emile Durkheim (also referring to the French positivists). The differences with Pareto c.s. and Durkheim c.s. and the overall framework of the SQA are most characteristic.

The theoretical position of social quality refers to relationality as described, for example, by Margaret Archer, who rejects e.g. the duality between structure and agent as an ‘analytic dualism’: ‘It is maintained that the “problem of structure and agency” is conceptualized entirely differently by non-conflationary theorists because of their emergentist ontology, which distinguishes them from every type of social theory which endorses conflation.’ \textsuperscript{112}

As explained in the third main book about social quality,

This means that collective identities function as the main catalyst between structure and agency; however they differ from catalysts in chemistry because they also change themselves. They cause an ongoing dynamic because they are, themselves, a consequence of the ongoing interdependency with the process of individual self-realisation, as well as the interaction with both main tensions [between the world of systems and the life world]. This approach is not related implicitly or explicitly, to the static Newtonian order, which is the main legitimization of, for example, utilitarian and related neoliberalism (see note 111: 87).


5.3 Figure 1 Revisited: The Extension of the Architecture as an Analytical Framework

5.3.1 The original social quality architecture

The social quality architecture, illustrated in Figure 1 (section 1.3), has been inserted for practical reasons at the beginning of this paper, before Figure 2 (section 4.2). The reason is that we refer in many instances to its three sets of factors (conditional, constitutional and normative). They make up the heart of this architecture or analytical framework. But for explaining this architecture an understanding is needed of Figure 2 as a conceptual framework underpinning the analytical framework. In other words, this order of presentation is practical but not logical. With this in mind, this architecture will be discussed further in this sub-section.

Originally, each set of its three factors consist of four elements, see Figure 1. These twelve factors (or elements) are intrinsically related with the ontological interpretation of the concept of ‘the social.’ The used adjective ‘social’ in Figure 1 – as in social cohesion, social inclusion etc. – is derived from the theoretically based interpretation of the noun ‘the social’ as presented in Figure 2 (see note 110 and 111). Therefore, this adjective has a specific meaning, different from the common sense used adjective ‘social,’ as in social development, social capital, social progress, social groups, social change. In other words, the concept of ‘the social’ in the theory of social quality differs from the mainstream and at the same time traditional discourse in the context of the European Commission of the past decades. Its popular concepts as social cohesion, social inclusion, social justice or social model are never related in theoretical sense – neither ontological, nor epistemological – to each other. This delivers the argument to reflect seriously on the texts of the Lisbon Treaty (see note 32), documents about the Social Model of Europe (see note 30), the Association Agreement with Ukraine (see note 31), the information by the European Commission about the results in Ukraine (see note 3 and 4), the recent White Paper of the EC (see note 96) and the new pleas for strengthening the position of citizens by the European Commission (see note 18). From the side of social quality scholars, this has been the reason to comment on the concept of ‘social dimension’ of the overall sustainability, as used in the Brundtland Report (see note 75) and afterwards by the European Commission.

We must add a new aspect to the SQA, which will further deepen its difference with the traditional discourse. Because humankind’s main challenge concerns the sustainability of existence on earth, we have to add to social quality thinking as it was before 2010, explicitly the socioenvironmental dimension. In other words, we have to confront the outcomes of ‘the social’ with the subject of the socioenvironmental dimension, namely, geological and biological
spheres of the eco-systems, which are at the same time also a subject for the other three dimensions. This has been argued by Japanese researchers who elaborated a previous large-scale five years analyses by hundred scholars, financed by the Japanese government some years ago. They argued recently that human society is limited by processes in the geosphere and biosphere. According to these researchers, ‘sustainable humanosphere’ is based on this reciprocity of both spheres and societal outcomes. Both spheres are aspects of the ecosystems. In our terms, this concerns the third field as shown in Figure 3 (section 4.5) of the procedural framework. This will have serious consequences for deepening, analysing and connecting not two but three fields. Furthermore, the incorporation of the ‘socioenvironmental dimension’ has consequences for a new understanding of the other three dimensions. As already argued, this implies the addition to each set of factors of an extra factor. This was already done already in Figure 1. This should be elaborated within the conceptual framework of social quality thinking. If this will be successful, we will not work with twelve but with fifteen factors. The socioenvironmental dimension has its own characteristics independent of the complexities of human actions. But these characteristics will be affected or changed by these complexities. This overwhelming evidence was taken on board in the Working Paper nr. 11 of the Dutch think tank on sustainability and social quality, published in 2012 (see note 6). As a consequence, it was proposed that to each of the three sets of factors an ‘eco-related’ factor should be added, in the following manner:

- The ‘eco-conscience’ as a constitutional factor and how this will be related to the four other constitutional factors,
- The ‘eco-reality’ as a conditional factor and how this will be related to the four other conditional factors,
- The supposition of the ‘eco-equilibrium’ as a normative factor and how this will be related to the four other normative factors.

The Japanese researchers developed indicators for analyzing the outcomes of – in our terms – the reciprocity between the three fields. With the outcomes of Working Paper nr. 11 in mind (see note 6), as well as the procedural analytical framework as illustrated in Figure 1, we may formulate at least three comments on their study. First, they restrict themselves to the reciprocity of the first field (societal complexities) and the third field (ecosystems). Second, they restrict themselves furthermore to only one policy area of the first field – namely caring systems – losing insight into the reciprocity of the manifold of processes in this field caused by

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the multidimensional characteristic and of the manifold of different policy areas in this field. Third, they restrict themselves in fact to aspects of only the conditional factors. This all will stimulate an interesting debate about the similarities and differences concerning the potentiality of the Japanese approach and the SQA, to analyze relationships between all three fields with a set of clear indicators (and profiles and criteria). 114

5.3.2 A decisive argument for the extension of the architecture

With regard to the extension of the social quality architecture, the argument is rather simple. An increase of ‘social quality’ at a certain space and time is an anachronism if it causes a decrease of the overall sustainability at the same time. It is indefensible at this stage not to incorporate sustainability questions in politics and policies and eo ipso, in theorizing and applying social quality explorations. The nature of social quality should by definition contribute to the overall sustainability. The way is to contribute to those aspects of the societal complexities (first field), that they also become functional for acceptable transformations of cities and megacities (second field), as pleaded by UN Habitat (see note 104). In this case ‘acceptable’ is also dependent of the coordination with processes of ecosystems (third field). The huge problems with the second field are explored by UNDP China, which concluded that with regard to the building of megacities, ‘the current performance evaluation system for local governance is focused mainly on economic growth, with little attention to resource conservation, environmental protection and social development.’115 The Italian Della Rocca Foundation concluded, that ‘of a total of 20 million human deaths occurred in 2011, more than 15 million are attributable to the city: 9 million from hunger, 2 million from cancer, 1 million from road accidents and 3.5 million from pollution.’116 This will legitimate a new addition of the amounts of factors in the social quality architecture as depicted in Figure 3; a first endeavor has been made in Working Paper nr 11 (see note 6). From an anthropogenic point of view, it is important to know how the eco-related factors can be related with the twelve original factors of the social quality architecture. In other words, it is relevant to understand the three new

factors in the context of the ontological interpretation of ‘the social’ as well. Furthermore, with regard to the conditional factors we have therefore to design ‘environment specific indicators,’ which can be confronted and / or connected with the social quality indicators: this makes a collaboration with the Japanese researchers highly interesting (see note 113). In short, we need environmentally specific profiles and environmentally specific criteria. Addressing this challenge will also pave the way for going beyond the classical ‘human development’ discourse, commented on basis of the eco-oriented perspective of politics in Ecuador.\textsuperscript{117}

Traditionally, the accent in debates on sustainability has been given to the field of ecosystems, thus to the physical and biological aspects as such. As said before, the lack of a consistent and coherent contribution to the sustainability debate from the side of social sciences (including economics and law) in the past decades is clearly confirmed by the International Social Science Council in its 2013 Report (see note 23). The challenge is to understand this thesis in the context of the interconnectedness of the three fields, namely, of processes of societal complexities, rural / urban circumstances, and ecosystems. Herewith we can go beyond the restricted and dominant accent on ecosystems and pave the way for the inclusion of the socioenvironmental dimension as one of the fourth dimensions, relevant in all three fields. Seen from this perspective, the first sub-challenge is to understand processes in and between the socioeconomic / financial, sociopolitical / legal and sociocultural / welfare dimensions with the help of the instruments of the extended social quality architecture. The second sub-challenge is to understand their consequences for the socioenvironmental dimension. With regard to the first sub-challenge, we need frameworks to analyze processes that determine the nature and changes of the three dimensions and the holistic outcomes of these processes at the same time. With regard to the second sub-challenge, we should be able to apply these frameworks in order to connect the first three dimensions with the fourth dimension, not only deductively but also inductively. The third sub-challenge is to apply the outcomes for understanding processes in the three fields, namely, societal complexities, rural / urban circumstances, and ecosystems. The fourth sub-challenge is to use the outcomes for analyzing the reciprocity between the three fields.

5.4 Figure 3 revisited: About the Three Fields

To start the INRU project in Ukraine we need a clear perception about a policy framework as point of departure. According to the SQT and SQA’s form and content of reasoning, this framework should be derived from and connected with the three previous frameworks. With this in mind some final remarks about Figure 3 are of interest. The starting point for the proposed INRU project is the first field of Figure 3, namely the field of the dynamics of societal complexities. For the SQA an important first example of the orientation on this field, is the European-wide project about new tendencies regarding employment relations in the beginning of the 2000s.\textsuperscript{118} A second recent example is the SQA study by Novakova about some crucial aspects of all four societal dimensions of Ukraine and their interrelationships in this field of societal complexities (see note 2). A third example concerns the SQA study regarding the contemporary problematique of the policy area of public health in The Netherlands with the borough of Laak as frame of reference. In fact, it connects aspects of the first and the second field.\textsuperscript{119}

The principles of the policy framework, see Figure 4, can be also functional for projects oriented on the second field, the rural/urban circumstances. There are SQA examples of projects oriented on this second field. A first example is the SQA oriented support to develop local based interrelationships of actors in the policy areas of healthcare, wellbeing provisions and sport, also in the borough of Laak of the city The Hague. It was financed and supported by the European Commission and the Municipality of the Dutch city of The Hague. It has resulted in the ‘demonstration project of the borough Laak.’ \textsuperscript{120} A second example concerns the SQA project about the investigation into capacity of community groups with their daily circumstances in the Chinese megacity Shenzhen.\textsuperscript{121} A third example refers to the project with which to apply the SQA for understanding the reason of the support for a Brexit in the English city of Stoke-on-Trent (see note 73).

There are also examples of projects oriented on the third field, namely the ecosystems. A first example is presented in the SQA-study about strategies of environmental protection by citizens


of the Chinese city of Jiaxing. This was financed by the Chinese Government and the European Commission (see note 10). In fact, it connects aspects of the third field with the second field.

A second SQA example concerns the study about the role of communities in Western Australia, for preventing the destruction of old forest and for defending the indispensable biodiversity. A third example concerns the SQA-study about the pollution of the oceans and the role of the Plastic Soup Foundation (see note 86). In this study the emphasis is on the analysis of processes (and interests) with regard to the four dimensions of this field.

5.5 The First Elements of a Policy Framework as Point of Departure for the successor of the previous INRU Project

5.5.1 The first elements of the policy framework

Based on the previous section, a new figure can be presented, Figure 4. It is presented for the first time in this working paper. The figure is a direct outcome of Figure 3. The effects on policy areas as aspects of societal complexities (the first field), such as income, public health, education, etcetera, are the result of processes between the four dimensions. The outcomes can be indicated by the application of the analytical framework (Figure 1), which is derived from the conceptual framework (Figure 2). With regard to Figure 4 some preliminary remarks fall into place. The daily circumstances of people concern especially the local, city, megacity, and provincial levels of human existence (α). They are or will be strongly influenced by politics and policies with regard to the four main dimensions on national, supra-regional and global levels (β). We should make a distinction between analyses of processes concerning α and β in order to contribute adequately to politics and policies oriented on all levels. Processes related with the first field of societal complexities in the context of α regard the comprehensive oriented policy areas. Processes related with the first field in the context of β regard changes or transformations in and between the four main societal dimensions, which influence the nature of these policy areas of societal complexities. This implies, that attention should be dedicated to also processes between α and β. Their relationships or reciprocity are dialectically of character. These suppositions may stimulate the design of strategies for the SQT and SQA and its application in Ukraine (see the request by IEF/NASU), The European Union, South

Figure 4: The First Elements of the Policy Framework for Developing the successor of the previous INRU Project

Dynamics of societal complexities (1e field/Figure 3)  geo/biophysical complexities (determining the acceptable contours of the 1e and also the 2e field).

politics & policies on national/supra regional/global levels (β)

dimensions — dialectically in character —

socioeconomic / financial dimension

sociopolitical / legal dimension

sociocultural / welfare dimension

socioenvironmental dimension

application of the conceptual, analytical and procedural frameworks

politics & policies on local /city/megacity/provincial levels (α)

policy areas

a + b + c + d + e, etc.

policy areas

f + g + h, etc.

policy areas

i + j + k + l + m + n + o, etc

policy areas

p + q + u etc

South East Asia and beyond. In our view, the challenge of the proposed INRU project is to improve the applicability of this figure. Therefore, attention should be dedicated to the question why and how to apply social quality instruments (indicators, profiles, criteria) to α, β, and
processes between the two. This will be discussed as subject of the following section. In this sub-section the preliminary Research Proposals by the IEF/NASU (see note 16) will be linked to Figure 5 via Figure 4. This first figure serves as an example how to connect the ordering principles of the SQA to these proposals. It is an endeavor to gain an understanding of the multitude of aspects of societal complexities by differentiating and relating these aspects in a new way. In Figure 5 – as a specific use of Figure 4 – the Research Proposals will be related with this form of reasoning.

5.5.2 Introductory remarks about Figure 4, dedicated to the first field

To design and elaborate the first elements of a policy framework, inserted in Figure 4, remains a challenge for the INRU project. At this stage we will remark the following:

- The always changing character of the four dimensions – in this case oriented on the first field of ‘societal complexities’ – will be determined by national, supra-regional and global processes and they influence the dynamics of this field. (The same will be the case with the dynamics in the second and the third field.)

- Therefore, these changes will influence all policy areas and also their interrelationships of the first field on local, city, megacity and sub-regional (provincial) levels as (a) economy (production systems, financial operations), (b) work, (c) income security, (d) housing and energy, (e) public infrastructure, (f) constitutional system, (g) pol-administrative system, (h) juridical system, (i) fiscal system, (j) education, (k) welfare provisions, (l) cultural provisions, (m) sport provisions, (n) healthcare systems, (o) public health, (p) environmental protection, (q) water/air/ground quality, (u) waste processing (see for a, b, etc. in Figure 4). At this stage some of these policy areas constitute the main subject of the Ukrainian Research Proposals (see note 16).

- All policy areas, related with especially one of the four dimensions, as well as all these dimensions – active in the first field – can be analysed by applying the SQA’s three frameworks: conceptual framework (Figure 2), analytical framework (Figure 1), and the procedural framework (Figure 3). Thus, the outcomes of the changes of local, city, megacity, and sub-regional (provincial) based policy areas – as consequence of transformations of these dimensions – can be analysed and understood in an interrelated, as well as comprehensive way.

- The outcomes of changes in these policy areas, active in the first field – as a consequence of the transformation of the four dimensions in this field – can in turn influence the nature and consequences of these dimensions. It can be hypothesized
that between policy areas and all dimensions with regard to the first field exists a dialectically interplay. This will have consequences for the first as well other fields. Thus, the changes in policy areas may influence the comprehensive whole of interrelated fields on national supra-regional and global levels.

- Prior to 2010, the SQA was especially dedicated to the outcomes of processes in local, city, and sub-regional policy areas from only the point of view of the first three dimensions. With this in mind, urban development seen from the SQA perspective at that time, concerned a development resulting in the support of the quality of urban daily circumstances in well-defined quarters as such.

- With the new orientation on the reciprocity between human interventions and ecosystems (see Figure 3), the SQA has to take on board the outcomes of processes including the socioenvironmental dimension. In other words, this requires the exploration of the confrontation of societally based actions or constitutions (first and second fields) with geo- and biophysical transformations (in the third field).

- This will require attention on all levels of α (see p, q and u of Figure 4). It concerns also the subject of Working Paper nr 14 about the policies for environmental protection by citizens of the Chinese city of Jiaxing (see note 10). This will also influence (or should influence) all politics and policies oriented on all other policy areas of the first field (see also Figure 4). Highly important is the inevitable change of the traditional orientation on the supposed and unclear presentations of sustainable development of rural / urban circumstances as such.

- In previous sections, it is argued that the adjective ‘sustainable’ in this prevailing and dominant approach is really disconnected from the theoretically based conceptualization of the overall sustainability of human (and flora and fauna) existence on earth. This will demand for a rigorous new point of reference for interventions in all fields.

- Governmental politics and policies for stimulating sustainable urban development in the prevailing non-theorized orientation are logically insufficient. Seen from the perspective of the SQA, the 2030 Agenda for sustainable development of the United Nations is also confusing.\(^\text{123}\) Viktoria Spaiser et al. call it ‘the sustainable development

oxymoron.' 124 In other words, the second field – as a result of the unavoidable attention for the overall sustainability – delivers a new frame of orientation for all processes in societal complexities (first field).

- What Figure 4 will demonstrate is that the third field of ecosystems influences the first field in two ways. First, it influences strongly the socioenvironmental dimension of the first field, which results in the unavoidable attention for specific policy areas (see p, q and u). Second, it delivers the borders of all other policy areas of the first field. A clear examples delivers the state of affairs of the air pollution in Delhi and other 21 polluted cities in India, all being part of world’s 30 most polluted cities.125 The 2017 Greenpeace Report shows, ‘that deadly air pollution is not a problem restricted to Delhi-NRC (National Capital Region) or even to India’s metros. It is a national problem that is killing 1.2 million Indians every ear and costing the economic an estimated 3% of GDP. If the country’s development is important, fighting air pollution has to be a priority.’ 126 In other words, it is also a huge problem for policy areas related with the economic / financial dimension (unbearable production systems, labour, income-security), and with the sociocultural dimension (education because huge problems within schools, public health etc). It is undermining rightly all five normative factors of the SQA.

- The problem of traditional local, municipal, provincial, national, and international politics and policies is the inclination to restrict the attention on particular policy areas as such, resulting in a strong fragmentation, related to only one specific dimension. Therefore, it will ignore the role of other dimensions, it will neglect the multidimensional aspect of policy areas and, logically, the reciprocity between policy areas.

5.6 Applying the SQA: A Challenge for the Inru Project

5.6.1 Reordering of the Ukrainian Research Proposals


125 N. Van Mead.2019. “22 of world's 30 most polluted cities are in India, Greenpeace says. Noticed is, that the WHO estimates that 7 million people a year die prematurely from exposure to air pollution globally, with the World Bank calculating the cost to the world economy in lost labour as 225 bn dollar.

The preliminary Research Proposals of the IEF/NASU refer in fact to, first, proposals for specific research issues and, second, to the SQA’s societal objectives with this research. In this sub-section an endeavor is made to connect both. See the short presentation of these proposals, illustrated in Figure 5:

- (RP-1) Research Proposal-1: forecast based estimation of the macroeconomic ‘window of opportunities’ for the transition to a policy of social quality in Ukraine,
- (RP-2) Research Proposal-2: developing institutional foundations for the transition to a policy of social quality in Ukraine (in the context of the concept of social quality),
- (RP-3) Research Proposal-3: structural reforms of Ukrainian labour market in the context of the prospects of integration with the EU common market and the foundations of social quality,
- (RP-4) Research Proposal-4: strategy and measures to strengthen the efficiency of public administration in the context of social quality,
- (RP-5) Research Proposal-5: development of the markets of educational labour and services in Ukraine on the principles of decent work and social quality,
- (RP-6) Research Proposal-6: migration policy in the context of the prospects of Ukraine’s European integration,
- (RP-7) Research Proposal-7: strategies and methods of social reintegration of the internally displaced persons,
- (RP-8) Research Proposal-8: environmental strategy of Ukraine in the context of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change (2015) and the approaches of social quality.

Thanks to the form of reasoning underlying Figure 4, we can conclude that these Research Proposals are related with aspects of changes of the four dimensions (see β levels), determining the nature of the first field’s societal complexities on national, and supra-regional levels (first field, Figure 3). The point is that the outcomes will be realised in policy areas (see α levels). Figure 5 (see below) may help to discuss this further. It may assist members of the INRU project to sharpen and to elaborate the Research Proposals in connection with aspects of the four dimensions (RP-1, 2,3, etc.). In Figure 5 the eight Research Proposals are connected with some aspects of the previous figure.
For elaborating and supplementing the eight proposals we have, first, it is important to recognize essential aspects / changes of the four dimensions in Ukraine compared to other European countries (see enote 2). Thanks to this recognition we are able to articulate the essence of the eight proposals with the desiderata derived from the SQA in mind. Second, we must recognize how politics and policies on behalf of herewith related policy areas are influenced on the local and city levels by processes in the four dimensions on national and supra-regional levels. The reason behind such thinking is that these processes will be ‘realized’ in these policy areas. This would imply that we have to look for relevant policy areas on local and city level, related with these processes.

The INRU project regards an orchestration on supra-regional level with strong anchors in Ukraine. Its first challenge is to create a consensus on the SQA. Its second challenge is to elaborate and extend research proposals – with the SQA as the point of departure – with regard to processes related with the four dimensions and research about relevant forms of realization.
of these processes in policy areas in local and city levels. The socioenvironmental dimension plays a particular role. Will all dimensions influence each other, and will the outcomes of all policy areas influence each other? Will RP-8 connected with the socioenvironmental dimension also deliver the borders/context of all policy areas and therefore the borders / context of the other three dimensions? At this stage, this form of reasoning is lacking in the Research Proposals.

Figure 5 suggests as well, that the INRU project has to take on board the questions of communication and for two reasons. First, the digital revolution will have undoubtedly enormous and rather unforeseen consequences for processes concerning the four dimensions and all herewith related policy areas on local and city-level. In line with Ulrich Beck’s argument, we may conclude that

Transformation of capitalism by the production of excessive global risks is not being asked with the same intellectual energy and imagination. Anthony Giddens rethinks the politics of climate change implicitly and affirming and reproducing of the international relations . . . He doesn’t take into consideration the increasing dysfunctionality of nation-state politics in itself and of all kinds of organisations and institutions on the international and national level which are facing the existential risks (see note 72:174).

The digital revolution demands new intellectual energy and imagination because it will influence the reciprocity between micro and macro spheres of human existence. Second, the always changing outcomes of the communication technologies will create new possibilities for analysing and communicating about interrelated processes as suggested in Figure 5. The local can be connected with the global and vice versa. For the INRU project this poses a challenge. The so-called 'digital revolution' concerns one of the most hotly debated topics. One of the concerns is, if it will cause a tremendous loss of jobs or a source of total new jobs. But the knowledge about the reciprocity between changes of technology and the whole complex of production and reproduction interrelationships refers to an open book. We can expect predictable losses as well as totally unforeseen growth of new jobs. This is not only important for the policy area of the labor market; it also addresses the policy area of income security (and other policy areas). Henning Meyer poses the question if the revived idea of a Universal Basic Income (UBI) could be a solution

For large-scale technological unemployment or temporary labour market dislocations
that could result from accelerated technological change . . . [or would it thus] produce a new underclass stuck at basic income level and an economic elite that would reap the greatest benefits; this elite would also be largely free of social responsibility for those left behind as ideas for funding basic income usually rest on flat taxes and the abolition of public welfare provisions. ¹²⁷

The issue here is not if Meyer makes a good point; the issue is that the digital revolution (see Figure 5) will contribute to changes in all dimensions, all policy areas, in the daily circumstances of people and their individual conditions. The arguments of Meyer may clarify this. To take this on board is one of the main challenges of the INRU project.

5.6.2 The Pitfalls of the European Support Group Ukraine

With help of previous sub-sections, it will be possible to hypothesize the logic pitfalls of the European Support Group Ukraine. Its tasks are – and see section 1.2 and 3.3 - to assist the renewal of institutions and organizations which play a role in Ukraine in all four dimensions of the first field. Examples from different EU Member States are introduced. But these Member States differ from each other regarding:

- The nature of the four dimensions, as expressed on local, city, sub-regional levels,
- The nature of politics to be applied to, respectively their main policy areas,
- The relationships on supra-regional level with other Member States of the EU and with the whole of the EU,
- The historical roots of Member States delivering various, non-related and not always attractive example. This paves the way for an eclectic translation on behalf of Ukraine,
- That according to the European Observatory on Social Policy, “the cooperation between member States is characterised by increasing mistrust, or even outright conflict” (see note 71).

On the other hand, for a renewal of local, city, sub-regional, and national circumstances in Ukraine needed is a transformation of the manifold of policy areas. Conditions are: (i) an unambiguously relation with processes in the four dimensions, (ii) which should be approached from the same theoretical based political and economic orientations, (iii) in order as policy areas to be related to each other in a consistent manner, (iv) as condition for their coordination

and coherency. Non-related, thus fragmented examples from many Member States for the change of policy areas (see right side of Figure 4), without delivering clarity about applied reference frameworks (see left side of Figure 4) and insights how to arrive at a consistent and coherent approach (see Figure 4 below) will cause conditions for eclecticism squared. That the orientation on the renewal of the urban circumstances (second field) and the involvement of processes in the ecosystems (third field) – see Figure 3 – sparkle by absence is also a logical consequence of this eclectic and fragmented approach. If the European Union is subjected to major differences, difficulties and political disagreements – see its Observatory on Social Policy – the INRU project may pave the way for seizing opportunities to support Ukraine in collaboration with key actors from this country, e.g. its academic world, to follow new paths, taking into account the historical roots of Ukraine and the values held high in the European Union.
6 Reflections about the SQA-instruments and their meaning for also the successor of the previous INRU-Project.

6.1 Introduction

In this final section the plea from the side of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) will be taken on board (see also section 1.3.1). It concerns to stimulate also social quality indicators research in such a way, that the outcomes in different countries from East to West can be compared (see note 13). And according to CASS, one of the objectives of the International Journal of Social Quality should be to disseminate the outcomes and to stimulate a dialogue about these outcomes. Social quality indicators (concerning the conditional factors) have been proclaimed as one of the three measurement instruments of the social quality architecture, highlighted in Figure 1 (section 1.3). In this section the issue of these indicators will be addressed in its second part. Attention will be dedicated to the history of origin of the social quality indicators research. A distinction will be made between three waves of this research: the first most in the European Union (2001-2007), the second most in South-East Asia and Australia (2007-2014) and the third most in China and the European Union (since 2014). The question will be raised, how to pave the way for expert meetings for analyzing the outcomes of this work since 2001? The rationale should be to obtain a new level of consensus about the nature and functionality of these indicators and the right methodology for their application. Important is to repeat, that the social quality indicators are no monitoring devices as explained in the 2013 study about social quality indicators. In the first part of this section attention will be dedicated to profiles as instruments of the constitutional factors and criteria as instruments of the normative factors. Both topics have been underexposed in recent years. This has given rise to the view that with social quality indicators the nature of social quality at a certain space and at a certain time can be determined. But according the theory (see note 21), the ‘quality’ of ‘the social’ or ‘social quality’ can only be determined by linking the results of the application of indicators to the conditional factors and the application of profiles to the constitutional factors. With help of the application to criteria of the normative factors, the outcomes of this linking can be judged. The application of social quality indicators for analyzing the nature of conditional factors is a necessary but insufficient step for determining the nature of...

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of social quality. This section will be concluded with a plea for more orchestration of academic work for understanding the most important challenges.

6.2 Profiles as a Decisive Instrument of SQA Analyses

6.2.1 The Neglection of the Constitutional Factors: The Example of Brexit

Also in the context of the European Union the nature of (in terms of the SQA) the conditional (objective oriented) factors (see figure 1, section 1.3) are underscored. Also, the 2016 Report of the EU’s Social Observatory is very clear about this question (see note 71). But also important is the ostentatious neglect of the constitutional (subjective oriented) factors. This is also the case with the SQA up till now. With regard to the SQA, this has caused a neglect of the development of profiles as its instrument. Four of the five constitutional factors are discussed in the third book on social quality (see note 21:58). Their essence concerns:

- Personal (human) security: it includes environmental security, and the institutionalization of the rule of law and human rights,
- Social recognition: it includes respect and human dignity. This implies interpersonal respect between members of communities,
- Social responsiveness: it refers to the openness of groups, communities and systems.
- Personal (human) capacity: it concerns particularly societal and cognitive competencies.

As explained earlier, a fifth factor was added later, namely the ‘eco-conscience’ (section 1.3).

Analyses of the constitutional factors have to deepen our understanding of the ways individuals find (and are enabled to find) points of departure for the development of their self-referential capacities into the competence to act in different forms of human interrelationships. With this in mind, Corbett argues about processes underlying the whole question of Brexit as an example, that

While undoubtedly the populist Eurosceptic discourses that articulated English nationalist values drew on strands of xenophobia and gave license to an increase in racist language and actions, it is important to recognize that this may also have been driven by poor level of social quality in the UK; including lack of well-paid and secure jobs, and poor working conditions, the breakdown of communities, and the sense of
dislocation, loss of direction, and disenfranchisement in a political and economic system that has created many victims. The usefulness of social quality in post-Brexit times could be its transformative potential for developing a new form of open, internationalist, democratic, and progressive relationship between the UK and Euro Member States (see note 34: 26).

His study aims to demonstrate that, next to analyses of the nature of the conditional factors, we have to orient the SQA also to the constitutional factors in order to understand how people feel in their daily living conditions, how they interpret them and how they act in part because of this.

6.2.2 The New Declaration on Social Quality Dedicated to Also Constitutional Factors

With Corbett’s plea in mind, it is of interest to refer again to the text of the preliminary new Declaration on Social Quality. It shows clearly a not explicited mix of aspects of the conditional with especially the constitutional factors, due to the underdevelopment of the latter. In the present working paper a part of the preliminary text of the new Declaration on Social Quality has already been discussed (see section 3.3.2). This part and the following part (see below) of the text about the ‘common threats’ may be a stimulus for the proposed INRU-Project to take on board the challenge of developing and deepening the issue of the constitutional factors. It will enrich the whole structure of the SQA. If this happens, the outcomes should be compared with the points of departure of the Lisbon Treaty and the recent evaluation of the EC about the outcomes of new politics in Ukraine (see note 3 and 4). The common threats as a mix of conditional and constitutional (and some normative factors), referred to in the preliminary new Declaration, are clearly recognizable:

- The exponential growth of inequality in incomes and wealth, especially housing wealth.
- The transformation of universal social security into residual welfare via the hollowing out of the welfare state and the undermining of solidarity.
- The ever deepening fault lines between the securely employed (and pensioned), the precarious (just scraping by) and the totally excluded; between the comfortable and the severely deprived; between generations facing very different economic prospects; and between different ethnic minority groups.
- The run-down, neglect and abandonment of communities in once prosperous industrial areas.
The abject mismanagement of migration resulting in the encouragement of xenophobia and racism and the failure of political leaders to stand up for common humanity.

The detachment of a liberal ruling political elite from any contact with or understanding of ordinary everyday lives.

The challenge to democracy created by the spread of individualism in the atomized world of social media.

In short, in many EU countries led by the UK and at EU level in Brussels, a narrow utilitarian neoliberal policy agenda has taken root across the political spectrum with devastating societal, economic and environmental consequences. The last straw was the imposition of austerity on the many following the financial crash caused by an elite few, who escaped unscathed (see note 48).

This is an implicit plea to take on board again the argument in the third social quality book, to elaborate theoretically the constitutional factors in the context of the debate about the difference between the ‘hedonic tradition’ as pushed forwards by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau (with accent on individual pleasure and happiness) and the ‘eudaimonic tradition,’ originally discussed by Aristoteles (with accent on the ‘good life,’ of moderation, reason and justice), thus its focus on meaning, self-realization and the actualization of human potential, thus personal expressiveness (see note 21:59). This debate started at the end of the 19th Century.129 This concerns the most crucial SQA challenge.

6.2.3 An Explicit and Non-Explicit Approach of Constitutional Factors: Britain and China

In their study about the nature of social quality in the city Stoke-on-Trent – a UK city with a strong support for Brexit – Mahoney and Kearon conclude with help of a social quality-led analysis (in-depth interviews as point of departure for profiles),

. . . that while not predictable, the seeds of the Brexit vote are well rooted in the conditions experienced by many of the working classes in Britain’s most deprived post-industrial communities. We argue that the ongoing decline in economic security, effective enfranchisement, social inclusion, and social empowerment have all had profound consequences for working-class communities and that the outcome of the Brexit vote was

rooted, at least in part, in their subjective experiences and disenchantment forged in this ongoing decline (see note 73:1).

They conclude also, that many journalists, pundits, politicians etc. don’t really know how to conceptualize the ‘left behind,’ namely, ‘marginalized, and disaffected communities that have informed our work here. For many years, they have been regarded as passive and disengaged; if only they would engage with the democratic process, turn out and vote more, then they would be able to exercise more control over their situation’ (see note 73:14). According to both researchers, in social quality, subjective satisfaction (the subject matter of profiles) is a key element of the quality of societal circumstances and provides the basis for understanding the constitution of a livable society (see note 73:14).

This study delivers an interesting frame of reference for the INRU-project. This form of reasoning refers to a central assumption of the SQA. Namely, that in order to make conclusions about the nature of social quality at a certain place and time, it is necessary to link the outcomes of analyses about the nature of conditional factors and constitutional factors. Because the underdevelopment of the conditional factors in Stoke-on-Trent, the experiences of the research participants demonstrate also that the population lacks the means to enhance the quality of the constitutional factors:

Underpinned by chronic economic insecurity, there is considerable fragmentation of identities on a geographical level as the city continues to struggle to reinvent itself following prolonged post-industrial decline, as well as on an individual level among those who find themselves living in deprived, marginalized communities. The result is growing personal insecurity as people struggle to get on in neoliberal Britain and no longer feel the same sense of collectivity and belonging (see note 73:15).

In their study on social quality in China as expressed by members of different classes, Cui Yan and Huang Yongliang apply the social quality indicators to the state of affairs of the conditional factors in China. Thanks to the outcomes, they articulate also conclusions and suppositions, which are related with the constitutional factors. They conclude, for example, that:

The societal construction in China, to some extent, lags behind economic construction. In the current society, people face a decline in trust and a decrease in the sense of security. In addition, some groups show a weak awareness of being governed by law,
and lack values and moral restraints. Because societal construction and political system reform have not been implemented timely, the upper-middle group has failed to largely expand its channels of socio-political participation. This had produced a negative effect on the evaluation of the upper-middle group . . . After the satisfaction of their demand for food and clothing, all social class groups have gradually begun to pursue a comprehensive improvement of their life quality. The public’s attention has shifted from the continued growth of personal income to the fairness of income distribution, which reflects a great change in indexes of societal development quality evaluation by different social class groups . . . Low groups may develop a sense of deprivation in the income distribution, which would lead to the low evaluation of fairness and equality.  

This concluding remarks refer to the (not really explicated) interrelationships between the conditional factors and constitutionals factors. The absence of the explication is due to a general underdevelopment in the SQA of research concerning the constitutional factors. But also, this Chinese research demonstrates the current challenge for the SQA.

6.2.4 The Question of Profiles for Understanding the Nature of Constitutional Factors

The challenge is to develop instruments to understand the complicated processes that play a role with regard to the constitutional factors. They regard specific methodological instruments, namely, profiles, up till now supposed to be in-depth interviews. According the second book on social quality, the basic idea of these profiles is strongly oriented on the self-interpretation of human beings. It concerns a network of cognition and affect related thoughts regarding the individual self. Self-interpretation corresponds with the conceptualization of meaning of life. It also corresponds with an indication of intentionalities. The cognitive, motivational and affective aspects of self-interpretation are an important aspect in the sphere of interacting. Realized should be that in-depth interviews do not only give an indication about the symbolic references of individual subjects with regard to identities, cognitive and behavioral abilities. They also provide knowledge about the structure and quality of complicated relationships (see note 50:368). As mentioned above, Mahoney and Kearon used the in-depth interviews and delivered an interesting example of how to orient and develop the theme of profiles (see note 73). Much more theoretical and research work has to be done.

6.3 Criteria as an Essential Element of the SQA

6.3.1 The Normative Factors as Point of Departure for Criteria

As already argued, the debate about as well the constitutional as well the normative factors as proposed in the theory of social quality, and – in the case of the normative factors – the criteria to determine the state of normative factors at a specific place and time is not addressed and elaborated since the publication of the third book on social quality (see note 21: 65). It makes sense to present the preliminary ideas again as point of departure for the elaboration of this essential part of the SQA. As argued in the third book, the role of the normative factors in the SQA is to function as a guideline for policies and practices as well as to judge the outcomes of the linking of the constitutional and the conditional factors. With this in mind we hypothesize that the normative factors are the outcomes of the connection between the practical world of daily reality and its ethical sphere. Which leads us to suggest the following factors:

- Social justice as a specific characteristic of societal relations based on the existing nature of socio-economic security as an outcome of interventions by human actors, reflecting their personal (human) security,
- Solidarity as a specific characteristic of societal relations based on the existing nature of social cohesion as an outcome of interventions by human actors, reflecting social recognition.
- Equal value as a specific characteristic of societal relations based on the existing nature of social inclusion as an outcome of interventions by human actors underpinned by social responsiveness,
- Human dignity as a specific characteristic of societal relations based on the existing nature of social empowerment as an outcome of interventions by human actors with personal (human) capacity.
- Eco-equilibrium as a specific characteristic of societal relations based on the existing nature of eco-reality as an outcome of interventions by human actors oriented on eco-conscience.

The adjective ‘social’ used in the concept of ‘social justice’ is directly derived from the theoretical interpretation of ‘the social’ as happens in the theory of social quality (see note 21).
6.3.2 About the ‘Quality’ of the Social

According the SQA, conclusions about the nature of social quality are based on the judgment of the outcomes of the linking of conditional and constitutional factors. These judgments are made on the base of the normative factors. They have to provide guidelines to determine the ‘quality’ of the ‘social’ in daily life. This assumes moral judgements. This theme was addressed for the first time in the second social quality book by Marina Calloni (see note 50). She argued the concept of ‘quality’ is a key category in the history of philosophy and logic: ‘Yet quality does not apply only to material things, but to [all] human beings as well. Namely, quality derives from the Latin word *qualitas*, which comes from *qualis* that means ‘of what kind.’ Quality is thus a distinguishing attribute and ‘essential’ character. Determining a specific ’property’ belonging both to an object and subject. Therefore it also refers to the ‘nature’ of human beings, i.e. their ontology.’\(^\text{131}\) She concludes: ‘Quality has thus become a social, political, economic and cultural issue that has both a local and global meaning, starting with the daily life of all individuals.’ (see note 130: 75). She did not reflect at that time on the concept of ‘the social’ itself, on the adjective ‘social,’ or on the ‘quality of the social’ in order to understand ‘social quality.’ She remained halfway. At this stage, it can be argued – following previous sections – that the ‘quality of the social’ becomes (or always was) a political / legal, and economic / financial, a cultural and environmental issue, encompassing the subjects of these societal phenomena.

The challenge is to explore the meaning and the theoretical coherence of social justice, solidarity, equal value, human dignity and eco-equilibrium as the five normative concepts, derived from the interpretation of the ‘quality of the social.’ In other words, according the SQA these concepts of the normative factors are not self-contained, but are embedded in societal wholes. In the third book on social quality, the question is raised what the similarities and what the differences are with the interpretation of these concept in other philosophical and scientific approaches (see note 50: 65). The philosophical approach of Marta Nussbaum is referred to. She has made a distinction between the anti-compassion and the pro-compassion traditions.\(^\text{132}\) The first, the Stoics, was for centuries the dominant tradition on the history of Western philosophy. This tradition (including Spinoza) considered all emotions to be irrational in the normative sense. The second is more scattered, including novelists as well as political theorists and philosophers. They do not consider painful vulnerability a good thing, for example related


to daily food provision or about the feeling that if personal freedom is in jeopardy (see note 131:399). The pro-compassion tradition is reflected in the Amsterdam Declaration of Social Quality (see note 50: 385), which argues that the lack of social justice, and of solidarity are objectionable on moral grounds. This implies a further elaboration of the normative factors in the light of Nussbaum’s distinction. In particular, it is necessary to assess the applicability of these Western normative standards to other parts of the world.

6.3.3 About Criteria and Their Matrix

In this sub-section, the form of reasoning of the second book on social quality will be revisited. It may function as a support for retaking the question of criteria for enhancing the theory on social quality and its approach. We will argue that the most fascinating question is: who decides what quality should be? Is it experts from institutions, using instruments for peer reviews, inspections, indices and systems of monitoring? Or should we refer to bottom-up methods regarding new relationships based on citizens’ and consumers’ control and participation? Or should we refer to methods of institutional control and evaluation, incorporated in democratic processes of policy making? The essence of social quality is determined in human praxis. The source of inspiration for this topic was the work by Dieter Grunow and colleagues. They refer to the exploration of criteria that are worthwhile to fathom the evaluation of the ‘quality’ of ‘the social.’ This first question, as put forward by Calloni, is: who decides what quality is? With a concept that refers to citizenship, the theme of justice with regard to the position of citizens is crucial. Nevertheless, prioritizing citizens could be too one-sided and may also be too much oriented towards individual or particularistic needs and interests. We need also an interpretation by experts who are more oriented towards objective aspects of justice. They may develop their interpretations based on relevant information, the elaboration of data, and the outcomes of research. The second question is: what will be judged? We can distinguish between the material aspects (or outcomes of social quality) and the process. The first refers to the quality and quantity of measures, interventions, instruments and achievements. The second refers to the ways of communication, forms of information, transparency and accessibility. The second book followed with exploring four criteria, based on these four points of orientation in mind, namely citizens, experts, material aspects and processes. At that time of the publication of the second book on social quality – in 2001 – it was supposed that this

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way of reasoning would enable the construction and application of a matrix of criteria oriented towards four relevant questions (see note 50: 366):

- to what extent does the result match the interests and needs of citizens (justice of needs)?
- Does the establishment of the outcome match the experiences and expectations of citizens (justice of treatment)?
- To what extent are means available for the solution of the problems in question used in a responsible way (justice of means)?
- To what extent have all the relevant information and specific aspects of relevant circumstances been subjected to open communication with citizens (justice of context)?

The thesis at that time was, that these questions were related with the normative factors, which will be applied to judge the outcomes of the linking of the conditional and the constitutional factors. Up till now, this thesis is not substantiated. It concerns a challenge for the near future. The matrix should be discussed further:

**Figure 6: Grunow's Four Criteria**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object of Justice</th>
<th>material aspect</th>
<th>process aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reviewer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens</td>
<td>justice of needs</td>
<td>justice of treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expert</td>
<td>justice of means</td>
<td>justice of context</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**6.3 .4 Arguments for Exploring the Normative Factors and Their Criteria**

Nevertheless, viewing the state of affairs with this aspect of the social quality theory and approach, plentiful arguments exist to take this aspect of social quality work seriously. For example, there are two current arguments, which are of interest for this working paper. The first is that according to the expert Jose Antonio Ocampo, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) concludes that in the United States '60 of the 500 largest firms – including Amazon, Netflix, and General Motors – paid no taxes whatsoever in
2018, despite a cumulative profit of 79 billion dollar, because the current system allows them to do so, and in a completely legal way. The OECD published a proposal to advance international negotiations to ensure large and highly profitable multinational enterprises, including digital companies, pay tax whenever they have significant consumer-facing activities and generate their profits. Emmanuel Saez and Gabriel Zucman published recently their book The Triumph of Injustice. It provides a justification for the plea from the side of the OECD. One of their conclusions is: In 1970, the richest Americans paid, all taxes included, more than 50% of their income in taxes, twice as much as working-class individuals. In 2018, following the Trump tax reform, and for the first time in the last hundred years, billionaires have paid less than steel workers, schoolteachers and retirees.

Also Michael Tomasky asks, referring to both researchers, what it means for democratic based relationships that 400 richest Americans – the top 0.00025 percent of the population – now own more of the country’s riches than the 150 million adults in the bottom 60 percent of the wealth distribution. They dispose of the means to influence elections, to finance their own powerful lobby organizations, to determine policies of TV stations, to pay highly qualified lawyers (with a talent for distorting the truth about societal relationships), to finance academics to undermine progressive tax proposals, to combat climate change arguments, to support the production and dissemination of weapons for private persons:

These fortunes will destroy our democracy . The 400’s share has tripled since the 1980s. This is carnage, plain and simple. No democratic society can let that keep happening and expect to stay a democracy. It will produce a middle and working classes with no sense of security, and when people have no sense that the system is providing them with basic security they’ll make some odd and desperate choices.

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A degradation of ‘social justice’ (a normative factor) is undermining ‘personal (human) security and resilience’ (a constitutional factor), see figure 1 (section 1.3.2). A clear demonstration of the interrelationship of both types of factors.

But the normative question does not concern only the question of injustice and politics to change the exuberant inequality of wealth distribution. Of course, the first challenge is to combat this state of affairs. But the main question remains which law enables the richest people in US, Europe, everywhere – supported by economic and financial global operating companies – to accumulate their wealth and to ignore the societal context of their operations on behalf of the private interests of its top management and shareholders? What is the meaning, with this in mind, the support to the rule of law? But the same question may be formulated with, for example, the use of 80% of the European Union’s farmer subsidies in Central and Eastern Member States in favor of the interest of people in power (see note 29)? Which law applies the European Union for allowing this favor?

As a second example for discussing of the normative factors and their criteria can be found in the recent research about the public evaluation of society in China by Lying Ren and Yuchun Zou. They apply the social quality indicators based on the data of the 2017 Chinese Social Survey. Of interest for the issue of the normative factors and its criteria is their question ‘what is a good society?’ In other words – and different from the multitude of social quality indicators research – they situate their research in the context of the social quality architecture as illustrated in figure 1 (section 1.3.2). They argue, that their question (and of the SQA as well)

... has been a question for centuries, but a consensus has never been reached. The idea can be traced back to Plato’s Republic, More’s Utopia, or Marx’s communist society. It was Walter Lippmann who first raised the concept of ‘the good society’ in 1937. With a strong objection to communism, fascism, or totalism, he offered a liberal agenda as a blueprint of a good society. However, he failed to give an exact meaning of this concept. 139

This failing is quite logical. As an interpreter of the ‘individualistic utilitarian’ it is impossible to incorporate a thought about the ‘good society,’ because the concept of ‘society’ is not relevant or meaningful in this pattern of thought, as explained in the third book on social quality (see


Both researchers refer to two contemporary schools of thought which are oriented on the ‘good society.’ The first is ‘the communitarianism, which emphasizes morals cultivated in families, schools, and communities’ and the second is ‘the constitutionalism, which has a mission to design innovative institutions for a good society.’ In both cases, the accent is put on instruments but not on the subject of the ‘good society,’ in order to deductively determine which instruments are functional and which are not. They conclude that the SQA has not an (explicitly articulated) intention to define what a good society is. But the social quality architecture may be delivering stepping stones for developing contemporary ideas about this question. With this in mind – thus without elaborating this context – they follow with the application of social quality indicators. In other words, they have made a very important point that should be addressed very soon for the elaboration and deepening of the SQA, and especially the issue of profiles and criteria.

6.4 A Plea for a Restricted Global Network for Analyzing the Outcomes of Social Quality Indicators’ Research in Europe and South-East Asia

6.4.1 Three Waves of Indicators’ Research and the Recent Request by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)

In this subsection, attention will be dedicated to the issue of social quality indicators. It concerns the work done during three waves of this indicators research: (i) the first, mostly in the European Union (2002-2007), (ii) the second, mostly in South-East Asia and Australia (2007-2014) and (iii) the third, namely the new start in China (since 2016). The first two waves are discussed in Working Paper 13 (see note 8). In 2018, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing (CASS) signed a contract with the IASQ (International Association on Social Quality) in Amsterdam and Berghahn Publishers in New York to develop the International Journal of Social Quality during the next five years. It decided also to start with explorations of the state of affairs of the social quality in China, to be published yearly in ‘China’s Social Quality Report.’ CASS was stimulated during the past years to take on board the SQA by the Zhejiang University in Hangzhou. In September 2018 it organized an expert meeting with Chinese scholars, members of the editorial board of the journal, and representatives of the IASQ. The main topics were, first how to develop and enhance the indicators’ research and second, how to make the journal functional for a global oriented

debate about the outcomes of this research. An interesting point was the willingness for paving
the way for a participation of CASS members in the INRU-project of Ukraine as an example of
the SQA and its indicators for also other countries. With this in mind, we suppose that therefore
a collaboration with the Russian Academy of Sciences may be highly attractive as well (see
note 13).

Inevitable, the CASS initiative will demand also an extension, namely, to develop and apply
the second type of instruments, namely, profiles with which to understand the changes of the
constitutional factors (figure 1). As demonstrated in the third book on social quality (see note
21), application of indicators is not enough for exploring the nature of social quality at a certain
space and certain time. In section 3.3.2 an implicit and strong argument for this attention is
presented in parts of the preliminary new Declaration on Social Quality (see note 48). It clarifies
first of all the necessity of a continuation of the application of social quality indicators in order
to better understand what happens in communities and cities. It also refers to the recent study
by Corbett, who explains the significance of analyzing also the SQA’s constitutional factors in
daily circumstances of citizens. The reason is the far-reaching subjective consequences of
mechanistic neo-liberal politics and policies in the UK as cause of also the Brexit question (see
note 35). This necessity is afterwards clearly demonstrated in the study by Mahoney and
Kearon about the social quality in the city Stoke-on-Trent and Brexit (see note 73).

6.4.2 With Regard to the Start of social quality indicators in the European Union (First
Wave)

Based on the second social quality book (see note 50), published in 2001, the European
Commission financed an extensive study for designing and applying social quality indicators
on behalf of fourteen Member States. Established for this purpose was the European Network
on Indicators of Social Quality (ENIQ) with the participation of representatives of fourteen
universities in the European Union. The first outcomes were published in the double thematic
issue of the European Journal of Social Quality. Since the start of ENIQ, different studies

141 D. Gordon, L.J.G. van der Maesen (eds), (2005), ‘Indicators of Social Quality: Application in fourteen European Countries,’
Vuori, M. Gissler, D. Bouget, F. Salladarre, M. Ebert, I. Ostner, U. Brand, S. Kuhnel, M. Petmesidou, P. Polyzoidis, S. Altorjai,
Siltaniemi, M-J Kauppinen, P. Hermann. All these scholars published their empirical sq-research with help of the application of
the new social quality indicators. All these reports are available (www.socialquality.org).
about aspects of the social quality indicators were further thought out. This resulted later in a number of new studies, reports, and articles, reflecting the first outcomes.\footnote{142} During this period, a Working Paper was published to reflect further on the nature and functions of the indicators as developed by the ENIQ.\footnote{143} The third social quality book (see note 21), published in 2012, may be appreciated as a comprehensive analysis of the outcomes of ENIQ and all reports and articles about this issue. For reflecting further on the second wave of herewith related research, in South-East Asia and Australia, on the basis of the outcomes of many documents and expert-meetings (see below) a study on ‘new theoretical and methodological challenges for social quality indicators was published in the International Journal of Social Quality in 2013 (see note 128), as well as in Working Paper nr. 12 (see note 7).

In this 2013 study, an accent was laid upon the three functions of social quality indicators, namely, (i) to be applicable to the first field, (ii) to be applicable to the second field as well as (iii) to the third field. This is indicated with figure 3 of present paper (see section 4.5). In this study, argued is also, that a debate about social quality indicators has to be connected with a way of reasoning, that hypothetical resulted into figure 4 (see section 5.5.1) of this present paper. It concerns the argument that these indicators have to be applied for determining the impact of the outcomes of policy making with regard to the multitude of policy areas, as indicated in this figure. For the clarity of the argument it is necessary to repeat that –see the third social quality book – a distinction is made between:

- Conditional factors (for example socio-economic security),
- Their respective domains (in the case of socio-economic security: namely (a) financial resources; (b) housing and environment; (c) health and care; (d) work; (e) education (etc.),
- The sub-domains of these respective domains (of socio-economic security: namely ad-a: income security etc.; ad-b: housing security etc.; (ad-c) security of health provisions;


(ad-d) employment security etc.; (ad-e) security of education etc.). All proposed sub-domains are in many countries identical with their policy areas or are an aspect of policy areas.

- The social quality indicators, rightly oriented on all sub-domains. As an outcome of the work of ENIQ, nearly 95 indicators are proposed (see note 21).

In the third social quality book all domains, sub-domains and indicators are explained. According the first design of social quality indicators, it is hypothesized that these indicators concern the change of sub-domains thanks or due to attractive or unattractive politics and policies in the sub-domains or policy areas (see figure 4). Thanks to this form of reasoning, a distinction should be made between

- practically oriented indicators (or better monitoring devices) as constructed by ‘pragmatic’ procedures (e.g., the indicators of quality of life, social capital, social development, human development). These monitoring devices are oriented on strict empirical descriptions. They demonstrate the effects of politics and policies in the respectively policy areas.

- social quality indicators as constructed on the basis of deductive an inductive form of reasoning, resulting into the theoretical (and intrinsically related) distinction between (i) the social, (ii) its three sets of actors, (iii) thus also the set of conditional factors, (iv) their domains, and (v) their subdomains. Herewith related form of reasoning is explained in also the 2013-study (see note 7 and 128). These indicators explain the impact of politics and policies.

This distinction is according the SQA essential. To create an integrated understanding of the consequences of trends and contradictions in the context of the four dimensions with regard to, for example, the first field (societal complexities), monitoring devices oriented on separate policy areas lack adequacy. The reason is – and see the distinction above – that they are oriented on the outcomes of politics and policies in separate policy areas as such, and as their main subject of research. In general sense they are aimed at quantifiable effects of policies. Figure 7:
They are based on the underlying ideas of Figure 3, Figure 4 and Figure 5 and may deliver a help to understand the distinction between traditional monitoring devices and social quality indicators. Important is to realize that as argued above: (i) all sub-domains are mostly concrete policy areas; (ii) policy areas are usually related with one of the four dimensions, as well as influenced by the other three dimensions; (iii) all policy areas are in one or the other way related with all three fields; (iv) therefore – because the mediating role of the policy areas – all four dimensions play a functional or dysfunctional role in all three fields.

The rationale for designing indicators which are applicable in all the three fields is derived from the (supposed) evidence, that these three fields are interconnected (figure 3). This interrelationship will change over time. Trends, influencing societal complexities (first field), directly influence daily life in the urban circumstances (second field). Since ‘the social’ – as a result of the productive and reproductive human relationships – will be realized in the urban context, this outcome influences possibilities for the development toward sustainability (third field). Outcomes of politics and policies contributing to the development toward sustainability will also the other way around influence the urban circumstances (second field) as well as
processes in societal complexities (first field). It refers to the logic of unceasing reciprocity.\footnote{This thesis is defended in the 2013-study. Also the conclusion about the usual ‘ad-hoc pragmatic procedures’ in this study is explained on the basis of an analysis of reports concerning ‘social development indicators’ (ISSC with support by World Bank and OECD), ‘sustainable development indicators’ by the SDI Task Force of the European Commission and afterwards by the UNU/IHDP, and the ‘sustainable (urban) development indicators’ by PricewaterhouseCoopers.}

Noticed can be as well that with regard to figure 7, an endeavor is made to illustrate the distinction between the subject of monitoring devices and of (social quality) indicators. The first is relevant for knowing the direct effect of, for example, income security, housing security or measures for changing taxes. With help of the outcomes, conclusions can be made about the primary target of the policy measure. The attention is restricted to the policy area in question. Social quality indicators are oriented on relationships. They try to understand the impact of, for example, measures for child education or community health centers for also other related policy areas. The primary question is – in the case of socio-economic security – if the measures will contribute to the enhancement of this conditional factors and all its related policy areas? The secondary question is if they will contribute to social cohesion, social inclusion and social empowerment. In the context of this indicators research, all conditional factors are related. In the context of the application of monitoring devices, this is not the case. They are approached as such.

The SQA-indicators will enable researchers to compare the significance of impacts of politics and policies on fields like education, housing, sport, migrants, handicapped people for the first time thanks to a common denominator. It enables an understanding from a all-encompassing point of view of the impact of different policies oriented on various policy areas. This issue has been discussed during different workshops of the demonstration project in the city of The Hague in 2010 and 2011. Elements are published in Working Paper nr. 8 of the IASQ (see note 9). This project was financed by the European Commission and the Municipality of The Hague. It illustrates that the social quality approach may be able to add something to traditional practices of measuring and monitoring. It will be able to use the results of the applied traditional ‘technical indicators’ of each policy area to explore the impact on other policy areas of the concerned conditional factors, as well the four other conditional factors. Thanks to this, the outcomes will be enriched with a new significance, seeing how they will change the nature of the domains and sub-domains of all conditional factors. Therefore, conclusions can be made about the multitude of impacts of policies oriented on various policy areas. In figure 8 this will be illustrated further (see below).
An assumption underlying this figure is that the construction of the domains and sub-domains of each conditional factor is not a linear matter. The understanding of the theoretical affinity between ‘the social’ and each conditional factor and, therefore, the theoretical affinity between all five conditional factors, is crucial. This was discussed in the 2013 study (see note 7 and 128). The preparatory work is done before and published 2009 in Working Papers nr. 3 (see note 143). For the purpose of the empirical work of the INRU-project and all other comparable projects, the subject of this study is relevant. According to this study, social quality indicators are not designed to monitor or measure in the traditional sense of the word, see Figure 8:

**Figure 8:** Point of Departure for Comparing Interrelationships Subdomains within One Set of Factors and between the Three Set of Factors of Social Quality

Social quality indicators aim to offer provisional instruments to grasp relationships of the conditional factors (Figure 1) on a more general and abstract level. In other words, at least four documents are of interest to obtain an understanding of the essence of the first wave of social quality indicators development and application:
- Working Paper nr. 3 of 2009 (see note 143),
- The third book on social quality (see note 21),
- Working Paper nr. 8 of 2012 (see note 9),
- and the 2013 study of Working Paper nr.12 (see note 7) and article (see note 128)

Something is added in Figure 8 compared to Figure 7. It concerns the potential functionality of monitoring devices for the SQA's indicators research. Indicated is in figure 8, that the application of these indicators may be oriented on the outcomes of the application of monitoring devices, namely the effects of policy measures in particular policy areas. And as all empirical research with help of SQA's indicators demonstrates, the local, national, and international data based on the outcomes of the application of monitoring devices are highly functional.

The 2013 study tries to explain how deductive forms of reasoning and inductive forms are connected in order to determine the nature of the social quality indicators. Herewith the SQA differs in an essential way from comparable approaches. At first, it tries to analyze the tripartite composition of the conditional factors, namely (i) their rationale, (ii) the purpose and (iii) the nature of indicators. Second, it will contribute to the understanding of four questions formulated in the theory of social quality, namely, (i) the appropriateness, (ii) the coherence, (iii) the adequacy of the constructed social quality indicators, and (iv) the availability of functional data. Preparatory work was already done in the third book on social quality (see note 21: 109, 227), see Figure 9 below.

Quite recent European social quality indicators research was published by Holman and Walker (see note 17) oriented on social quality and health oriented on individual and neighborhood contextual effects. And some years before the application of these indicators in line of Figure 9 by Konstantionos Kougias. His study was oriented on the recent crisis in Greece, following the introduction of austerity measures since 2010 as part of the international financial bailout agreements. This caused an explosive cocktail of poverty and social exclusion that severely tested the resilience of the frail social safety net.

By following figure 9 – seen in the context of figure 8 and figure 7 – he concluded that this indicators’ application demonstrated that all conditional factors were affected negatively. He explained that:
After successive rounds of drastic cuts, the scope for cost containment has proven to be great indeed, yet reforms that restore equity and strengthen the frail social safety net have not been pursued in even a remotely similar way. Most cuts were horizontal, causing hardship and disrupting health care and other societal provisions. The reforms extended insecurity and commodification (selling public property, marketization of erstwhile publicly distribute services) and curtailed the already inefficient welfare provisions.  

**Figure 9: Issues in the Three Stage Construction of the Indicators of the Conditional Actors**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject matter of each conditional factor (+ its definition)</th>
<th>Specificity or character of the conditional factors</th>
<th>Mutual relationship of the conditional factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Determining the intrinsic affinity of the conditional factors to the concept of &quot;the social&quot; and therefore to each other (+ their domains and sub-domains)</td>
<td>Discriminating the manifestations of the subject matters of the conditional factors (+ the essence of their domains and sub-domains)</td>
<td>Recognizing the empirical complementarity of the conditional factors (and the domains and sub-domains)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This study may function as an attractive example for the successor of the previous INRU-project as well.

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6.4.3 A Referral to South-East Asian and Australian Research: The Second Wave

Between 2007 and 2015 the European Foundation on Social Quality assisted eight social quality conferences on the SQA in South-East Asia. As a result of the outcomes of these conferences it changed its name to International Association on Social Quality (see note 8, and note 21: 235). One of the side effects was the start of surveys which were carried out and financed by universities and national academic funds in seven countries in order to apply and the test social quality indicators. These indicators were based on the original European list, see above, but were amended to fit the different sociocultural context under this innovative collaboration. In a thematic issue about the SQA in South-East Asia and Australia of the journal Development and Society, different aspects of the first wave are discussed. We may add this issue as the fifth study with which to deepen the SQA, following the other studies referred to in section 2.4.2 of this working paper. 146

In fact, this implied a first critical evaluation after the final determination of ninety-five indicators and their application in fourteen European countries. It led in this second wave to a number of considerations and changes of certain indicators and a search for new adequate data. These technical matters should be further taken on board during the third wave, including the proposed INRU-project as well. It may be of interest to add that, for the first time a comparison has been made between the SQA and the Chinese ‘social harmony approach.’ 147 Thereafter, in Australia the issue of trust as an indicator of social cohesion is deepened. Mistrusting relationships may result into conflict and subsequently lead to inequalities in health. In Taiwan the difference in social inclusion between typical and atypical workers has led to insufficient social protection for the latter. The huge amount of Asian and Australian work demands an interpretation and comparison at a global level. What are the similarities and differences with the European data on the application of social quality indicators? How to proceed in Asia-Pacific and Europe in order to analyze societal trends in a comparable way, and what can we learn from the recent Asia-Pacific surveys? 148 It is also of interest to refer to explorations as

to why people in Southern Korea are not satisfied with their daily lives although this society demonstrate an impressive improvement in both economic growth (based on GDP-variables) and democratization. By applying the social quality indicators on social cohesion researchers recognized a growing distrust between different societal classes and a weakening of structural empowerment. Furthermore, they also recognize that trust in public institutes has declined over the last decade. This study received an OECD-reward for its contribution to ideas about ‘social progress’ as connected with the interpretation of ‘the social.’\footnote{149}

Finally, it is of interest for the INRU-project to take on board the recent study by Ka Lin and Hua Li about the application of social quality indicators. They employed survey data to conduct an international comparison of social quality. They used data from the database of the World Value Surveys (WVS), which is a worldwide surveys program. Their study utilizes the data from the Wave 6 of the WVS surveys, collected in the period 2010-2014. They undertook three working tasks. First, to determine the rational basis for indicator selection from the available database. Second, to extend the analysis to include various indicators in a synthetic way and to present these indicators with a uniform framework. Third, to make the technical design in order to present different – in their terms – ‘social quality profiles’ on the same map and to evaluate their implications. Their profiles do not refer to the concept profiles as instruments of the constitutional factors as presented in figure 1. They conclude that

Through the comparison of ‘social quality regimes,’ we can also find that social quality is very much an issue of development. The cross-national comparison of social quality conditions [read: conditional factors/LJH] indicates that the most advanced countries are inclined to have a higher SQ score than the underdeveloped ones. However, from the first group, we observe that to assume a nexus between social quality and economic
development is complicated. For this reason, the urgent task for promoting social quality worldwide would not only constitute relying on economic growth, but also strengthening factors of social development in societies (see note 44).

It is again a challenge to analyze this study in the light of previous considerations and the arguments for publishing a new Declaration on Social Quality, see the following subsection. It will be an important milestone for upcoming work.

It is an interesting exercise for the Ukraine project to compare essential lines of arguments in this recent empirical study with forms of reasoning in this subsection and herewith related studies in the recent past. This may clarify that we have to cope in the INRU-project with two traditions in scientific work: first the longstanding and high qualified quantitative research and second, the new social quality thinking and its proposals about the nature and purpose of indicators. The request by the IEF/NASU is to apply the second way of thinking and herewith related empirical research. That means the challenge is to pave the way for making both traditions productive for each other.

6.4.4 The Start of the Third Wave of SQA’s Indicators Research and Two Pleas

More or less as the start of the third wave may function the study by Li Wei and Cui Yan from CASS, published in 2018. They open with the words that in China the original four conditional factors are enhanced thanks to recent economic growth as well. But the social quality level is not quite satisfactory.

First, many think the low ‘social security’ cannot provide sufficient protection. Second, low social trust and lack of social belief and value system greatly affect social cohesion. Third, to cope with social discrimination ad realize better tolerance, social inclusion must be addressed. People has the strongest sense of unfairness for wealth and income gaps as well as right entitlement differences between urban and rural areas. In addition, low political efficacy ad low levels of social and political participation indicate weak social empowerment in China (see note 150: 78).

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In other words, in this study – based on Chinese Social Survey from June to November 2017, which covers more than 150 cities – they present their interpretation how to apply the SQA’s indicators. They also could make use of the information concerning the research during the first wave and during the second wave of SQA’s indicators’ research. With their impressive study they make clear that an orchestration of analysis of available SQA’s indicators is highly important. It is especially important if it can serve to make a start stimulating comparisons between outcomes of research about the state of affairs of the overall social quality between countries all over the world. This orchestration is a conditio sine qua non for new steps and should therefore be organized on global level. An argument can be found in the new study by Marco Ricceri about the first decades of the development of BRICS (platform of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), Ricceri – Vice President of Eurispes (The independent National Italian Research Institute) and coordinator of the BRICS Laboratory of Eurispes, follows the studies and politics of this platform according the distinction of the four societal dimensions of societal life, as discussed in the first sections of this working paper. He reflects on the nature and outcomes from an SQA perspective. These reflections or considerations underpin implicitly the plea for a far reaching orchestration of the SQA’s empirical research in order to be enabled to contribute to also the most important objective of BRICS, namely, to pave the way for enhancing the quality of global development and strengthening the sustainability of human life on earth.151

From the side of the US Academic world, a herewith connected plea is made by Leon Botstein, President of Bard College in the USA. This was published in The New York Times. He invites the leaders in higher education to protest against the recent state of affairs with the White House under the lead of President Trump. He wonders,

How is the university to function when a president’s administration blurs the distinction between fact and fiction by asserting the existence of ‘alternative facts? How can the university turn a blind eye to what every historian knows to be a key instrument of modern authoritarian regimes: the capacity to dress falsehood up as truth and reject the fruits of reasoned argument, evidence and rigorous verification? . . . Will there be a continuing erosion of support for basic research as opposed to research that contributes to some commercial project? . . . Is it best to stand by when he repudiates climate science and revives the credibility of discredited theories about autism? . . .

American colleges and universities, public and private, are properly seen as nonpartisan elements in civil society, committed to research and teaching in a manner that transcends ordinary politics, but to succeed, these institutions must ensure that academic freedom and the highest standards of scholarship prevail. This means respect for the rules of evidence, rigorous skepticism and the honoring of the distinction between truth and falsehood . . . The world must have no doubt about where the American university stands.¹⁵²

At the end of the day, this quotation can also be read as a plea to structurally engage the academic world of, in this case, Ukraine, to play a role according to international standards for assisting the renewal of daily circumstances on local, city, and (sub-)regional levels. The outcomes of this previous INRU-Project, and comparable projects that support the SQA, may stimulate the academic world to collaborate, in order to defend a dignified human existence on earth.

7. **Final remarks about the future**

This Working Paper nr. 17 may be appreciated as a tool for:

- to pave the way for a final SQA-project on behalf of Ukraine,
- for SQA-projects in other Central and Eastern European countries, also based on the forthcoming thematic issue of the IJSQ,
- for making new steps to enhance the theory of social quality in general sense,
- to elaborate the empirical research with the application of social quality indicators which are in need to be deepened as well in the context of the enhancement of the SQT,
- to start in a structural way the research with regard to the constitutional and the normative factors as crucial elements of the analytical framework.

This Working Paper remains a tool, because many parts are too provisional; they require an astute elaboration. But this work implies at the same time a new type of an international infrastructure as point of crystallization, for going beyond the existing fragmentation of the SQA. This fragmentation is antithetic concerning the primary objective of the social quality work.

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