

LIFE, WORK, LEISURE, AND ENJOYMENT: the role of social institutions.

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Abstract

The chapter indicates that happiness and well-being are now major concerns of researchers and policy makers; and that research into lived experience, work, leisure, and enjoyment is central to our understanding of happiness and well-being. An overarching concern of the chapter is the interplay between individual and social factors in happiness and well-being. An analysis presented in the chapter shows that the emphasis cannot be primarily on the importance and responsibility of the individual. Rather, to improve the conditions of individual lives and make a better society it is crucial that we also act collectively. The chapter indicates the need for a focus on a positive social-psychology of organizations, and a transdisciplinary approach to the study of life, work, leisure, and enjoyment, which would use a range of qualitative and quantitative methods innovatively. Well-being also needs to be studied as a process, where individuals collaborate in attempting to forge a life worth living.

Key words Happiness. Well-being. Work. Leisure. Enjoyment. Social institutions. Lived experience. Embodied mind.

HAPPINESS AND WELL-BEING.

Happiness and well-being are now crucial topics for research and policy in many countries. Layard (2003, 2005) reviewed evidence showing that above a certain level, economic growth (GDP) does not increase overall societal well-being, as people evaluate their income in relation to changing standards. A movement for happiness has been established www.movementforhappiness.org/movement-manifesto

Research by Wilkinson (1996, 2000) shows that increase in socio-economic inequalities in developed countries is associated with health inequality; which is likely to be detrimental to the well-being of individuals and communities. Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) claim that more equal societies do better, though this has not gone unchallenged (Saunders 2010) The Marmot Report (2010) gives extensive evidence in the UK for the importance of tackling health inequalities, and that the fair distribution of health, well-being and sustainability are important social goals (www.ucl.ac.uk/gheg/marmotreview). Dorling (2010) shows dramatic differences in health and inequality across the UK. Unemployment, which has been shown to be, for many people, detrimental to health and well-being (Warr 1987), is significantly greater in the north than the south of England. The Equality Trust has been established in the UK to promote a healthier, happier, more sustainable society. www.equalitytrust.org.uk

The New Economics Foundation www.neweconomics.org considers that sustainable well-being should be at the forefront of government policy. The Centre for Well-being at Nef has produced the Happy Planet Index, which tracks national well-being against resource use, showing that it is possible for a nation to have well-being with a low ecological footprint.

Well-being has been viewed variously as happiness, satisfaction, enjoyment, contentment; and engagement and fulfilment, or a combination of these, and other, hedonic and eudaimonic factors. Well-being is also viewed as a process, something we do together, and as sense making, rather than just a state of being. It is acknowledged that in life as a whole there will be periods of ill-being, and that these may add richness to life. It has also been recognised that well-being and the environment are intimately interconnected. Certainly, well-being is seen to be complex and multifaceted, and may take different forms (Haworth and Hart 2007).

Research into lived experience, work, leisure, and enjoyment is central to our understanding of happiness and well-being (e.g. Haworth 1997; Haworth and Veal 2004; and Haworth and Hart 2007). Happiness is an experience of individuals. As such it can be strongly influenced by individual characteristics, such as resilience; and locus of control, which can be enhanced by appropriate lived experience (Rotter 1982, 1990). In turn the lived experience of individuals is influenced by social institutions. An overarching concern of the chapter is the interplay of individual and social factors in relation to happiness and well-being, in the context of life, work, leisure, and enjoyment. The role of social institutions in well-being is now of crucial interest to researchers, policy makers and politicians of all parties in the UK. This chapter draws on psychological research, from which it can be reasonably argued that in considering the balance between social institutions and the individual on well-being, the emphasis cannot be primarily on the importance and responsibility of the individual. Rather, to improve the conditions of individual lives and make a better society, it is crucial that we also act collectively.

WORK, LEISURE, AND ENJOYMENT.

Work.

Work has been with us a long time. Tools made to a common pattern have been discovered two million years old. Some anthropologists argue that interaction with the physical and social environment (work) led to the development of both tools and the organism, stimulating our evolution (Ingold 2000). Work can be considered central to human functioning. Both Marx and Freud extolled the potential importance of work for the individual and society. The historian of work, Applebaum (1998) states that ‘The work ethic is the human ethic’. Kohn and Schooler (1983) indicate that where work has substantive complexity there is an improvement in mental flexibility and self-esteem. Yet stress in employment is viewed as a major problem. Many individuals experience long hours of work, increasing work loads, changing work practices, and job insecurity. Many have to change jobs more frequently, and increasing numbers of people are forced to spend periods without jobs.

Schor (2006) argues that ‘In the absence of deliberate intervention to reduce (working) hours, it seems likely that the trend towards a US-style increase will grow, rather than subside. However, the link between ecological degradation (through consumption) and long hours---- could provide an added impetus for reducing hours---’ p214 (Comments in brackets inserted). In the US the trend towards increasing hours of work is driven by the rise in married women’s labour force participation, worsening income inequality, new technology and the desire for increased profits. Similar factors are occurring in the UK. Research by Zuzanek (2004) and Schneider et al.(2004) indicate that increased hours of paid work done by the average household is one of the contributors to the perceived increases in levels of stress experienced by contemporary families.

Rojek (2004) addresses the polarisation between the over-worked section of the community identified in Juliet Schor's (1991) *The Overworked American* and the increasingly marginalised and insecure mass identified by Ulrich Beck (2000) in the

'Brazilianization thesis'. In examining the question of solutions to the 'post-work' world, including the idea of a guaranteed income and the possibility of harnessing unpaid *civil labour* to undertake work of community benefit, he notes the likely problems of adopting such a measure given the currently entrenched values of Western society.

Taylor (2002) in a report on The Future of Work programme, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, advocates that a determined effort is required to assess the purpose of paid work in all our lives, and the need to negotiate a genuine trade-off between the needs of job efficiency and leisure. The report considers that class and occupational differences remain of fundamental importance to any understanding of the world of work.

The UK Cabinet Office has produced a report on Life Satisfaction (Donovan, Halpern and Sargeant, 2002). This found strong links between work satisfaction and overall life satisfaction, and also between active leisure activities and overall satisfaction, concluding that there is a case for government intervention to boost life satisfaction, by encouraging a more leisured work-life balance.

Leisure.

Research into leisure is becoming increasingly important. While leisure as traditionally conceived has not been able to substitute for the lack of work opportunities for the unemployed, it has been able to ameliorate the negative psychological symptoms caused by unemployment. For retired people, keeping active, including active leisure pursuits, is seen as an important way of enhancing wellbeing for the financially secure. Older people are a growing segment of the leisure market. Haworth and Roberts (2007) note that it is possible that the baby boomer cohorts (the products of the relatively high birth rates from the 1940s to the 1960s) will import a higher propensity to consume into later life than their predecessors. They are the first cohort historically to have grown up in post-scarcity conditions, and who throughout their lives have regarded it as normal to buy fashion

clothing, purchase recorded music, take holidays abroad etc. It is possible that they will be less willing than their predecessors to cut back, more willing to take on new debt, and to spend the equity in their dwellings. However, approximately a half of the retired in the UK will depend primarily on state benefits: they will not be among the Woopies (well off older people). Up until now public leisure provisions have been particularly valuable to the less well-off, not because they have been more likely to benefit than the better-off (the reverse has applied) but because most of these services (broadcasting, parks, playing fields, the countryside, the coast, galleries, museums and other amenities) have been free or accessible at modest cost; in effect access has been a right of citizenship. In the future it is likely to become more difficult for the public sector to be run in this way, particularly when governments are concerned with cutting the public financial deficit.

Harahousou (2006) points to the pressing demographic trend that by 2025 one billion people will be aged 60 and over; and that in the developed world ageing is becoming less associated with dependency and more with activity and independence. “Active ageing’ is the new definition of ‘ageing’ which has emerged and reflects the desire and ability of many seniors to engage in all life’s activities such as work, retirement, education and leisure---‘ p232. The gerontologist, Tom Kirkwood, in the Reith Lectures 2001 'The End of Age' argues that life-expectancy will go on increasing in developed economies, and that we need equitable solutions that will meet our needs at all future stages of our life cycle.

Iso-Ahola and Mannel (2004) recognise that many people are stressed because of financial difficulties and the dominance of work, and that leisure is used for recuperation from work. The result is a passive leisure life style and a reactive approach to personal health. The authors argue that trying new things, and mastering challenges, is discouraged and undermined by the social system and environment. They consider, on the basis of considerable research, that active leisure is important for health and wellbeing.

Participation in both physical and non-physical leisure activities has been shown to reduce depression and anxiety, produce positive moods and enhance self-esteem and self-concept, facilitate social interaction, increase general psychological wellbeing and life satisfaction, and improve cognitive functioning. Recent research has also shown that middle aged men who work long hours, but remain physically active, have a reduced risk of heart disease, than those who do not remain physically active, who in turn are more than twice as likely to die of heart disease than those who devote less time to their jobs. General physical activities, including walking, cycling, gardening, DIY, have been advocated to help with physical fitness. Of course, leisure is not a panacea. If it is used as avoidance behaviour in order not to face up to something that has to be done, it can increase stress.

Stebbins (2004) argues that an optimal leisure life style includes both serious and casual leisure. His extensive studies of serious leisure activities, such as astronomy, archaeology, music, singing, sports, and career volunteering, show that it is defined by six distinguishing qualities. These are: the occasional need to persevere at it; the development of the activity as in a career; the requirement for effort based on specialised knowledge, training or skill; the provision of durable benefits or rewards; the identification of the person with the activity; the production of an ethos and social world. It also offers a distinctive set of rewards, satisfying as a counterweight to the costs involved.

However, the experiences of leisure and unpaid work in the household are not gender neutral. Kay (2001) argues that within households, the capacity of male and female partners to individually exercise choice in leisure is highly contingent upon explicit or implicit negotiation between them. Many studies have shown that, even when both partners are working, women still make a significantly greater contribution to domestic tasks, and there are key differences between men's ability to preserve personal leisure time, and the much more limited capacity of women to do so. As individuals, men and women appear to give

different priority to the work, family, leisure domains of their collective life, while simultaneously striving to achieve a mutually satisfying joint lifestyle. Kay (2001) argues that leisure is a significant domain of relative freedom and a primary site in which men and women can actively construct responses to social change. She considers that the recognition of this can contribute, at both a conceptual and empirical level, to a holistic understanding of contemporary lived experience; but that it raises the question about the extent to which we can realistically talk of families, collectively, being equipped to resolve the work-life dilemma.

Rojek, Shaw and Veal (2006) indicate that considerations of leisure are intertwined with those of urban industrial resource allocation, health and well-being, social order, social inclusion and exclusion, affluence, deprivation and distributive justice. They contend that leisure is perhaps the primary setting for active citizenship. Social capital has been viewed as the notional commodity of community engagement and cohesion which can be associated with better health and wellbeing. Yet preliminary studies are beginning to show that social ties have the potential to both improve and constrain health and wellbeing; and that an emphasis on increasing social capital has the potential to exclude those who are different (Sixsmith, Boneham and Goldring,2001, Sixsmith and Boneham 2002 a &b). Sixsmith and Boneham, (2007) also argue that emphasis on the role of social capital in enhancing health might divert attention away from the more urgent need to improve health through reducing income inequality.

Enjoyment

Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi (2000) distinguish between pleasure and enjoyment. They note that ‘Pleasure is the good feeling that comes from satisfying homeostatic needs such as hunger, sex, and bodily comfort. Enjoyment on the other hand, refers to the good

feelings people experience when they break through the limits of homeostasis – when they do something that stretches them beyond what they were – in an athletic event, an artistic performance, a good deed, a stimulating conversation. Enjoyment, rather than pleasure, is what leads to personal growth and long term happiness’. In a pioneering study, Csikszentmihalyi (1975) set out to understand enjoyment in its own terms and to describe what makes an activity enjoyable. He found that when artists, athletes and creative professionals were asked to describe the best times experienced in their favourite activities they all mentioned a dynamic balance between opportunity and ability as crucial. Optimal experience, or ‘flow’ as some of the respondents’ described it, could be differentiated from states of boredom, in which there is less to do than what one is capable of, and from anxiety, which occurs when things to do are more than one can cope with.

Enjoyable flow experiences come from a wide range of activities. In a study of young people, using the Experience Sampling Method, where participants answer questions on activity and subjective well-being several times a day in response to a signal from a bleeper, Haworth and Evans (1995) found that highly enjoyable flow experiences were most frequently associated with the job, followed by listening to music. Csikszentmihalyi and Le Fevre (1989) found, contrary to expectations, that the vast majority of flow experiences, measured as perceived balanced skill-challenge experiences above the person’s average level, came when people were at work rather than in free time. A study by Haworth and Hill (1992) of young adult white-collar workers shows similar results.

Studies by Clarke and Haworth (1994) and by Haworth and Evans (1995) showed that activities described as highly challenging with skill equal were highly enjoyable about only half of the times. Further, these studies showed that high enjoyment could be experienced when individuals engaged in activities which were described as only of a low challenge, such as watching TV. It is important to note, however, that high enjoyment was more often

associated with high challenge met with equal skill (flow). Also, when high challenge met with equal skill is found to be enjoyable this seems to be beneficial for subjective wellbeing, as measured by standard questionnaires. Research by Haworth, Jarman, and Lee (1997), using a measure of enjoyment, indicated its important role in well-being, linking personal and situational factors, as will be discussed later.

Csikszentmihalyi and Csikszentmihalyi (2006), in an edited book on what makes life worth living, highlight the importance of personally meaningful goals, individual strengths and virtues, and intrinsic motivation and autonomy, in what makes people happy and life meaningful. Positive emotions and the development of personal resilience are also important in optimal functioning (Fredrickson, 2006)

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND PERSONAL AGENCY

The social psychologist Maria Jahoda (1982, 1984, 1986, Haworth 1997 Chapter 2) in her ground breaking analysis of employment and unemployment, argued for the centrality of the social institution of employment in providing five categories of psychological experience which are conducive to well-being and that, to the extent that the unemployed are deprived of these experiences, this contributes to the decline in their well-being. These experiences are: time structure, social contact, collective effort or purpose, social identity or status and regular activity. The wage relationship present in employment provides traction for people to engage in work, providing these categories of experience as unintended by-products of purposeful action, which they may or may not find enjoyable. While the detrimental effects of poverty on the well-being of the unemployed are acknowledged, Jahoda was concerned to bring into visibility the important supportive effects social institutions can have on behaviour, habits and traditions. Considerable research has shown the importance of these

categories of experience for well-being (see Haworth 1997 chapter 3). They have been incorporated in the environmental factors proposed by Warr, (1987, 2007) as important for well-being.

Jahoda emphasised that in modern society it is the social institution of employment which is the main provider of the five categories of experience. While recognising that other institutions may enforce one or more of these categories of experience, Jahoda stressed that none of them combine them all with as compelling a reason as earning a living. Jahoda recognized that the quality of experience of some jobs can be very poor and stressed the importance of improving and humanising employment. Jahoda also emphasised the important influence the institution of employment has on shaping thought and behaviour. She considered that since the Industrial Revolution employment has shaped the form of our daily lives, our experience of work and leisure, and our attitudes, values and beliefs. Jahoda (1984, p64) considered that

The relationship between ideologies and the external life, or...the problems of habits and traditions in thought, is extremely difficult to grasp, because what is commonly called thinking represents a mixture of elements determined by tradition, emotion, social conditions, and speech habits of which only one thing is clear from the outset; it has almost nothing in common with the logical laws which are supposed to determine our thinking

Jahoda argued that if it were not for the comparative stability of traditional thinking, the capacity of the human mind would probably be insufficient to deal with reality; and that without traditions and habits of thought the infinite variety of life would overwhelm us. But she stated, that 'on the other hand its existence accounts for the discrepancy between ideas and behaviours and for the logical unreliability of a world in which the great majority of

individuals is not capable of bringing behaviour and ideology into harmony with one another' (p65) The process of adaptation, she emphasised, takes time .

Jahoda (1986) agreed that human beings are striving, coping, planning, interpreting creatures, but added that the tendency to shape one's life from the inside-out operates within the possibilities and constraints of social arrangements which we passively accept and which shape life from the outside-in. A great deal of life consists of passively following unexamined social rules, not of our making but largely imposed by the collective plans of our ancestors. Some of these rules meet basic human needs, even if we become aware of them only when they are broken by, for example, the enforced exclusion from an institution as in unemployment (p.28). Jahoda regarded dependency on social institutions not as good or bad but as the *sine qua non* of human existence.

Personal agency and personal characteristics are important in the interaction with social institutions in sustaining well-being. Warr (1987, 1999, 2007) has combined the research of Jahoda on social institutions and categories of experience with the research of Fryer and Payne (1984) and Fryer (1986) on the importance of personal agency for well-being to produce an important interactive model. Warr (1987) identified nine 'situational' factors, or 'Principal Environmental Influences' important for well-being, measured on several dimensions. These factors are: opportunity for control, environmental clarity, opportunity for skill use, externally generated goals, variety, opportunity for interpersonal contact, valued social position, availability of money, and physical security. These features of the environment, including jobs, are considered to interact with characteristics of the person to facilitate or constrain psychological well-being or mental health. Warr produced a classification of 'enduring' personal characteristics which interact with situational factors on mental health. These person factors include baseline mental health, demographic factors

such as age and gender, values, and abilities. Baseline mental health includes several features often considered as elements of personality, such as neuroticism, self-confidence, hardiness, and locus of control.

The nine factors were devised in the light of considerable research into both jobs and unemployment, which Warr (1987) summarises. Research conducted at Manchester University (see Haworth 1997 chapters 4&5), shows strong associations between each of the nine Principal Environmental Influences (PEIs) and measures of mental health, and also discriminates between patterns of PEIs important for well-being in different occupational groups.

An important development of the model, Haworth (1997 chapter 6) Haworth (2004), is the inclusion of the role of enjoyment in well-being. Research by Haworth, Jarman, and Lee (1997), suggests that enjoyment and situational factors are conjoined, and that enjoyment can give rise directly to well-being. The study also suggested that enjoyment and feelings of control might enhance the personal characteristic of locus of control, which in turn may lead to enhanced well-being either directly or through greater access to PEIs. Rotter (1966,1990) emphasises that locus of control is a learned expectancy, rather than a fixed trait. Feist, Todd, Bodner, Jacobs, Miles and Tann (1995) suggest that dispositions such as optimism can filter perceptions of daily experience, and that daily experience can in turn influence dispositions. Furnham and Steele (1993) also note that while locus of control beliefs may influence experience, the reverse may also be true. They suggest that positive successful life experiences probably increase internal locus of control beliefs through optimistic attributions. These may increase confidence, initiative and positive motivation, and thus lead to more successful experiences. Rotter (1982) indicates the possible importance of 'enhancement behaviours', which he viewed as 'specific cognitive activities that are used by internals to enhance and maintain good feelings'. However, Uleman and

Bargh (1989) also indicate the importance of subconscious processes in well-being, and Merleau-Ponty (1962) in his Embodiment theory of consciousness indicates the importance of both non-reflective and reflective interactions in Being, (see chapter 7 on Embodiment and quality of life in Haworth 1997). Such conceptions have some resonance with the views of Jahoda on the nature of thinking. Conceivably, positive subjective states could influence person factors, such as dispositions, coping styles and life themes etc, through both reflective and non -reflective interactions. In turn, person factors could influence well-being directly, or indirectly through access to situational factors important for well-being. Clearly, there is an interaction between opportunities provided by the social institution and the experiences and characteristics of the person, in relation to well-being.

Although experiences of work vary across different socio-political and cultural contexts, Haworth and Lewis (2005) indicate that some general trends are nevertheless emerging across national boundaries. A qualitative study looking at work, family and well-being in young adults in eight European countries (*Transitions*) showed a drive for more efficiency and an intensification of work across all the countries as fewer people are expected to do more work. The study also revealed a widespread implementation gap between policies to support the reconciliation of work and family, whether at the state or workplace level, and actual practice; and persisting gender differences in work-life responsibilities and experiences in a range of social policy contexts. The *Transitions* case studies (Lewis and Purcell 2007) also showed that both managers and work colleagues have a decisive role in creating the organisational climate and culture that contribute to the well-being of employed parents. While workplace policies and practices are shaped by national and local regulations, they are also increasingly a matter of daily and informal negotiation with managers in local organizations. Well-being for parents varied across departments, highlighting the discretionary application of informal, trust-based policies.

However, even when managers and their working practices did enhance parents' flexibility and autonomy over work and family boundaries, this tended to be undermined by other factors, particularly long hours and the intensification of work. Combating the intensification of work may require joint effort by cross-national institutions.

EMBODIED MIND

As noted earlier, the views of Jahoda on the nature of thinking have some resonance with modern theories of mind. Our conceptions of how we come to know and understand things are undergoing significant change. Traditional representationist views of the mind conceive the world as being independent of the observer, and perception being a representation of pre-given properties of the world, much like a camera records a picture of some object. This cartesian dualism of mind and body is now being challenged. Perception and our knowledge of the world are considered to be generated by our interaction with the world which takes on a specific form due to the nature of our bodies and our individual and social experiences in the particular culture in which we live. This 'new' view emphasises the importance in seeing and understanding of 'embodied mind', 'embodied practice', and 'situated cognition'. Perception is not simply consciousness of an existing factual situation, and learning is not simply a process in which the learner consciously internalises a ready formed body of objective knowledge. Rather, knowledge and understanding are tentative and generated through lived experience and histories of mutual involvement and social relationships, and can largely reside below the level of conscious awareness, but nevertheless significantly influence behaviour.

In *The Embodied Mind*, Varela, Thompson and Rosch (1991) see cognition not as representation of the world but as embodied action. Perception and our knowledge of the world are considered to be generated by our interaction with the world which takes on a specific form due to the nature of our bodies and our individual and social experiences in

the particular culture in which we live. Truths and ideas are thus cultural objects, rather than absolute certainties. Yet this does not detract from their organising force, and they may give a firm focus to action and thought. In presenting cognition as embodied action, and emphasising the temporal and reciprocal intertwining of the organism and the environment, Varela, Thompson and Rosch (1991) acknowledge the seminal influence of the philosopher and psychologist, Merleau-Ponty. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) in their book 'Philosophy in the Flesh: the embodied mind and its challenge to western thought' emphasise that the mind is inherently embodied. They stress that thought is mostly unconscious; and that abstract concepts are largely metaphorical. They discuss in detail how the body and the brain shape reason, contrary to traditional Western Philosophy which sees reason independent of perception and bodily movement.

Haworth and Hart (2007) in the edited book 'Well-Being: Individual, Community and Social perspectives', note that, considered together, the chapters show the emergent influence on research into well-being of the experiential model of consciousness and being proposed by Merleau-Ponty, (1962) emphasising the intertwining of experience and being, and the importance of both pre-reflexive and reflexive thought in knowing and understanding (see Haworth, 1997 chapter 7). Merleau-Ponty (1962) also emphasises that our perceptions of the world, our commitment to activity, and our response to change are all influenced by our past history, and that our past experiences and perceptions help create, largely unconsciously an 'intentional arc' (or life-trajectory) which helps trace out in advance our path, or style of what is to come.

POSITIVE PSYCHOLOGY AND WELL-BEING.

In recent years in the USA there has been a focus on 'Positive Psychology' concerned with factors leading to well-being and positive individuals (e.g. Special Edition of the American

Psychologist, January 2000; Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000; Csikszentmihalyi and Csikszentmihalyi 2006). Positive psychology is seen as concerned with how normal people might flourish under benign conditions -- the thriving individual and the thriving community. Positive Psychology changes the focus of psychology from preoccupation with repairing the worst things in life to building the best things in life. In the USA, the field of Positive Psychology at the subjective level is about positive experience: well-being, optimism, hope, happiness, and flow. At the individual level it is about the character strengths--the capacity for love and vocation, courage, interpersonal skill, aesthetic sensibility, perseverance, forgiveness, originality, future-mindedness, and genius. At the group level it is about the civic virtues and the institutions that move individuals toward better citizenship: leadership, responsibility, parenting, altruism, civility, moderation, tolerance, and work ethic.

A European positive psychology net-work www.enpp.org and a Centre of Applied Positive Psychology www.cappeu.com have also been established. These promote regular conferences and publications (e.g. Linley and Joseph, 2004; Delle Fave, 2006).

The positive psychology programme is very praiseworthy, and is stimulating much needed research in many countries. However, it focuses primarily on individual influences on well-being. It is strongly influenced by the individualistic American culture. Yet recent advances in research in social neuroscience show the essentially social nature of human mind and brain (www.socialmirrors.org and the Social Brain project of the Royal Society for the Arts)) The positive psychology programme could thus be enhanced by the study of the influence of social institutions on behaviour and well-being (e.g. Jahoda (1982). Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky (2007) argue from extensive studies that wellness is achieved by the simultaneous and balanced satisfaction of personal, interpersonal and collective needs.

Chapters in the edited book by Haworth and Hart (2007), which has its origins in a series of transdisciplinary seminars on well-being funded by grants from the Economic and Social Research Council in the UK, collectively show that

- Well-being is complex and multifaceted. It is considered as a state and a process. It is a contested concept.
- Well-being includes personal, interpersonal, and collective needs, which influence each other.
- Well-being may take different forms, which may conflict across groups in society, requiring an overarching settlement. Well-being may also take different forms over the life-course of an individual.
- Well-being is intimately intertwined with the physical, cultural and technological environment, and requires a global perspective.
- Interventions to enhance well-being may take different forms. They should be conducted at individual, community, and societal levels, ideally in concert. Interventions need to recognise diversity and socio-economic inequalities in society, and be concerned with the unintended as well as the intended consequences of action.

From the material presented so far it can be reasonably argued that in considering the balance between social institutions and the individual on well-being, the emphasis cannot be primarily on the importance and responsibility of the individual. Rather, to improve the conditions of individual lives and make a better society it is crucial that we also act collectively.

THE STATE AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

In addressing the recent global financial crisis and the failure of the banking institutions, Hutton and Schneider (2009) point to the failure of the philosophy of regulation through market failure. They note that the presumption has been that in general markets work and that States do not. Only in exceptional circumstances-where a particular market is proven to fail- is there any case for government action, which should, in any case, be temporary. The paper argues that this idea of the self-regulatory effect of market failure has failed, and that State regulation on a permanent basis is essential. They advocate a 21st Century Keynesianism.

After the pioneering lead of the British Labour Government in financially supporting the failing banks, other countries followed. The British Government continued to support the economy through making money available, termed quantitative easing, to support businesses and industry, and reduce the degree of unemployment caused by the banks failures, even though this increases public debt, which was opposed by opposition parties. Paul Krugman, a Nobel prize winner for economics, and professor at Princeton University, commenting on the situation in America at that time, said that it seems that there isn't going to be a second Great Depression after all; and that what saved America is, basically big government. He said that '-unlike the private sector the federal government hasn't slashed spending as its income has fallen. This has helped support the economy in its time of need, in a way that didn't happen in the 1930's, when federal spending was a much smaller percentage of GDP. And, yes, this means that budget deficits-which are a bad thing in normal times- are actually a good thing right now' The Guardian 11 08 09 p26.

The financial regulation of British banks is slowly proceeding. The new Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government in the UK has given more financial regulatory powers to the Bank of England. Yet, as noted in the Guardian 17 06 10 'What is missing

from the proposal is a sense of what banks are for'. A debate on the social as well as the financial value of banks is part of the need for socially responsible institutions which have a concern for the well-being of the population as a whole. The task is obviously difficult, and is one which needs sufficient committed long term support from government and the people, including a willingness to contribute to valuable social institutions and society through fair and socially just, enforceable taxes. However, the respected Institute for Fiscal Studies, in the UK, issued a press release on the 25 August 2010 of an analysis of the social impact of the Budget in June 2010 by the coalition government. 'It shows that once all of the benefit cuts are considered, the tax and benefit changes announced in the emergency Budget are clearly regressive as, on average, they hit the poorest households more than those in the upper-middle of the income distribution in cash, let alone percentage, terms. The report also considers the impact of tax and benefit reforms on different sorts of households. Low income households of working age lose the most as a proportion of income from the tax and benefit reforms announced in the emergency Budget. Those who lose the least are households of working age without children in the upper half of the income distribution. The Fawcett Society in the UK has launched a legal challenge to the government for failing to make an equality impact assessment of the Budget, claiming that women bear a greater burden of cutting the public deficit than men. The Equality Trust, as well as other groups in the UK (letter to The Guardian 18 August 2010) said that '--- the government should undertake and publish comprehensive equality impact assessments-or fairness tests-on any policies designed to cut the deficit. This would hardwire fairness into the deficit reduction process'.

Unemployment

Reduction of the public deficit is an important policy of all the main political parties in the UK. The coalition government, however, has been accused of planning to cut the deficit deeper and faster than is actually required at the time for ideological reasons in order to reduce the working of the State, which it considers to be inefficient. The cuts, though, include the removal of the Future Jobs Fund, which helped charities and businesses to train young people and get them into long term jobs, and cuts in the number of University places, with more than 100,000 qualified young people now unable to go. The Trades Union Council in the UK says that long term youth unemployment is up more than a fifth on a year ago, according to its analysis of Jobseekers Allowance (JSA) data. Unemployment, with its potentially serious consequences for health and well-being, is additionally deleterious in young people with its impairment of the development of positive life trajectories. A study from the Chartered Institute of Personnel Development has warned that the state's shake out could lengthen the overall dole queues. The charity Age UK reports that joblessness in the over 50, has increased by over 50% in a year to the highest figure in a decade. It warns of a devastating legacy of unemployment. It says that the Government must lay the foundations of a better job market for older people, with fairness and flexibility as cornerstones.

The coalition government is pinning its hopes on the private sector creating growth. Many leading economists, however, fear the risk of a 'double dip recession' is too great without the strong support of the State. Paul Krugman (The Guardian 21 August 2010) points to the irrational hold of the cult of austerity in the minds of the policy elite. He asks 'When, if ever, will we get back to the job of rebuilding the economy'. The economics editor of The Guardian 6 September 2010 reports that the IMF in a recent paper believes that in most advanced countries tackling unemployment is better than excessive early deficit reduction; and that the process of fiscal consolidation would benefit from some co-

ordination across countries. The IMF is also reported (The Observer 05 September 10) in a paper on 'Taxing Financial Transactions: Issues and Evidence' to argue that a small levy on transactions may help to dampen the "herding behaviour" encouraged by computer trading behaviour. This would be an additional organisational benefit to that of the revenue-raising potential of a levy on transactions which may ease deficit reduction.

CONCLUSION

The research material and arguments presented in this chapter indicate the need for a focus on a positive social-psychology of organizations. This would include the study of the interplay between individual and social factors on happiness and well-being. A transdisciplinary approach is also required to the study of life, work, leisure, and enjoyment. It would use a range of qualitative and quantitative methods innovatively (Haworth 1996, Haworth and Hart 2007). While research will use methods which make use of a conscious appraisal of situations, a greater challenge will be the study of subconscious processes in the influence of social institutions on well-being and happiness; and in the functioning of organisations. Well-being will continue to be studied as a state, amenable to empirical analysis. However, wellbeing also needs to be studied as a process, where individuals collaborate in attempting to forge a life worth living. Researchers and other professionals need to further their work with local authorities, who, in England and Wales, now have a statutory responsibility for wellbeing, which includes participation of the community in enhancing well-being.

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